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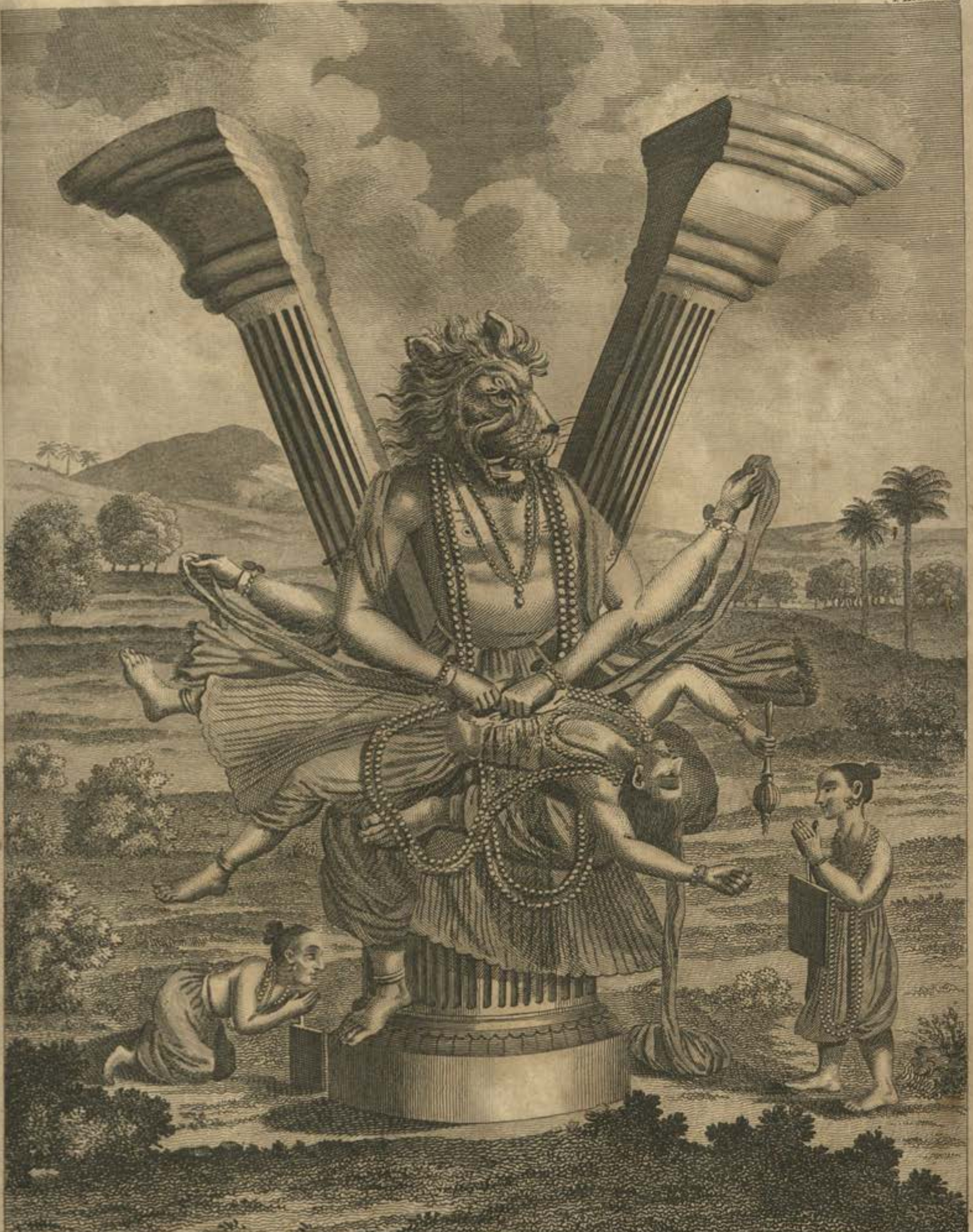
Barlow sculp.

under the form of a MAN LION, *bursting from a* PILLAR *to destroy*
a Blaſpheming Monarch.

To the Right Rev.^{d} and Hon.^{ble} Shute, Lord Bishop of Durham, this plate, emblematical of the Calamity at Babel, & exhibiting another glaring proof how highly the antient mythological history of India corroborates the Mosaic Writings, is, with profound respect, & unfeigned gratitude, inscribed by T. M.

THE

MODERN HISTORY

OF

HINDOSTAN:

VOLUME SECOND; PART FINAL.

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY OF INDIA,

AND OF THE

EAST-INDIA COMPANY,

DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND PART OF THE EIGHTEENTH
CENTURIES.

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PREFACE TO THE FINAL PART.

THE Author has, at length, the honour to present the public with the concluding portion of his second volume of the History of MODERN INDIA. That so considerable a period has elapsed since the first part appeared has not arisen from neglect, but from that necessary prudence which restrains a man, *printing at his sole cost and hazard*, from engaging in voluminous publication at a period when all the materials of printing are at so extravagant a price. The present volume having exceeded the number of five hundred pages, to which few quartos are at this day permitted to extend, it is thought proper to submit it to the public eye.

Owing to the vast mass and press of matter, accumulated during the two last centuries, and to the variety and importance of the subjects yet remaining to be discussed, he has found it utterly impossible to *conclude* the History of India, and the India Company, which he also engaged to detail, in the present volume. It might indeed have been practicable, had he not gone so much at length into that of the Company; but as that portion of the work to an English reader must ever be the most interesting, and as many publications have of late appeared, particularly the improved edition of Mr. Orme's Historical Fragments, highly elucidatory of their early Asiatic concerns, it was thought that a more extended account of their affairs in that quarter of the world than was originally intended, could not fail of being acceptable both at home and in Asia.

In consequence, that account, commencing with their very existence as a Commercial Body in A. D. 1600, and brought down to the re-capture of Calcutta by Clive and Watson in 1757, in a regular series of historical events, engrosses nearly half of this final section of the second volume, and left only room for the insertion of two complete reigns of Mogul empetors. They are, however, next to that of the great Akber, by far the most important of any of the reigns of those princes, full of great and surprising incidents, such as the records of no other nation on earth can exhibit. In every thing splendid and magnificent no monarch ever rivalled Shah Jehan; in sanguinary atrocity and dark intrigue none ever surpassed Aurungzeb. The author has endeavoured to do full justice to their respective characters.

The black details of blood and perfidy, that mark the closing day of this great empire and that renowned dynasty, together with what remains to be recorded of British transactions in India down to the year 1800, will in a few months be presented to the public in the form of an Appendix, of which, whatever may be the magnitude, the price shall on no account exceed a Guinea. The author is full as anxious as the reader to consult *œconomy*, but could not consent, by unnecessary brevity, to render his pages defective in interest and perspicuity. When the reader shall have considered how vast a period this history embraces, commencing at the death of Alexander, and terminating with the triumphs of a British army on the very spot where an Alexander had fought; that, in fact, it is not the history merely of a province, or kingdom, but that of a mighty empire, and its astonishing and varied revolutions, for above two thousand years;—when he, also, shall have considered of how many rare and *costly* books, (as the author, has too well experienced) these volumes contain the substance, independently of an elegant coloured Map of India, according to its latest divisions, by Arrowsmith, he is convinced that the sum of five guineas, the whole amount of the subscription, of which a very small portion can be appropriated to remunerate *his* labours, will not appear extravagant. To those who may think otherwise, it may be satisfactory to know, that of the Company's History, the most interesting part terminates with the re-conquest of Calcutta; and that the glory of the Indian empire expired with Aurungzeb.

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In the preceding chapter we have seen how fatally the tyranny of Philip of Spain, and his immediate successors, over the humbled nation of Portugal, operated towards the destruction of the power and commerce of the latter in India. The Dutch, recently emancipated from the same inglorious yoke, and wholly excluded from the port of Lisbon, where they had formerly been employed as the principal carriers, to the different marts of Europe, of its overflowing Indian treasures, now determined to explore the source of that wealth of which they were forbidden to trace the channel, and boldly passed the Cape in quest of seas and countries unknown. This memorable event took place in A. D. 1595, with a fleet of four ships commanded by Cornelius Houtman, a man of the deepest political sagacity, joined with an undaunted fortitude to execute the greatest enterprises. Houtman, while a prisoner for debt in Portugal, had been indefatigable in gaining all necessary information with respect to the course of the voyage, and the kind of commerce carried on by that people with the East. As this was a voyage rather of discovery than of actual traffic, no great riches were the result of it; but the correct account which he gave to the associated merchants, who employed him, of the coasts and islands he had visited, particularly of Java, with whose sovereign, in spite of the intriguing Portugueze, he had formed an alliance that augured the most beneficial consequences, determined them immediately to fit out double the former number of ships, which, in 1597, sailed under the command of the Admiral James Van Neck, whose prudence and valour, in spite of all the hostile efforts of the united Portugueze and Spaniards to prevent it, secured them a settlement in Java and the Moluccas, and he returned to Europe loaded with their richest productions. *

The success of Van Neck inspired the merchants of Amsterdam with the most sanguine confidence. They already exulted as masters of the commerce of India, and saw its treasures pouring into the Texel in an unbounded torrent. Far more vigorous exertions, and worthy of the great object in view, now began to be made; and in a short time thirteen stout ships, under able commanders, sailed for the same favourite islands. From Amsterdam the ardour for Indian wealth spread through all the capital cities of the United Provinces. Immense sums were subscribed, and ships every where constructed to secure the advantages already so happily obtained. It was in vain that the Spaniards, exasperated and indignant at seeing the glittering spoil which they had obtained at the price of so much blood and treasure, snatched from their grasp by the contemptible merchants of Holland, as they affected to consider them, sent out their fleets to intercept them; they were either eluded, or beaten, and the cargoes of their richest carracks were often doomed to swell the coffers of their enemies. †

The Portugueze had entered India as conquerors, as well as merchants. The Dutch artfully concealed from the natives their ambitious views, and professed to come as mere mercantile adventurers. Their success was proportionate, and their cause generally favoured by them in their contests with their insolent rivals. But while they were gradually advancing in wealth and

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* Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 91.

† Ibid.

influence, there existed, in their own country, a fatal obstacle to their ever arriving at permanent opulence and prosperity on the shores of India, and that was the numerous companies that every where started up to divide the spoil, and, by underselling each other at the different Indian marts, greatly diminished their respective profits. The sagacious rulers of the new republic saw the evil, and instantly applied the remedy. A general meeting of the directors of both the Holland and Zealand companies was convened at the Hague in A. D. 1602, and they were exhorted, or rather compelled, to unite their stock, to form themselves into a body corporate, and to act under one common seal, to which the sovereign power gave the stamp of its authority. Henceforward, being now become a CHARTERED COMPANY, every thing went on with rapid and unvarying success; the number of adventurers, and the amount of the capital, astonishingly increased; and a formidable fleet of fourteen ships was soon seen on the ocean sailing for India, provided at once with all the apparatus of war, and all the various articles of commerce. Every successive year added to the number and the strength of their fleets in Asia, while occasional defeats only gave new vigour to the spirit of national enterprize!

It was in vain that the Spaniards, by fulminating their anathemas in Europe, and by the more substantial thunder of their artillery in the East, aided at the same time by all that remained in Asia, of the power and military resources of Portugal, threw perpetual obstructions in the way of a people fired equally with the thirst of gain, and the ardour of ambition. A series of triumphs over their potent and combined rivals, which it is not my province minutely to record, gradually, and firmly, planted their standard in the Indian Archipelago, and at length opened the way to their final settlement in imperial splendour at Batavia, a city that in a few ages became the rival, in grandeur, in wealth, in population, of the proudest capitals of Asia.

A far more formidable enemy than any the Dutch had to encounter in the arrogant Spaniard, and the humbled Portugueze, were the daring mariners of that country to whose powerful assistance, during their contest with Spain, they in a great measure owed their emancipation from her yoke, the ENGLISH, who about this time began to display their victorious flags in the Eastern ocean, and whose earliest approach and gradual progress in regions where they are now become so irresistible, it is therefore necessary to investigate. On this interesting subject I shall be easily pardoned by the reader, for going into a more than usual length of detail.

In the preceding chapter, while tracing through the middle ages the progress of Asiatic commerce, I had occasion to observe that its principal channel, particularly of that rich portion which was produced by India, before the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, was by the way of the Arabian gulph, and down the Nile to Cairo and Alexandria, whence it was circulated through the Mediterranean, and over Europe in the vessels of the Venetians. To them was Britain, at that early period of her maritime power, chiefly indebted for such Indian luxuries as she enjoyed; a large ship of that country, called a CARRACK, being annually dispatched to her shores with an abundant cargo of all the incentives to voluptuous enjoyment; with those fragrant spices that exalted the banquets of her kings, and those costly silks that adorned the nobles of their court. As that power increased, and as her policy became enlarged, she resolved no longer to be thus served, at second hand, with those precious eastern commodities which so highly enriched every nation that trafficked in them, and which she knew her own valour and industry were so well able to procure. It was not, however, for the remote region of India, but for the shores and islands of the Levant, that the merchant adventurers of London fitted out their first fleet, for the security of which they obtained of Elizabeth public letters of recommendation to the Grand Signior, which terminated in a treaty between the two nations, highly favourable to the interests of the British trader. These vessels for some time carried on a lucrative commerce with Candia, Chios, Cyprus, Tripoli, and other cities on the coast of Syria. Their imports were silks, camblets, rhubarb and other drugs, malmsies, muskadels, and various sorts of Greek wines, sweet oil, cotton, carpets, pepper, cinnamon, and other spices. The exported goods, in that infancy of our commerce, were not numerous, consisting chiefly of woollen cloths, calves skins, leather, the staple commodity, TIN, lead, &c. The brave Sir Francis, Drake, and, after him, the celebrated Cavendish, having returned from a voyage round the world, by their reports rouzed the curiosity of the public, and animated the merchants to attempt the establishment of a direct trade to India. In consequence of their application to that public-spirited Princess, who then wielded the British sceptre, a charter was granted them, bearing date the 31st December, 1600, being the forty-third year of her reign, conferring on them exclusively the right of trading to the East Indies, and allowing them for a certain limited time to export goods free of duty, with many other valuable privileges and immunities. Sir Thomas Smith, an alderman of London, was appointed their first Governor, assisted by a Court of twenty-four Directors to be chosen annually on the first of July, and this Charter to remain in force for the space of fifteen years, to be then renewed, or to terminate, as might appear most conducive to the public good.

The original subscriptions or shares were only fifty pounds, and their total amount of capital only £72,000. Of this sum forty-five thousand pounds were immediately expended in fitting out a fleet of five able ships, whose names (curiosity may be gratified to know) were the Dragon, the Hector, the Swan, the Ascension, the Guest, under the command of Captain James Lancaster, and the remaining twenty-seven thousand pounds were consumed on the cargo. Such was the commencement of that renowned Company whose revenues now amount to millions, and which can boast such a vast extent of empire in Asia. This squadron, manned with 480 able mariners, sailed from Torbay in the spring of the following year, and with as few accidents as the nature and distance of a voyage so new to an English fleet would admit, on *the 5th of June 1602, safely arrived in the road of Acheen*, in Sumatra, by the sovereign of which place, after the delivery of the Queen's letters and presents, they were honourably received, and had considerable privileges granted them, sanctioned by a treaty. They afterwards touched at the Moluccas, where they were received with equal distinction. After a prosperous voyage, and loaded with the richest produce of those spice-bearing regions, *they joyfully re-entered the Down's in September 1603.*

The second commercial voyage to India was undertaken in A. D. 1604, with a fleet of only three ships, Sir Henry Middleton commander, which traded to the same marts with similar success; but the kings of Ternate and Tidore being then at open war, and the Dutch taking the part of one sovereign, and the Portugueze of another, it was scarcely possible for an English commander to be wholly unconcerned in the midst of those disputes. Middleton was accused by the Dutch of favouring the cause of their enemy, the King of Tidore, which is not impossible, if he thought his cause a just one, though possibly, on the other hand, it might have only been a mere pretext for their malignant and interested efforts to crush the British trade in embryo; and exterminate a successful rival. Whatever was the cause, a deep rooted and rancorous spirit of hostility to the English, ever after distinguished in Asia that ungrateful race, who owed their very existence, as a nation, to their protecting arm. In the present instance, however, their rage was unavailing; for the English Captain, though unfortunate in the loss of one of his ships, which foundered at sea, returned not only with one of the richest cargoes that had yet arrived on the shore of Britain, but with letters and presents of considerable value to its sovereign, James I. from the Kings of Bantam and Tidore.

Captain William Keeling was appointed to command the third English fleet, and with him was dispatched Captain Hawkins in quality of ambassadour to the Mogul Court, where he was received with respect, conducted himself with prudence, and procured for his countrymen those commercial privileges which industrious foreigners of all nations never failed to obtain from the sovereigns of the illustrious house of Timur. The fourth expedition, deviating from the regular channel of trade, visited the shores of the Arabian Gulph with indifferent success; but the fifth, with Captain Middleton a second time for its commander, was eminently fortunate; for after triumphing over all the machinations of the Dutch at the Moluccas, he is said to have brought home with him a hundred and thirty-nine tons of nutmegs, and the same quantity of mace, besides pepper, and various other valuable articles of traffic. *

With the enlargement of their commerce, the minds and views of the managers of this lucrative national concern also expanded. Although the time of their charter was far from being expired,

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* Harris's Collection of Voyages. Vol. I. p. 227. and Purchase, p. 143.

their success encouraged them to apply, in A.D. 1609, to his Majesty, for a renovation of it, which was readily granted with new immunities. They now proceeded to build ships, instead of purchasing them already built, of the Hanseatic towns, and in particular one was constructed of twelve hundred tons burthen, the largest trading vessel ever launched at that time in England, on board of which the King and his courtiers dined, and to which his Majesty himself gave the appropriate name of the *Trade's Increase.* This large ship, with two others, was fitted out for India early in the succeeding year, at the great expense, as it was then thought, of eighty thousand pounds, and produced an adequate remuneration for their liberality.

It has already been intimated that the Tartar family on the throne of Delhi had ever been great encouragers of commerce; and the Company, by their envoy at that capital, had obtained permission from Jehanguire, the reigning monarch, to form settlements and establish factories on the shores of Cambay, yet the envy and jealousy of their Dutch and Portuguese rivals, had hitherto rendered all their efforts nearly abortive. The Dutch, in particular, having now become complete masters of the spice-islands, and using both fraud and force to obstruct our progress in that quarter, it was resolved to attempt gaining a settlement on the continent, and Surat, on the province of Cambay, was the place fixed upon for the first display of our united military and commercial exertions. In 1611, four large ships, in equipping which more than usual pains and expense were bestowed, with a view to offensive measures, were therefore dispatched, under the command of Captain Best, a commander fitted by his bravery and naval skill for any enterprize, however daring. The Portugueze had been long settled on that coast, guarded it with jealous vigilance, and were resolved resolutely to oppose the entrance into their harbours of the ships of all other European nations. Captain Best, however, with his small force, boldly entered the road of Surat, and, with the consent of the Mogul governor, established a factory in that city. A powerful fleet being afterwards sent to destroy him by the Viceroy of Goa, a fleet, said to have consisted of four great galleons, and twenty-six gallies, in which were five thousand men, and one hundred and thirty pieces of ordnance; the intrepid Briton manifested no symptoms of dismay; but, on the contrary, when he beheld this formidable force approaching, undauntedly sailed to meet them, and rushing into the midst of them, poured his broadsides around him with such effect, that the astonished Portugueze admiral for the present declined the engagement. The day, in fact, was drawing near its close, and he hoped to commence the attack the next morning, under circumstances of less hazard and danger. With the earliest dawn the impetuous attack upon his fleet was renewed, and three of the large galleons were soon driven upon the sands, vollies of shot sweeping their decks, so that not a gun could be fired in return. In the afternoon, when the galleons were again afloat with the tide of flood, the Portugueze renewed the action, but were again discomfited with the loss of twelve hundred men; the numbers of soldiers on board, and their unwieldy ordnance only adding to their confusion. A third attempt was afterwards made by the enraged enemy to sink their ships, and raze the factory, but disgrace to themselves, and glory to the new settlers, were the only result. The natives, to whom the Portugueze were odious for their cruelty and avarice, exulted in their success; and the fame of their heroic valour soon reached the Court of Delhi itself.* After having thus triumphantly settled matters at Surat, the gallant Captain sailed with the fleet for Acheen and Java, where the report of his exploits had arrived before him, and so awed the Dutch, that no obstruction was given to his commercial intercourse at either place, and he returned to his native country in July 1614, loaded with glory and riches.

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* Harris's Voyages, vol. i. p. 133. Harleian Collection of Voyages, Vol. i. p. 157.

The successful mission of Captain Hawkins at the Court of the Mogul Jehanguire, who had recently succeeded the great Akber, has been already mentioned. A long and not uninteresting relation of his transactions at Agra will be found in Purchase,* together with an account of the immense wealth possessed by that monarch, in gems, in gold, and costly articles of furniture of every species. This account, as it exhibits in a striking point of view the unrivalled opulence and grandeur of that great empire with which Britain was now peculiarly anxious to connect herself, and of a third part of which she is now the mistress, shall be presented to the reader with only the antiquated language of that author a little altered. There can be no doubt of its being an authentic document obtained by Hawkins at the Court of Agra, and its truth is confirmed by the statements in the Ayeen Akbery. It will be remembered that the empire under Akber, only lately dead, and from whom this treasure must have descended to Jehanguire, was at that period in the meridian of its glory; and that the Indian custom of conferring on favoured omrahs presents of horses, with costly caparisons, of swords set with jewels, and rich dresses, rendered the accumulation of such splendid articles in the royal treasury in some degree necessary.

"Of jewels composed solely of diamonds, one batman and an half; a batman is five and fifty pounds weight English: these are rough, and of all sorts and sizes, but none of less than two carats and an half. Of balass rubies, two thousand. Of pearls, twelve batmans. Of rubies of all sorts, two batmans. Of emeralds of all sorts, five batmans. Of eshime, which stone comes from Cataga, one batman. Of stones of Emen, a kind of red stone, five thousand. Of all other sorts, as coral, topazes, &c. the amount is innumerable."

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* Vol. i. p. 591. edit. 1617.

"Of jewels wrought in gold, two thousand and two hundred swords, the hilts and scabbards set with rich stones: two thousand poniards in like manner ornamented. Of saddle drums of gold, used in hawking, set with stones, five hundred. Of rich broaches for the head, in which their feathers are set, two thousand. Of saddles of gold and silver, set with stones, one thousand. Of tuikes, five and twenty. This is a great lance covered with gold, the fluke set with precious stones; they are carried before him when the king goeth to the wars. Of gold parasols of state, richly set with diamonds, one hundred. Of gold chairs of state, one hundred and five. Of large agate chrystal vases for wine, adorned with gold and jewels, one hundred. Of drinking cups of gold, five hundred; of which are fifty exceedingly rich, all of one stone, as beryl, sapphire, &c. Of gold chairs, strung with pearl, and rings set with jewels, the number is infinite. Of gold plate of all kinds, exquisitely wrought, as dishes, goblets, basons, three thousand batmans."* This account, the author adds, concerns his palace of Agra alone; but every one of his palaces, Delhi, Cabul, and Lahore, has each its respective proportion of similar treasures.

Hawkins's success at the Mogul Court encouraged Sir Thomas Smith, still the able manager of the Company's affairs in Europe, to represent to his Majesty the great national as well as individual advantage that would result from sending a person of distinction, as a public ambassador, to the Mogul Court, with ample powers to conclude a treaty, and arrange other matters of commerce and policy with the reigning monarch. The King readily complied with the request of the Company, and Sir Thomas Roe,* an accomplished gentleman and scholar of the Court, was shortly after appointed to that high station. A squadron, fitted out with more than usual expense and magnificence, under Captain Keeling, safely conveyed the new ambassador to the shores of India, and he fulfilling the duties of that station with uncommon ability, and by his insinuating manners, becoming a great favorite with the Mogul, raised the English name and character at that Court, and procured for the Company many very important privileges.

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* Purchase, vol. i. p. 593.

Their commerce, aided by fleets rapidly succeeding each other, built equally for war as traffic, began now to extend widely over the coasts and continent of India. Notwithstanding the infuriate opposition of their rivals of Portugal and Holland, and all the machinations of the active Jesuits, at the Courts of the native princes, they had established settlements and factories, of greater or less consequence, at Bantam, Jacatra, (since named Batavia) Surat, Amadavat, Agra, Ajmere, Brampore, Calicut, Masulipatam, Patan, Siam, Banda, Amboyna, and at many other great eastern marts, now unknown or deserted. The principal imports were, from those famous islands, cloves, mace, nutmegs, pepper; and from other parts, precious stones, cinnamon, valuable drugs, indigo, silks, callicoes, &c.: the chief exports, woollen manufactures of various kinds, iron, tin, lead, copper, brass, bullion, &c. The Dutch, however, eventually so firmly established themselves in their newly erected city and castle of Batavia, and fortified its port in a manner so impregnable, that after many severe battles fought both with the Portugueze and English fleets, its commerce in future remained wholly under their controul, and almost to this day they have continued the envied monopolists of its valuable produce.

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* See his curious and interesting Journal, in Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 647.

Perpetual and fruitless hostility, sound morality, and sound policy must ever alike condemn. For nations, that had equally struggled and bled for freedom, to become tyrannical and bloodthirsty themselves, appeared a dreadful solecism, at least to one of the contending parties, and a treaty was in consequence entered into between them, by which it was stipulated that from that date (7th July, 1619) a general amnesty and oblivion of all past offences and excesses committed in the East Indies, by either party, should take place; that commerce, throughout the East Indies, should be thenceforth uninterruptedly carried on, by both parties, and that to prevent all unfair practices, the price of the different commodities should be fixed by commissioners appointed for the purpose; but that in consequence of prior right, and incalculable expenses incurred in erecting forts and magazines, in the Molucca isles, Banda, and Amboyna, the English should enjoy one-third part of the commerce, and the Dutch the other two-thirds; with many other very equitable and salutary regulations,* which it is unnecessary to recite, because almost as soon as ratified, the treaty was violated in its most essential points, by the perfidy of the Dutch, settled in Asia. Into the details of the horrible cruelties, and massacres, said to have been subsequently committed by that nation on our countrymen at Banda and Amboyna, I have neither room nor inclination to enter. In the pamphlets of the day, the accusations were mutual and violent; for the honour of human nature let us hope that by the passions of the writers the recitals are greatly aggravated. Those details are amply given in the Harleian Collection of

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* See Fœdera, vol. xvii. p. 170.

Voyages; where, also, may be seen the respective charges and recriminations of the accusers, and advocates on either side. Whoever were the aggressors, and to all appearance the evil was fomented, if it did not originate, in the dark and insidious policy of the Dutch wholly to expel the English from the spice islands, such was the final result. The dread of assassination and ruin from those Batavian tyrants, and the want of powerful maritime support, from a court influenced by pacific rather than warlike maxims, compelled the English to seek an asylum in other parts, where their persons might be secure, and their property inviolable. All the forts and factories were gradually evacuated; the Dutch driving away with fire and sword those who were reluctant to depart, and their grand object was thus obtained in not having a rival flag flying through their usurped empire in those seas.

Although it by no means accorded with the political principles of the imbecile James to take vengeance for these insults, by a public declaration of war, yet strong remonstrances were made to the States-General, and reparation for at least the plundered property demanded. The guilt of murder and robbery however being followed by the meanness of falsehood and evasion, nothing was at that time effected; and the impoverished monarch soon after receiving from the Dutch a considerable sum as the consideration for the cautionary towns, the matter was for the present dropt, to the injury of the suffering Company.

The genius of the English, however, disdained despondence. Neglected by the government, the spirit of the Directors, aided by the active exertions of individuals, still preserved their affairs from ruin. Though they must, hereafter, procure their *spices* at second hand, India produced other luxuries, and had other marts. Having by the skilful management of Captain Saris obtained a footing in Japan, they now attempted to open a trade from that island to China. Instigated and assisted by Shah Abbas, the Persian monarch, they drove the Portugueze from Ormus on the Persian gulph, by which conquest their commerce found a new channel, and their revenue became greatly improved. They were also engaged in a somewhat hazardous but lucrative traffic to the shores of the Red Sea. About this time too, they obtained permission from the King of Golconda to lay the first foundation of their famous settlement at Madraspatan, on the coast of Coromandel, whence they supplied a great part of the peninsula with European goods, and received in return diamonds, muslins, chintz, and other rich commodities of that region of India.

During the remainder of the reign of King James no public act took place in aid of a Company that had so greatly contributed to extend the wealth and celebrity of the nation; and during the distractions of the following reign, although Charles was well disposed to avenge their wrongs, no effectual relief was obtained. The vigorous measures that marked the administration of Cromwell was in no instance more conspicuous than in the prompt declaration of war against the Dutch, whose aim seemed to be entirely to crush us as a naval power, but who, by a series of the most severe engagements that ever were fought at sea, were soon taught a different lesson. That haughty nation being compelled at length to sue for peace, it was granted, and in the articles of the subsequent treaty of 1654, the affair of Amboyna, and the plunder of the English at Bantam and Java, were not forgotten. Though the demand of the Company amounted to above two millions and an half, yet the Dutch having brought in counter-demands to a vast amount, the business was finally settled by the latter paying the inadequate sum of 85,000l. and making a provision for the surviving relatives of those unhappy wretches that perished at

Amboyna. After this decided patronage of the government, the affairs of the Company became in a high degree prosperous; and, under the powerful protection of Cromwell, a subscription was raised for the more vigorous execution of their commercial projects, to the amount of 800,000*l.* sterling.*

In A. D. 1655, the Dutch made themselves masters of Calicut, where the Portugueze standard had triumphantly waved from the year 1500; soon after, they conquered from them, Columbo, their principal settlement in Ceylon, and to their monopoly of nutmegs, mace, and cloves, they now added that of cinnamon. With the great empires of Japan and China they had negotiated treaties, and carried on an extensive commerce; they had established a colony at the Cape of Good Hope, which was in a very flourishing condition; and though humbled in their naval pride in Europe, were every where rising, in India, to the highest point of power and splendor on the ruin of the Portuguese.

The protection that had been so decisively afforded the English company by Cromwell, was continued to them by Charles the Second, who, in 1661, renovated their charter with the addition of many new and great privileges. But, in this King's reign, a still more important benefit was obtained, by the acquisition of the port, town, and island, of BOMBAY, on the Guzzurat coast, ceded to his Majesty by Portugal, as part of his consort's, the Infanta's portion, and afterwards by royal mandate consigned in full property to the Company for ever. The situation being eminently convenient for their trade in this quarter, though the soil was barren, and the air far from salutary, no expense was spared in the improvement and defence of the island. A fort of great magnitude, and rendered as strong as the skill of that age in architecture could make it, was constructed without delay; and though its situation was objectionable from having no springs of fresh water within its limits, and from its being overlooked by an eminence not eight hundred yards distant from it, called Dungaree Hill; it was on the whole no despicable specimen of that skill. On the island were also erected several inferior forts to check the progress of an invading enemy, particularly Mazagon, on which were mounted fourteen large guns. Bombay had also the advantage of a spacious harbour, in which a numerous navy could at all times ride secure.

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* Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, vol. ii. p. 331.

At this new emporium, notwithstanding some opposition from the jealousy and superstition of its late possessors, the affairs of the Company went on very prosperously under the management of various wise and prudent governors, till the appointment, to their great detriment, in 1682, of the imperious Sir John Child. The tyranny of this man over the merchants and factors was insupportable, and only to be equalled by the arrogance with which he treated the officers of the Mogul himself, the mighty Aurengzebe. In fancied security, and urged on by the spirit of plunder; for it is impossible to suppose with Captain Hamilton,* that such a respectable body as the Company could have issued these predatory mandates, on the ground of pretended injuries received from the governor of Surat, he gave orders for seizing, wherever met with, the vessels and cargoes of the subjects of the Mogul empire, that now, in great numbers, navigated the Indian seas, and the Arabian and Persian gulphs. At length, he proceeded to the more daring outrage of seizing and carrying into Bombay harbour a fleet of vessels loaded with corn for the imperial army, then encamped about fourteen leagues to the southward of Bombay. In vain did the Seddee, or Mogul General, by two messengers, in mild terms solicit the liberation of this fleet;

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* See Hamilton's Voyage to the East Indies, vol. i. p. 200. et seq.

a flat denial, with an insolent answer, was returned, nor did he awake from his dream of folly, till information was brought him that the Mogul had, at midnight, effected a landing on the island with twenty thousand men, and had secured a post about four miles distant from the principal fortress. With little opposition, the Seddee the next morning got possession of Mazagon, a fort of fourteen guns, about a cannon-shot distant from the castle; afterwards he erected batteries on Dungaree Hill, which, we before observed, overlooked, and, in some degree commanded, the castle; and it was to the want of skill rather than of vigour in the enemy that it was not taken, and the whole garrison sacrificed. In this distressing situation no alternative remained but to send a submissive embassy to Delhi, soliciting forgiveness for the unprovoked aggression, and promising full restitution for the plundered property. To this the Emperor, who was no stranger to the naval consequence of the English nation, after a severe reprimand, consented, and the firmaun was conditionally renewed. The Seddee shortly after removed his army, which had increased to 40,000 men, and Child, who it was stipulated should in nine months quit India for ever, before the termination of that period expired on the shore where he had caused so much blood to be spilled. Thus terminated a most unpleasant affair, which cost the Company above 400,000*l.* and what was still more deeply to be deplored, materially injured their credit with the Mogul and his subjects.

From this gloomy picture of affairs on the western side of India let us now direct our attention to its eastern shore, where brighter prospects were beginning to dawn. Their new settlement at MADRAS, notwithstanding its wanting the convenience of a port for shipping, and other local disadvantages, under which, indeed, all their infant settlements laboured, continued in a progressive state to commercial distinction, not a little aided by the

King of Golconda's consenting about this period (1691) to accept a certain sum annually and for ever of the Company, instead of the customs hitherto paid to him. Although in 1640, according to Mr. Orme,* the town consisted of only a few fishermen's huts, it had by this time risen, upon the ruins of the neighbouring city of St. Thomas, situate about three miles distant, to an high degree of wealth and population, so as to have become an emporium of their trade, on the coast of Coromandel, which had before centered at Masulipatam. In the rich province of Bengal too, under the agency of Mr. Job Charnock, the first foundation of that vast empire, which by their power was in after ages established there, was now laid a few miles below the town of Hoogly, situated on the arm of the Ganges, to which it gives name, and the ancient *bunder* or *port*, where the Mogul duties were immemorially collected. He is said, by Hamilton, to have fixed on that spot for an emporium, on account of a large over-spreading tree that stood there, though an unhealthier one, he adds, could not have been chosen, on account of its neighbourhood to a vast lake of stagnant water, the exhalations from which at times rendered the air very insalubrious.† Fort William was strongly constructed, a large irregular tetragon, of brick, and a peculiar kind of mortar used in India, that, by time, becomes harder than stone. The town itself was built in a straggling manner, and with the gardens, indispensible to Eastern dwellings, covered a large tract of ground. At Hoogly, and in its vicinity, the Dutch and several other European nations, allured by the great profits of the Bengal trade, had forts and factories, but they were all in a short period surpassed in wealth and splendour by the English settlement of Fort William, or, as it is now called, CALCUTTA. That trade (the export trade) consisted principally in raw silks, muslins, cottons, saltpetre, and opium, for which they had in return the ores, and the woollen manufactures of Britain, with the various productions of Europe, imported by our Company.

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* See Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 230, quarto edit. 1805.

† Hamilton's Voyage, vol. ii. p. 47.

Into the disgusting details of the domestic squabbles, that about the period of the revolution distracted the Company, and of its consequent division into two distinct bodies, acting in opposition to each other, and to their own interests, the general historian need not enter. Passing by, therefore, alike the interested clamours of grasping avarice, and the boisterous declamation of disappointed faction, of which the publications of that day are full, let us adhere to recorded fact alone. Let it suffice, on that substantial evidence, to report that these two Societies, or, as they were called, *the old, and the new Company*, after many violent proceedings, in which the nation, and even its parliament, took no small interest, were at length firmly and happily incorporated A. D. 1702 into one, under the style and title of "THE UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF ENGLAND, TRADING TO THE EAST INDIES," with a capital greatly enlarged, with immunities far more extended, and established not by regal charter only, the validity of which now began to be questioned, but with the addition of the solemn sanction of Parliament. With these vastly increased funds, and under the national support, new advantages crowned their commercial, and new glory their military, efforts. The Dutch had for the most part retained possession of the islands, and the English of the continent of India. To the Portugueze, of all their vast empire, nothing remained but Goa, Diu, and a few inconsiderable appendages on that coast. A fourth power, that of France, was however, now by great and rapid strides, advancing to eminence, with whose proceedings we shall hereafter have much concern, and to the history of which we must therefore advert.

The genius of the French nation was ever more of a military than a commercial nature. Ambition, rather than avarice, is the ruling passion of that volatile people. Happy also in a rich and abundant country, but too often distracted by civil feuds, they had not the same spur of necessity, by which the Dutch were goaded, to explore distant regions under a burning sun; or to engage with vigour in maritime adventures. The example and splendid success of surrounding nations, had, however, early in the 17th century, excited some efforts of the kind in France, to which the great and politic Cardinal Richlieu gave all the assistance in his power, but they produced no permanent effect, and terminated wholly in some trifling advances towards a settlement in the island of Madagascar.*

It was to the vigorous genius, and comprehensive views of the great Colbert, that the French are indebted for the establishment in 1664, of an East India Company on a solid basis. Sufficient time and experience had been allowed for discovering those fatal errors, on which, both in France and in other countries, preceding establishments had been wrecked. They were, therefore, sedulously avoided, and not only the term of the charter was at once fixed for fifty years, that their efforts and interests might have time to consolidate; but the new society had the benefit of the whole weight and influence of the government, with as ample a pecuniary aid as the finances of the court of Lewis XIV. would admit of. Now, though it be an undoubted fact, that commerce always flourishes best in countries where liberty is most cherished, and in general grows torpid under the chilling grasp of arbitrary power, yet when genius and wisdom preside in arbitrary states, and sincerely lend their patronage to commerce, the boldest efforts may be successfully made, and the government and the merchant will be proportionably remunerated. Thus both king and minister being alike sincere and hearty in this business, the project commenced under the happiest auspices. The most alluring offers were holden out both to natives and foreigners to embark their property in the lucrative scheme; unprecedented privileges, both of the import and export kind, were conferred upon the adventurers; and whereas, in general, the idea of engaging in commercial concerns was considered by the proud nobility of France as degrading to their blood, the national vanity was flattered by an express law, conferring new honours on such of the nobles as might choose to enter into it. Upon this judicious plan, fifteen millions of livres, about £656,000. sterling, were in a short time raised, and, in the spring of the following year, four large ships, equipped not less for commercial than military operations, if necessary, with a competent number of men, sailed from Brest, and safely arrived in the road of Madagascar in July following.

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* Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 87. and Thevenot's Voyages, vol. ii, p. 128.

After having previously experienced so many disasters at Madagascar, it is rather surprising that the French should have again assiduously laboured to establish themselves in that grave of their commerce and their countrymen. They were soon however convinced of their error, and, in 1668, through the united influence and exertions of two enterprising foreigners, one the Sieur Caron, a disappointed Dutchman, and the other the Sieur Marcara, a native of Ispahan, but engaged in their service, we find them settled in Surat, and other places on the Malabar coast, erecting forts, and participating at least with other Europeas, in its trade. By the active exertions of the same Persian, who is said to have been related to some persons of rank at the court of Golconda, they shortly after got a footing at Masulipatam, on the Coromandel coast; they also obtained a settlement at Bantam, in Java, which they retained till they were expelled by the Dutch, together with the English in 1682; at Balasore, and at Hoogly in Bengal, as well as at St. Thomas, they had inferior factories: and finally, after several severe conflicts with the Dutch, into which it is unnecessary to enter, they established themselves in great force and splendour at Pondicherry, their future Indian capital.

Had a Colbert been always at the helm of government in France, the spirit of zeal and enterprize that certainly distinguished the Company's early Governors in India, would have probably been crowned with more distinguished success; but with all their advantages at setting out, above enumerated, the period at which their fleets arrived in India, so long after their European rivals had formed settlements on its shores, and treaties with its sovereigns, was a powerful obstacle to their success. Whatever could be performed by persevering assiduity, united with great political abilities, was effected by those who presided over the Indian establishments; but they had neither the ample revenues, nor, the navy of France being as yet in its infant state, the formidable fleets of their more fortunate competitors. In consequence, after having attained to no small elevation as a commercial body, long before the expiration of their charter, their affairs rapidly declined. On the Malabar coast their power was extinguished; and Pondicherry, with some minor factories, alone remained to them on the opposite shore of the Peninsula. Both the framer of their charter, and the king who sanctioned it, were now no more, (1715); their funds were nearly exhausted, and the French people groaned under a load of taxes accumulated during that reign of boundless expense and ambition. No new fund could, therefore, be raised for the support of their Indian trade; and during this dark period, it was principally through their insinuating manners and address, by which they ever in a peculiar manner attached to themselves the princes and people of India, that they retained their power and consequence on its shores. At the same time they were continually enlarging the limits, and adding to the strength of the fortifications of Pondicherry, whence they carried on a lucrative trade with the other great marts of India, and, from the near neighbourhood of the diamond mines, in its very richest commodities.

After the lapse of a few years, fresh efforts were made to renovate the affairs of the expiring Company, and, by a singular stroke of policy, an union in 1719, was formed between the French East and West India Companies, under the general title of the "COMPANY OF THE INDIES;" with a new and vast capital, not less than fifty millions of livres, and with the full confirmation and wide extension of all grants and former privileges.* Although political rather than commercial considerations formed the origin and basis of this grand project, still for the present it operated highly towards their emancipation from the difficulties under which the Company laboured in Asia, and they saw, with astonishment and rapture, three ships richly freighted with European commodities, and having, likewise, on board a large quantity of silver, in specie and bullion, arrive to their relief near the close of the following year. As the Company's embarrassments in India were considerable, no very ample returns could immediately be made; but what was thus liberally given being wisely used, and these well judged supplies being, with some occasional interruptions, continued from the parent country, they in a few years were enabled to send back such valuable cargoes in return for the munificence of the ministers, who were in fact the principal, though concealed managers, as excited at once the wonder and envy of all the maritime powers of Europe.

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* Abbé de Guyon's History of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 96. ubi supra.

Under these fortunate auspices they began to display their victorious banners once more on the Indian continent, and retook and fortified many of their ancient castles and factories. At a more advanced period, we find them driving a brisk trade with China for teas ; with Mocha for coffee and Arabian drugs ; and with Bassora for pearls, and the rich articles of the Persian loom. The great isles of Bourbon and Mauritius were also by the same vigour of enterprize added to their acquisitions in the East, and at Chandernagore, two miles below Hoogley, in Bengal, they had exhausted their whole military skill, in erecting a fort and bastions fully adequate to resist any force that could be sent against it, at least by the native Powers. This very rapid sketch of the general situation of the French in India, and of their various settlements, about the year 1740, is intended as introductory to those more important historical details which must presently occupy the reader's attention. Those details fill many volumes of the European writers who have attempted minutely to record them. We can only give the substance of these great and complicated events, which shall be done with impartiality, and with as much perspicuity as the intricacy of the subject will permit.

CHAPTER III.

POWER *necessary to uphold* COMMERCE *in Despotic Eastern Countries.—The English at* CALCUTTA *oppressed by the Mogul Viceroy.—They send Ambassadors to Delhi, and obtain a* FIRMAUN, *or Royal Mandate in their favour.—The consequent Prosperity of that Settlement.—View of Affairs at* MADRAS.—*Summary of the Mogul History, and that of Nizam-al-Muluck, necessary to a right Comprehension of the Transactions in the Carnatic.—In the violent Contests for the Nabobship the English and French take different sides—Auxiliaries first, but afterwards Principals—To restore order Nizam-al-Muluck marches into the Carnatic at the head of a vast Army.—Supersedes the reigning Dynasty of Princes, and appoints his General, Abdallah, Nabob.—His sudden death.—Anwar-odean appointed to succeed him.*—M. DUPLEIX *sent out Governor General to India.—His daring and ambitious Character. Madras besieged and taken by the French.—Pondicherry besieged by Admiral Boscawen.—Madras restored at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.—Anwar-odean slain in Battle.—The Cause of Chandasaheb supported by the French; that of Mahommed Ali by the English.—Death of Nazir, and Murzafa, Jing.—Salabatjing made Soubah of the Deccan.*

IN the two preceding chapters, a rapid survey has been taken of the gradual progress of the principal European settlers on the continent and islands of India; I say the *principal*, because the transactions in those regions of the Danes, the Ostend, and other companies, are not of importance enough in this very general retrospect to merit any particular notice. We have seen the Portugueze, the Dutch, the English, and the French, successively, and strenuously contending for that commerce which has in all ages so highly enriched the nations that have shared in it. The genius of the Mogul government, friendly to commerce, had for the most part permitted and sanctioned these establishments; but, remote as they were from the capital, could not prevent their being occasionally plundered by a tyrannical or avaricious Nabob, the provincial governor.

A certain degree of POWER is absolutely necessary to protect COMMERCE in arbitrary eastern countries; and the truth of this maxim was no where more deeply felt than at Calcutta, now risen to proud distinction, as the emporium of the Company's traffic in Bengal, but subject to perpetual extortions from the unprincipled rapacity of the reigning Viceroy, and his officers. To obtain an enlargement of their juridical power in certain cases, within the limits of their own territory, as well as an extension of their privileges in a country, so highly benefited by their trade, seemed no unreasonable expectation, and, after due deliberation, an embassy for that purpose to the Mogul Court was, in 1715, resolved upon, together with a memorial, humbly stating their claims upon it for protection, enumerating the hardships under which they laboured, and praying immediate relief. Edward Stephenson, Esq. and John Surman, Esq. two of the ablest factors at that Presidency, were appointed the embassadors, and as no Eastern potentate is ever approached without a NEZR, or present, a valuable present was prepared, consisting of the rarest and most exquisite articles of the rich traffic in which they dealt. Innumerable obstacles, too tedious to be recapitulated, retarded the progress and completion of this mission; but at length, after the lapse of nearly two years, its objects were fully attained. The embassadors were favourably received by the reigning emperor, FURRUKSEER, and they obtained a firmaun, or imperial mandate, conferring on them the desired enlargement of their juridical authority within their own domain. That firmaun not only confirmed all former grants, but allowed them the liberty to trade, free of customs, to construct new fortifications, to coin money, and many other highly important immunities. In their memorial, the grievances by which the other two settlements were oppressed, were not forgotten; and they too obtained redress and ampler privileges. From this period Calcutta, which had, till now, looked to Madras for directions and advice in difficulties, began to act as an independent Presidency, only accountable to the Direction in England. To the consideration of the affairs of that government, where a dark storm was brooding, it is now necessary to direct the attention of the reader.

A short anticipation of the Mogul history, which will be detailed more at large in the succeeding book, is here absolutely necessary to understand that portion of the narrative of our affairs in India, on which we are about to enter. Aurungzeb, who died in the year 1707, left the richest and most powerful empire in the world to be rent asunder and convulsed to its very centre by the ambitious contentions of his surviving offspring. India had not for ages seen two such immense armies assembled on her plains, as those which accompanied to the field his sons Azem Shah and Mahommed Mauzim, the rival competitors for his vacant throne. Mauzim was the successful combatant. His son Jehander Shah, weak in intellect but violent in his passions, succeeded him. Two powerful Omrahs, brothers, called the SEYDS, disgusted at his effeminacy, united to dethrone him, and raised Furrukseer to the imperial musnud. The reign of Furrukseer was a reign of more vigour, but aiming to make himself independent of these assuming brothers who had secured for themselves and their friends all the great offices of state, after seven years they deprived him both of his throne and his life. To the same high dignity, and the same deplorable fate they devoted Rafeih-al-Derjat. They then proclaimed his brother Rafeih-al-Dowlat, who, a few days after his succession, died a natural death. Lastly they exalted to the throne Mohammed Shah, who exerted his whole power to accomplish their destruction, and effected it. This vigorous and successful enterprize, at the commencement of his reign, afforded great hopes that it would prove a glorious one. It, however, turned out to be not only a very inglorious reign, but during its continuance, there occurred that dreadful calamity which eventually subverted the Mogul empire, or at least so convulsed it to its centre, that it has never since recovered from the blow; I mean the invasion of Hindostan by Nadir Shah.

The principal instigator of this memorable irruption was a great and ambitious but slighted Omrah, named Nizam-al-Muluck, in shorter terms, the NIZAM, who, after the plunder of Delhi by the Persian troops, retired to the province of which he had long been governor, the Deccan, and erected a standard little inferior to the imperial in power and splendor. By the Deccan must here be understood, that word in its most extensive signification, as including all the southern provinces, the vast regions recently conquered by Aurungzeb, amounting to nearly a fourth of the empire. The transactions of this important personage and his descendants in the peninsula, as Soubahs of the Deccan, will occupy no small portion of the subsequent pages.*

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* The reader will please to observe that in the names of persons and places throughout the narrative I shall usually follow the orthography of the author who will be our surest guide, Mr. ORME.

The Carnatic is one of the most considerable Nabobships of that Deccan over which his usurped sway extended. From its capital of Arcot, it is also named the province, and the prince the Nabob, of Arcot. The title is indiscriminately given. Sadatalla, a regular and acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, who governed it from 1710 to 1732, having no male issue, adopted the two sons of his brother, appointing the elder, Doast-ally, to succeed him in the Nabobship. The old Nabob died in 1732, much regretted. The Nizam, however, not having been consulted in the appointment, is said to have beheld the succession of Doast-ally with aversion, and to have prevented his obtaining authentic patents from Delhi, confirming the appointment. Doast-ally had two sons, of whom the elder, Subder-ally, had already arrived at man's estate, the other was a minor. He had also several daughters, one married to his nephew, Mortiz-ally, and another to a more distant relation, Chunda-saheb. In the Peninsula, as well as in many other parts of the empire, many inferior rajahs were left by the conquerors in possession of their territories, on condition of annually paying a certain stipulated tribute to the Viceroy of the province. They were allowed to live in splendor little less than royal, and to maintain an army adequate at least to all the purposes of effective government. Of this class were the kingdoms (if they may be so called) of Tritchinopoly, Tanjore, Madura, and some others towards the southern extremity of India. They paid tribute to the great Mogul, and that tribute was collected, sometimes not without an army to enforce its payment, by the Nabob of the Carnatic. At Tritchinopoly the king dying in 1736, and there being a dispute relative to the succession, an army was sent by the Nabob into that quarter, under the command of his son, Subder-ally, and his relation Chunda-saheb, to settle the disputed points. They lay for some time encamped near the city, whose gates were closed; but Chunda-saheb, by stratagem, and, it is said, by the connivance of the queen-regent, who had fallen in love with him, soon contrived to introduce himself and a large body of troops within the walls, the consequence of which was its speedy subjugation, and her dethronement. The dependencies very soon after submitted, and Chunda-saheb remained to govern the new conquest, while Subder-ally returned to his father at Arcot.

The resentment, however, of the Nizam still continuing, he determined that neither the Nabob nor his relation should peaceably enjoy their dominions. Remote at Delhi, embarked in vast schemes of ambition, and anxious to enrich and aggrandize his family at the expense of the empire, he was unable personally to interfere, but instigated the Mahrattas, ever the tools of his ambitious projects, to invade the Carnatic, who, prompt to obey the summons, in 1740, poured their predatory myriads over its fertile regions. In the very first engagement at Damal-cherri, Doast-ally, and his son Hassan, after fighting gloriously for several hours, fell dead from their elephants on the field of battle. The Mahrattas, formed for engagements in the open plain, are but little skilled in the attack of fortified cities, and when Subder-ally, who was approaching with an army to the assistance of his father heard of his fate, he immediately altered his course, and took refuge in the strong fortress of Vellore, while Chunda-saheb remained secure at Tritchinopoly. In the mean time the Mahrattas inexorably ravaged all the open country. A treaty was at length set on foot, and their retreat was purchased at the high price of ten millions of rupees. The impoverished Subder-ally immediately ascended the musnud, as Nabob of the Carnatic. But on this, as on a former occasion, the Nizam not having been consulted, his pride was again severely wounded, and his resentment highly inflamed.*

In this treaty with the Mahrattas there was a secret article highly disgraceful to Subder-ally, but very consistent with the known perfidy of Asiatic despots, even though connected by the ties of blood. Bearing concealed in his heart a jealous hatred of Chunda-saheb, it was agreed that the Mahrattas, as if unknown to the Nabob, should return at the close of the year, and that Tritchinopoly and Chunda-saheb should be given up to them. This they failed not to do, at the appointed time; Chunda-saheb, after an obstinate defence, was compelled to submit, and was carried prisoner to their capital of Sattarah, where he was detained in close confinement till the year 1748, when by M. Dupleix's intercession he was released. Morari Row, one of their generals, was left with 14,000 of their best troops in the command of the newly acquired kingdom, which was pillaged and devastated through all its bounds in the manner usual with those barbarians.

The two great rival settlements of Madras and Pondicherry being situate on the coast of Coromandel, at the distance of only 100 miles, could scarcely avoid being in some degree involved in the everlasting conflicts that occurred, within its limits, between the native princes. The great superiority of the Europeans in military science, and above all, the infinite advantage which their well-conducted artillery gave them in Indian warfare, made the native powers at all times extremely solicitous to have their assistance in their contests with each other. They were at first, indeed, auxiliaries only in those conflicts, but mutual irritations and reproaches taking place between them, they soon became animated with all the fury and vengeance of principals.

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* Orme's History, vol. i. p. 46. ubi supra.

The fortifications at Pondicherry were of such magnitude and extent as to astonish the natives of India, a people who had made little progress in that art; they appeared to them impregnable. In fact, the utmost efforts of late governors had been exerted to render the place exceedingly formidable. To that city, therefore, as to an inviolable asylum, a few days after the battle, the widow and relatives of Doast-ally had fled for refuge with all their jewels and treasures to an immense amount. They were received with great kindness and hospitality; and when the Mahrattas had left the country, both Subder-ally and his brother Chunda-saheb repaired thither in great pomp and splendor, and expressed eternal gratitude to the French for the protection thus generously afforded to the royal fugitives. Presents of great value and high honours were accumulated on M. Dumas, the governor; and whatever privileges he thought proper to claim for his nation were readily granted. This was the basis of that intimate connection formed by the French with the native powers, which afterwards proved the baleful source of so many wars; for, at a future period, the English at Madras finding it necessary to espouse the interests of a contrary party, the merchant was compelled to turn soldier, and amidst the perpetual struggles for power of the contending parties, the desolated Carnatic in time became an ACELDAMA; a very field of blood.

The history of these turbulent chieftains is indeed but a black detail of murders. Subder-ally, the self-created Nabob of the Carnatic, enjoyed his authority but for a short period. While on an expedition to collect the tribute due to him as Nabob from Mortiz-ally, at Vellore, that ruffian, whom no ties of consanguinity could bind, after in vain attempting to poison him, procured a Patan to dispatch him with several stabs of a poniard. He immediately caused himself to be proclaimed Nabob; but his execrable character and tyrannical conduct occasioned an universal insurrection among both the civil and military officers of the province: they in a body surrounded the palace, with loud invectives, and the cruel being always cowardly, he was intimidated, and fled by night in the habit of a woman in a covered palankin. The widow and infant son of Subder-ally had fled for refuge to the English at Madras: and Mortiz-ally in vain demanded them and the treasures they carried with them into that city. The English knew the distracted state of the province, and resolutely refused to give them up. The revolted chiefs declared the Nabobship vacant, and proclaimed Subder-ally's infant, named Seid Mahommed, Nabob; who with his mother was immediately removed to Vandiwash, a strong fort, governed by a near relation af Subder-ally.

Indignant at these atrocities and innovations, and having succeeded in getting his son, Ghazi-ódeen Khan, made Captain General of the Mogul's armies, the Nizam, at the head of a vast army that spread dismay and terror as it past, in 1743, marched from Golconda to settle the disorders of the Carnatic. When arrived at Arcot, he was struck with astonishment at the anarchy that pervaded every department of the government. Every petty chieftain had assumed the title and parade of a Nabob, and one day, after eighteen persons thus distinguished had been presented to him, he was so irritated, as to order any person to be scourged, who in his presence should again dare to assume that title. The young son of Subder-ally, the only one who had any shadow of a claim to it, was also presented to him, and graciously received; but instead of being returned to the guardian care of his uncle at Vandiwash, the young prince was committed to the custody of some lords of his court; at the same time he commanded them to treat him with all possible respect and tenderness.

Having made tbe reformations in the government, which his political wisdom, and his uncontrolled authority enabled him to make, the Soubah appointed Abdallah, the general of his army, Nabob of Arcot, and all its dependencies. After reducing Morari Row, the Mahratta governor of Tritchinopoly, rather, it is said, by presents and promises, than by arms, the Soubah returned to his capital of Golconda, Abdallah still continuing in the command of the troops, and governing Arcot by a deputy. Early in the following year he prepared to assume in person the reins of government, and, on taking leave of the Soubah, for that purpose, was distinguished by particular honours. The next morning, however, he was found dead in his bed, with evident marks of having been poisoned, but by whom was never discovered. A successor was immediately nominated in the famous Anwar-odean. This promotion, in exclusion of the rightful heir, gave great disgust in the province, and was the occasion of many convulsions that afterwards distracted it. The inhabitants indeed fondly hoped that to Seid Mahommed, the son of Subderally, above mentioned, the throne might ultimately revert; but that hope suddenly expired, for on a public festival, in a conspiracy of Patan chiefs, to which Anwar-odean and Mortiz-ally were supposed to be not unconscious, the unsuspecting youth was basely assassinated. Whatever suspicions however might attach to his character, Anwar-odean had the address to clear himself with the Nizam from the guilt of this foul murder, and soon after the event, he sent him regular patents, signed by the Mogul, with full powers to administer affairs, as Nabob of the Carnatic.

The above summary of transactions that about this period took place in the southern part of the Peninsula, may be thought rather to belong to the Imperial, than to the Company's history;

but it is introduced to show by what means the affairs of the latter became gradually so implicated in those of the former, that towards the close of the century the history of the one is nearly the history of the other.

It has been observed that *a dark cloud brooded over Madras*. In 1744, war was declared between Great Britain and France, and as it was not doubted but that a decisive blow would be aimed at her Indian commerce, preparations, but not such as were adequate to the impending danger, were early made to ward off that blow. Commodore Barnet, with three ships of the line and a frigate, appeared in July, 1745, on the coast of Coromandel, which in the then situation of Pondicherry, destitute of a ship at anchor in its road, alarmed even the daring mind of M. Dupleix, the new governor, and he prevailed on the Nabob Anwar-odean to interpose his authority with the Madras government that no hostilities should be attempted against the French possessions in the territories of Arcot. Anwar-odean consented, but insisted at the same time that the French, if ever they became superior, should observe the same law of neutrality. From respect and deference to the Nabob's authority, no hostile acts were attempted this year. A reinforcement of two fifty gun ships and a frigate enabled the English in the following year to present a bold aspect at Pondicherry, but the unexpected arrival of nine ships of war under the famous Bourdonnais disconcerted their projects, though it damped not their spirits. They gave him battle, and fought undauntedly till the darkness of the night separated them. In a council of war, holden the next morning on board the English Admiral's ship, it was not thought prudent, from the shattered state of their ships, and especially of one, a sixty gun ship, that had received the greatest injury, to renew the engagement, until the damages they had sustained had been repaired. The fleet therefore sailed for Trincomalee, in Ceylon, to refit; and though, afterwards, the two fleets came in sight of each other, and continued so for several days, no second engagement took place.

The French admiral imputing to timidity what was solely the effect of prudence in the English commander from the great disparity of their respective force, instantly determined on the bold measure of laying siege to Madras. The English, alarmed at their situation now, in their turn, called on the Nabob to fulfil his promise of preventing any hostile attack of the French by land, but having no costly presents made him to stimulate exertion, he is supposed to have been not very ardent in their cause, and if he did not absolutely *provoke*, he certainly made no efforts to *repress* the violence of the invading foe. Madras, built with a view to commerce, rather than defence, was but indifferently fortified to resist an enemy; especially an enemy so well skilled in military tactics as Bourdonnais, the Commander of the French. It consisted of three divisions, of which the first contained the fort, the houses of the factors, and the public warehouses. It was surrounded with a slender wall, defended with four bastions and as many batteries of very defective construction. This quarter was inhabited solely by Europeans, was for distinction called the White Town, and is properly FORT ST. GEORGE. The second division is far larger, but worse fortified, inhabited by the richest Arminian and Indian merchants: this quarter was called the Black Town. Beyond this, northward, stretched a vast suburb, filled with the habitations of Indian natives of all ranks, promiscuously scattered. There were scarcely three hundred Europeans in the whole colony, and 200 of these composed the garrison; the total number of inhabitants in the Company's territory was not less than 250,000.

On the 18th of August, 1746, the French squadron appeared and cannonaded the town, but retired without doing much damage. In the mean time the terrified inhabitants anxiously expected the appearance of that fleet, which was principally sent out for their defence. Most unfortunately, however, the sixty gun-ship, the only one of that magnitude in the fleet, was found to be so leaky, that it was feared, if again brought into action, the very shock of firing her own cannon would sink her, and the squadron was compelled to proceed to Bengal. On the 3d of September, the French fleet again appeared on the coast, and four leagues to the south of Madras landed a considerable part of the large force which they had brought for its reduction. It consisted of 1100 Europeans, and 800 natives, while on board the fleet there remained 1800 mariners; an immense disparity! compared with the handful of men, which, by the most criminal negligence, were alone left to defend the first settlement of the Company on the shores of India. The remainder of the force, with all the engines of assault, with which the ships were so amply stored, were debarked the next day within cannon shot of the fort, and the White Town, in which the English resided, was first attacked. The bombardment and cannonade were extremely severe, not only from the batteries erected on shore, but from all those ships that could be brought near enough to fire upon it with effect. The conduct of Mr. Morse, the governor, on this occasion was highly praiseworty, and he resisted as long as his inefficient garrison, and his ill-conditioned works could hold out against so formidable a foe. On the 10th he sent deputies to capitulate, and the terms dictated by the victor were, that the English should surrender themselves prisoners of war, and that the town should immediately be delivered up; but that it should afterwards be ransomed. On the same day, Bourdonnais, at the head of a large body of troops, took possession of the place, and the keys of the fort and the public magazines were delivered to him. An Indiaman, then lying in the road, was taken possession of; and the lilies of France were seen triumphantly to wave on the ramparts of St. George.

The ransom afterwards agreed upon was 1,100,000 pagodas, or about 440,000l. sterling. This ransom was for the town; all the money, merchandize, military and naval stores were sent on board the French ships. The amount of these was calculated at about 200,000l. more. M. Dupleix, however, the governor of Pondicherry, refused to ratify the treaty. He and the council of that presidency were decidedly of opinion that Madras, its rival, should be razed to the ground; and nothing but the honourable firmness of M. de la Bourdonnais in adhering to his engagements prevented that catastrophe. The disputes which on this and other accounts arose between these two high-spirited chiefs were of essential service to the Company's affairs; for they detained the latter with his fleet on the dangerous coast of Coromandel till the monsoon set in, when it was dispersed in a dreadful storm, and received irreparable damage. Matters however were at length brought to a crisis, and it was determined that the French, who were by the first treaty to have quitted the town on the 4th of October, should remain in the possession of it for three months, or at least for such a period as might be necessary to adjust all the discussions arising from the treaty. In consequence, Bourdonnais shortly after invested one of the council of Pondicherry, sent by M. Dupleix for the purpose, with the government, and to the regret of those whom he had vanquished, sailed with his shattered fleet under jury masts, for the Mauritius.

The Nabob, Anwar-odean, in the mean time had not been wholly inattentive to the proceedings of the French; and before the capitulation had sent a menacing letter to M. Dupleix, at Pondicherry, for having violated the peace of the province. He was pacified however by the promise that Madras, if taken, should be given up to himself, and that he would be certain of receiving a large sum from the English for the restitution of so valuable a possession. In this expectation finding himself deceived, he soon after sent an army of 10,000 men to Madras under the command of his son Maphuze Khan, who invested the town. The French sent deputies to treat, but these he detained: still they delayed coming to extremities with a person of his high distinction, and committing themselves with the delegated viceroy of the great Nizam. Being at length compelled to come to an engagement with him, his army was in several successive actions utterly routed, and his camp and baggage plundered, to the great emolument of the victors. The charm being thus broken, and the terror of warring against the supposed invincible Mogul effaced from the minds of Europeans, the reader will not wonder after this to find their standards frequently opposed in the field to those which may be called imperial. In fact, as ambition or avarice swayed their minds, the Moguls fought alternately on the side of the English or French, and alternately became the plunder of those whom they themselves meant to pillage.

After these transactions, the French proceeded to one of the basest acts of perfidy that ever disgraced the page of history. They refused to relinquish Madras; they declared the ransom null and void; they sent the governor and principal inhabitants prisoners to Pondicherry; their valuable property was seized upon; and all who would not take the oath of allegiance to the French king were ordered to quit Madras, and its territory, in the short space of five days. A great addition was made to the garrison for its better security, and the fortifications repaired and strengthened. Determined, if possible, to extirpate the English from Coromandel, they next led a formidable force against Fort St. David, situate near the sea, twelve miles south of Pondicherry. This town was a sort of dependency on Madras, small, but better fortified for its size than any in India. About a mile from it stood Cuddalore, where many rich Indian merchants, and others dependent on the Company, resided. The English of Fort St. David, in this extremity, applied to the Nabob, who now breathed nothing but vengeance against the French, for his assistance, and it was readily granted. At a moment when all seemed lost, a body of 6000 horse and 3000 foot made their appearance, and these, mixed with, and in some degree guided by the English troops, attacked the invaders with success, and compelled them to retreat with considerable loss. In proof, however, of what has been just observed concerning the fickleness and venality of these Mogul chiefs, M. Dupleix, by a bribe of 50,000 rupees, and a present of European trinkets of the value of 100,000 more, was able to purchase peace of them, and the recal of their troops from Fort St. David.*

Of the fleet whose unfortunate, I will not say disreputable, absence thus contributed to the loss of the first English settlement, Commodore Peyton had the command, having succeeded that valiant officer (Barnet) who had the year before perished on that shore which he had so well defended against the enemies of his country. Something more in the then perilous situation of the settlement should certainly have been attempted by Peyton, and in that opinion, doubtless, government coincided, by sending Admiral Griffin to supersede him. Griffin arrived in India about the middle of December, 1746, but found his collective force too small either

* Orme's History, vol. i. p. 85, ubi supra.

to reduce Pondicherry, or retake Madras; however he stationed his force with such admirable skill in Fort St. David's road, about five leagues to windward of Pondicherry, as for nearly two years, the period of his continuing on those seas, to intercept all the trade, and cut off all the supplies of that city. To him Admiral Boscawen succeeded, and with nine sail of the line, two frigates, and a larger body of troops than the English had ever yet sent out to India, began the regular siege of Pondicherry. It is revolting to the feelings of an historian to be perpetually recording disasters. The attack was not ultimately successful, owing to the great strength of the fort, constructed with uncommon skill, defended by two hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, with magazines and arsenals amply provided, and a well-disciplined garrison, consisting of above 4000 men. Exertions worthy of a British army were made by the besiegers; but Admiral Boscawen, invincibly brave and skilled in the conduct of marine engagements, is said to have wanted the qualities necessary to success in carrying on war on shore. Sickness, too, prevailed to a great extent in the British lines; and the stormy monsoon setting in earlier by three weeks than usual, compelled them rather ingloriously to raise the siege. But that transient disgrace was not long after amply retrieved. The hour of dreadful retribution for all the injuries committed by the French was not yet arrived. The finest European city in India was not razed to the ground till a few years later in the annals of Asiatic warfare.

In 1748, Peace auspiciously arose to dissipate the sanguine cloud that had so long veiled the horizon of India. By the conditions stipulated at Aix-la-Chapelle, Madras was restored to the Company, and the nation, in return for Cape Breton; and Boscawen with a part of his squadron sailed to take possession of it in August of the same year. The English received it in a very improved state from that in which they had yielded it up; many new bastions and batteries having been constructed, and an excellent glacis had been formed that covered the north and south sides of the town. Re-established in its ancient abode, the genius of British Industry again began to rear its head; and wise from past misfortune, with their commercial speculations, the new presidency neglected not to blend that prudent attention to military concerns which their hazardous situation amidst a host of ambitious and contending foes seemed to require. During all this dreadful calamity the seat of supreme power on the Coromandel coast had been transferred by the Company's orders to Fort St. David, which had now become a place of great strength, and highly increased in its population and commerce. Nor was Madras again restored to its ancient honours as the seat of the presidency till May, 1752. A stronger garrison, however, was in future maintained within the walls of Madras, and the fortifications were constantly kept in the most respectable state of defence. This indeed was now become imperiously necessary, for M. Dupleix still pursuing the high game of conquest rather than of commerce, for which his genius was better qualified, was perpetually urging on the native powers to mutual attacks, that his ambition might be gratified by the elevation of himself and his nation on their downfall and ruin. The imperial standards of England and France were no longer opposed in the field, or on the ocean; but, as allies to the princes of India, the banner of hostility was still kept unfurled, reluctantly enough by the cautious English, but by their more daring rivals with the avowed principles of subjugation and triumph.

The death of Mohammed Shah, the enervate, the humiliated monarch of the millions of Hindostan, took place about this period; and shortly after, at the advanced age of 104, expired the greatest of his subjects, if indeed the man who arrogated almost imperial honours could be called a subject, the NIZAM. He left five sons, two of whom only it is of immediate importance to notice. The eldest of these, Ghazi-odean, still continued at Delhi, in his post of captain-general of the forces. The second succeeded him as soubah of the Deccan, though a grandson of the Nizam, born of a favourite daughter, and cherished by the old man with the greatest affection, on the ground of a will asserted to be made in his favour, laid claim to that distinction and to the greatest part of the treasures of his grandfather. His assumed name was Murzafa-jing, and a disputed succession offering a glorious opportunity for the intrigues of M. Dupleix, he resolved not to lose it; presuming that by vigorously promoting the objects of his ambition, he might afterwards make him an easy tool for the accomplishment of the great projects which he had himself in view, he gave the young prince his decided and zealous support. Convinced of the abilities and great military talents of Chunda-saheb, still languishing in fetters among the Marhattas at Sattarah, he extended all his influence to get him released, and by bribes and promises he at length succeeded. He then contrived to get him appointed general of the forces of Murzafa, and by a lavish expenditure of the Company's treasures, greatly increased their numbers and importance. Anwar-odean still continued acting viceroy of the Carnatic, but Chunda-saheb, related to the old line of Nabobs descended from Sadatullah, that anciently governed the province, so forcibly urged his own pretensions to that distinguished situation, that he soon prevailed upon his new-acknowledged lord to issue letters patent appointing him Nabob in the place of Anwar-odean. As opposition would doubtless be made to this assumption of viceregal honours, he had the further art to persuade the young prince to try his strength first in this minor expedition, which, if successful, would secure to him the wealth and resources of that vast tract of country, which extended from Arcot to Cape Comorin, including many rich and powerful states. The scheme appeared so plausible, and at the same so highly flattering to the ambition of a brave young soldier, ardent to distinguish himself in the field, that it was immediately adopted.

Anwar-odean knowing the great military talents, as well as the pretensions of Chunda-saheb, had always regarded him with a jealous eye, and is thought to have used his influence in protracting the period of his confinement at Sattarah. When intelligence was brought him of the hostile intention of the combined princes, he lost not a moment in preparing to defend his rights by the sword. He levied an army of 12000 horse, and 8000 infantry, and with these he hastened to defend the passes of the mountains that led into the Carnatic. M. Dupleix had previously dispatched a body of 400 Europeans, and 2000 sepoys, under the command of M. d'Auteuil, to join the forces of the invaders, and in fact, to their skill and valour the success of the day must principally be ascribed. Independent of the stimulus of national pride, they were inflamed with a desire of plundering the camp of the Nabob, which was said to contain immense treasures. Fortunately the English were not engaged in this contest; either from an ill-judged parsimony, or thinking his force sufficiently strong without them, the Nabob had not applied to them for assistance. At Amboor, fifty miles to the west of Arcot, a decisive engagement took place; and so vigorous was the resistance of the Nabob's army, that even the French veterans, in their attempts to storm the entrenchments, with which he had fortified the front of his camp, were twice repulsed. In the third attack they were successful, and the whole army pouring in impetuously through the breach, the battle became as general as the nature of the place, the defiles of a mountain, would permit. At a distance on an eminence was seen the Nabob, surrounded by a chosen body of cavalry, in which lay the strength of his army. The stateliness of the elephant on which he was borne, and the blaze of the great standard of the Carnatic, attracted every eye. His voice was heard animating his troops with the fortitude with which his own bosom burned, and his heroic actions were in unison with his address; nor was his ardour damped when tidings were brought him tha this son Maphuze Khan, who commanded one of his wings, was slain with a cannon shot. Amidst the slaughter that raged around him he happened to espy the elephant of Chunda-saheb, with the usurped insignia of the nabobship. A torrent of contending passions now agitating his breast, and eager to crush at once the author of so many calamities, he commanded the conductor of his elephant to drive furiously against the elephant of his rival; but before he reached the object of his indignation a ball from the musquet of a Caffre shot him through the heart, and he fell headlong on the plain. The death of the chieftain, in the battles of India, is always the signal for the immediate flight of his army; this was the case of the fallen Nabob's, and a very considerable booty was the reward of the victors.

Murzafa-jing, the next day, marched unopposed to Arcot, where he appeared in all the pomp and splendor of a soubah of the Deccan, and he there confirmed the appointment of his friend Chunda-saheb to the nabobship. Some time was occupied in receiving the submission of the great lords of the province, and, what was still more acceptable, their contributions; among whom Mortiz-ally, the governor of Vellore, alone paid

700,000 rupees. The confederate princes, accompanied by the French battalion, then proceeded to Pondicherry, which city they entered in great pomp. They were exultingly received by the gratified Dupleix, and entertained during their stay with oriental magnificence. Here were laid those deep concerted projects of ambition and conquest, in the attempt to accomplish which the whole Carnatic was convulsed, and which finally compelled Nazir-jing to take the field at the head of an army of 300,000 men. As in the transactions that rapidly followed are involved the interests of all the southern provinces, comprising nearly a fourth part of the empire, and as they must again come in review in the course of the general history, a cursory account can alone be given of them in this place.

Mahommed Ali, the second son of Anwar-odean, on the defeat and death of his father, had fled for safety to Tritchinopoly, where, expecting to be besieged by the conquerors, he eagerly solicited the assistance of the English. He represented to them that both Murzafa-jing and Chunda-saheb were to be regarded as rebels to the empire; that Nazir-jing was the real soubah of the southern provinces, and that he himself was now the real nabob of the Carnatic, having obtained the reversion of that post from the Nizam, and that he was in daily expectation of having his appointment confirmed by Nazir-jing. This statement had so much the air of truth, and was so conformable to all they had witnessed, that fearing to commit themselves with the court of Delhi, the Presidency complied with his request, but, in a cautious manner, and dispatched about 120 Europeans to his relief. Instead, however, of attacking Tritchinopoly, much against M. Dupleix's decided advice, who wished to extirpate the family of Anwar-odean, and make himself master of that strong fort, whither its representative had retreated, the thirst of greater plunder induced the allied princes to invest Tanjore, where they obtained their object, the king of that place saving his capital at the price of 700,000 rupees, a large sum, paid immediately down to the French troops, and the cession of 81 villages to the government of Pondicherry. The approach of the Soubah at the head of such a mighty force saved Tritchinopoly. Every effort was made by Murzafa-jing to present a formidable front to the enemy, and with that view Dupleix increased the European force in his army to 2000 men. Nazir-jing summoned Mohammed Ali, as his feudatory, from Tritchinopoly; and requested the English at Fort St. David to send him a body of Europeans. In consequence, a few days after Major Lawrence with 600 Europeans arrived at the Nabob's camp at Valdore, about 15 miles from Pondicherry, which was now in sight of that of the enemy. An immediate engagement between the hostile armies seemed inevitable; but in the dreadful interval, events took place that materially affected its hoped for success.

Glutted with the wealth which they had divided at the siege of Tanjore, as well as exhausted with their fatigues, many of the officers on that service had obtained leave to retire from the camp to momentary repose, while others supplied their places. These latter, thus immediately exposed without *their* reward to the dangers of a severe service, the burthen of which, they knew must lay principally on them, loudly remonstrated, and demanded a sum of money that might render their fortunes adequate to those to whose posts they had succeeded. The high mind of M. Dupleix revolted at this demand, and proceeding to put one of this refractory band under arrest, the others insisted on receiving the same treatment. The moment was critical, and their services were deemed essential to the expected success of the day; and consequently no severities were resorted to. They continued in the camp, but turbulent and factious; and the soldiers also caught the flame of discontent. The event was that the commanding officer, M. D'Auteuil, fearful of the consequences in a general engagement, withdrew the whole detachment from the field, and marched back to Pondicherry. Thus deserted by his principal support, Murzafa-jing was overwhelmed with astonishment and terror. He, therefore, listened to overtures of accommodation made him by his uncle, who had sworn on the Koran that his person should be safe, if he surrendered. On this solemn pledge he entered the camp of his enemy, but was instantly thrown into fetters. The prince secured, with the same shameless perfidy his army was attacked, treated as rebels to the empire, and for the most part cut in pieces, as the Soubah's troops gave no quarter. Chundah-saheb not choosing to trust the Soubah, had retreated with the French to Pondicherry. Some of the Patan chiefs who had attended the Soubah in confident hope of high rewards, being disappointed in those hopes, and treated insolently by him, began to be extremely dissatisfied. Dupleix heard of their discontent, and by his emissaries blew up the flame. He entered into close correspondence with them; and to pass over minuter circumstances, in which all the art, policy, and valour of Dupleix were exerted, the death of the Soubah, and the exaltation of Murzafa-jing to the nabobship were ultimately resolved upon. Major Lawrence, still in the Soubah's camp, but unstained by his treachery, obtaining information of what was going on, took the resolution at an audience to make it known to him; but the interpreter, either from fear, or induced by bribes, misrepresented his words; and shortly after, unable to obtain the confirmation of a grant of territory adjoining Madras, made to the Company by their friend Mahommed Ali, now esteemed Nabob of Arcot, left the camp in disgust. In the mean time the conspiracy entered into against the life of the Soubah, by Dupleix, with the Nabobs of Cudapa, Canoul, and Savanore, all Patans by birth, and the most potent of the feudatory lords who had accompanied him into the Carnatic, went on cautiously and securely. Nor was the sanguinary project at all impeded by his suddenly breaking up his camp at Valdore, and retiring to Arcot. There devoting himself to the pleasures of his seraglio and of hunting, he lived in utter disregard of the storm which was just ready to burst upon him: but the capital and the palace afforded no opportunity for assassination like the field of war. The artful Dupleix, therefore, contrived by new irritations, by insulting embassies, and a vigorous attack on the fort of Gingee, one of the strongest in the Carnatic, to rouze Nazir-jing from his dream of indolence, and drive him to that field on which he was doomed to fall. The indignant Soubah soon appeared in arms, though at the head of far less numerous forces than before. When arrived at the distance of only sixteen miles from Gingee, the autumnal rains set in, and in two or three days he found his army inclosed between two rivers, rendered almost impassable by the inundations, with the probable prospect of not being released till the return of fair weather in December. The Soubah saw the danger of his situation, and immediately commenced a negociation with the governor of Pondicherry. He promised to ratify the treaty desired, and in fact had ratified it, when the quarter of the camp, in which his tents were fixed, was suddenly attacked before day-break by a strong division of the French army, and carried, while the greater part of his army, drawn up at a distance in battle array, remained inactive. These were the rebel chiefs, at the head of their respective legions, waiting the result of this premeditated attack of the French. It was a long time before the Soubah could be persuaded to believe that the aggressors were really French. When convinced of this, he ordered the head of Murzafa-jing to be instantly struck off, and brought to him: but the officer who had him in custody was leagued with the conspirators to crush his captor, and did not obey. Equally astonished and enraged at the continued inactivity of his troops, he mounted his elephant, and, accompanied by his body guard, rode up to the nearest of the rebel battalions, commanded by the Nabob of Cudapa, and called him aloud a dastardly coward, for not daring to defend the imperial standard, against the most contemptible of enemies. The indignant Nabob answered him by the discharge of a carabine that lodged two balls in the heart of the unfortunate Soubah, who fell dead on the plain. He then ordered his head to be severed from the body; bore it himself on the point of a javelin to Murzafa-jing, already liberated from the fetters which he had worn seven tedious months, and exultingly hailed him Soubah of the Deccan.

The treasures of Nazir-jing were estimated at two millions sterling, and the jewels at half a million. Of these it is supposed M. Dupleix received for his share 200,000l. besides some very valuable jewels. The Patan chiefs had a million sterling allowed them, with large additions to their respective territories: but though they professed to be satisfied and swore allegiance to the new Soubah, on the Koran, discontent and rancour reigned in their hearts, and they wanted only a fair opportunity to dispatch this new puppet of their power, as they had dispatched his predecessor. That opportunity soon occurred. The Soubah's presence being necessary at his capital, he in a short time commenced his march for Golconda, attended, for his better security, in such turbulent times, by a considerable body of French troops, under the command of M. Bussy. When arrived in the territory of Cudapa, about sixty miles from Pondicherry, apparently by accident, but doubtless by design, some straggling Mogul horsemen quarrelled with the inhabitants of a village, and the injury being resented, the incensed soldiers set fire to that and several other villages in the vicinity. The Nabob of Cudapa, pretending to be highly exasperated at the insult, attacked the rear guard of Murzafa-jing's division. The astonished Soubah commanded the whole army to halt, and would have immediately led on a large portion of it against the refractory Nabob. He was, however, restrained by the prudence of M. Bussy, and only a messenger was dispatched to enquire into the causes of so daring an outrage. An answer, breathing defiance, being returned, the Soubah rushed forward to the attack of the Nabob, who, with those of Canoul, and Savanore, had taken a strong station near a defile through which the army must pass, and which was strongly fortified with a number of cannon, *previously planted* there. So impetuous was the attack, and so powerful the fire of the French artillery, that the Patans were compelled to retreat, and the Nabob of Cudapa fled out of the field desperately wounded. Elated by this triumph, and anxious to exterminate the Patan rebels, the Soubah pushed on with the cavalry, regardless of the intreaties of M. Bussy, whose battalion, encumbered by the artillery, could not keep pace with him; and in the pursuit came up with a body of his own troops, who were, at that instant, cutting to pieces the body of the Nabob of Savanore, dead on the ground. Shortly after he came up with the Nabob of Canoul, who finding escape was impossible, resolutely turned back his elephant, and urged him on towards the elephant of the Soubah. The latter accepted the challenge of single combat, and made a signal to his troops to retire. The two elephants were driven up close to each other, and Murzafa-jing with his uplifted sabre was just going to strike, when the wary Nabob thrusting forth his javelin, drove the point through his forehead into his brain, and he fell back dead. A thousand javelins were immediately aimed at the Nabob; and himself and all his troops were cut to pieces on the spot. Such, in a very limited period, was the unfortunate end of three successive Soubahs of the Deccan, an awful lesson to human grandeur! but too frequent in that country to be much regarded; though the death of the three conspirators in one day, in addition to that of Murzafa-jing, who by their atrocious murder obtained the throne of his uncle, was even there considered as a signal retribution of the divine justice.

It has been already mentioned that the Nizam left five sons, of these the three younger were, for security, kept near him in strict confinement in the camp, by Nazir-jing, and for the same powerful reason were retained, in similar restraint, by Murzafa-jing. To prevent the confusion beginning to take place in the camp, on account of the death of the Soubah, M. Bussy, who was not wholly without suspicion of being conscious to the conspiracy that destroyed him, after consultation with the ministers and generals, immediately raised to the vacant throne Salabat-jing, the eldest of them. M. Dupleix, on being made acquainted with the event, consented to the appointment, and the new Soubah, in consequence, confirmed all the vast cessions made to the French by his uncle, with the addition of many others. The imperial army, restored to order and discipline, continued its march without interruption to Golconda.

CHAPTER IV.

The English, astonished and alarmed at the success of the French in the Carnatic, endeavour to counteract their ambitious projects.—They send assistance to the Nabob Mahomed Ali, besieged at Tritchinopoly.—Captain Clive volunteers his services, and, by surprize, takes ARCOT, *the Capital.—Maintains himself in it against very superior Forces, and displays the dawn of his great military Genius.—Mahommed joined, in his distress, by the Regent of Mysore, the Rajah of Tanjore, and a body of Mahrattas.—Chundasaheb driven to extremities, surrenders himself to the Tanjorine General, and is by him perfidiously put to death.—The Mysorean and the Mahrattas lay claim to Tritchinopoly, as the stipulated price of their services, and besiege it.—Great length of the Siege and Sufferings of the Garrison.—At length the Regent abruptly breaks up his Camp, and retires to Mysore; while Mahommed, under the Protection of his firm Allies, the English, establishes himself in security at Arcot.—Transactions in* BENGAL; *prefaced by an Account of the Rise and Progress of the* MAHRATTAS.—*Their vast Empire founded by* SEVAJEE, *a Soldier of Fortune, of the Tribe of* RAJPOUTS, *or native Hindoos.*—SAMBAJEE.—SAHOOJEE.—*Astonishing extent of that Empire at the Death of* SAHOOJEE.—*The* RAM RAJAH—*finally divided into two distinct Governments, that of* POONAH, *and that of* BERAR.—*Account of the respective Sovereigns of those Governments.—Reflections on the Character and Manners of the* MAHRATTAS.

THE English government at Fort St. David, still the presidency on the coast of Coromandel, on receiving intelligence of these important transactions, and of the high predominant influence of the French at the court of Golconda, were overwhelmed with astonishment, mingled with terror. They now saw the error of their too great caution, and regretted the abrupt departure of Major Lawrence from the Nabob's camp, by which the field was left open to their rivals. That able officer too had sailed for Europe on his private concerns, and had been succeeded in the command of the troops by Captain Cope. They now resolved to take a more active part, and faithful in their attachment to the family of Anwar-odean, dispatched a body of troops to assist his son Mahommed Ali, invested by the French at Tritchinopoly; while Chunda-saheb had marched to Arcot, and was receiving the renewed homage of the province, as Nabob. In a short time, however, he returned at the head of 12,000 horse and 5000 sepoys, and first invested Volcondah, a very strong fortress, near which the English were encamped, situated on the great road between Arcot and Tritchinopoly, which, after some negociation, was surrendered to him by the perfidious governor, and the English retreated to Tritchinopoly. He then advanced to the siege of the latter place, where his troops, which outnumbered the English, ten to one, took a position on the southern, while the English encamped on the western side of the city.

Tritchinopoly, situated about 90 miles from the coast, is one of the best fortified cities in the Carnatic. It is inclosed by a double range of walls, flanked by round towers, built at equal distances from one another; the outward wall is eighteen feet high, and about five feet thick: the inward wall is of much greater strength, being thirty feet in height, with a rampart of stone decreasing by large steps from the ground quite to the summit, where it is ten feet broad, with a parapet of stone about seven feet high, in which are loop-holes to fire through. The outer wall is surrounded with a ditch thirty feet wide and twelve deep. The Presidency of Fort St. David made the greatest exertions to increase the number of their troops and artillery before Tritchinopoly, but the army of the Nabob and the French was still so much stronger, that the event of a battle seemed very doubtful; and it was now that the great military genius of young Clive, at this period only a lieutenant in the service, began to display itself. This intrepid officer proposed to the Presidency, as the only resource in this extremity, the daring measure of attacking ARCOT itself, and offered to head himself the expedition, which, he urged, would infallibly cause a diversion of the enemy's force from Tritchinopoly. Fort St. David and Madras were exhausted of troops to furnish men for this important enterprize, which was as fortunately conducted as it was judiciously planned; for the city of Arcot having no walls or ramparts, and the fort being defended by only a slender garrison, they entered the place with little opposition; and 100,000 astonished spectators beheld a handful of English take possession of the capital of the Carnatic, its military stores and accumulated treasures. The generous victors, however, seized only the public property; all property of a private nature was considered as sacred, and punctually restored to the owners. When the panic, into which the garrison and inhabitants were thrown by the boldness of this manœuvre was over, troops were collected from all quarters, and Clive soon found he had an army of 3000 men to contend with; but by a series of bold and skilful attacks made upon the enemy, when opportunity most favoured, he contrived to remain in full possession of all the advantages which he had so gallantly obtained.

This spirited undertaking, which so early marked the character of the young commander, was attended with all the success that could be desired. Chunda-saheb found himself compelled to detach 4000 of his best troops from Tritchinopoly to attempt the recovery of his capital, in which attempt, however, they completely failed, being routed in all their attacks by the superior skill and bravery of the garrison and their intrepid chief. At the same time, by this draught from the main body of the troops before Tritchinopoly, the besieging army was proportionably weakened, and time was afforded to Mahommed to strengthen himself with new allies. Among these was the Regent of MYSORE, a country of considerable extent, but at that time of little note, compared with its subsequent state of power and aggrandizement. The king was a minor; but his uncle enjoyed the regency of the kingdom, and governed it with unlimited authority. A body of Mahrattas, also, under Morari Row, were taken into his pay; and even the Rajah of Tanjore, with whom he had been so long at variance, seeing his cause so generally befriended, now joined with the other allies, to effect his deliverance from those evils which had been partly occasioned by his own hostility. It is impossible, in a summary history like this, to enter into the details of sieges, and minutely to record events of inferior importance. Suffice it to observe, that on the return of Major Lawrence to India, early in 1752, that experienced soldier, assisted by the victorious captor of Arcot, resumed the command of the English troops, and that by vigorous exertion on the part of the confederate army, Chunda-saheb was at length driven to such extremities, and his resources became so utterly exhausted, while his army was so completely inclosed and blocked up in the island of Seringham, near Tritchinopoly, that he was compelled to fly for succour to his most determined enemy, Mona-ji, the general of the Tanjorine army. Presuming that by the gratification of his avarice, his resentment might be appeased, he proffered the poor remains of his treasury to secure his personal safety, and Mona-ji confirmed his promise of protection by the most solemn oath that binds an Indian soldier. He swore, on his sabre and poniard, that he should be safe, devoting himself to death by those instruments if he failed in his engagement. It was then agreed that Chunda-saheb, with a few attendants, should come to his quarters at midnight, where he promised an escort of horse should be in readiness to convey him to the nearest French settlement. As by perpetual fatigue and vigils the Nabob's health was greatly on the decline, a splendid pallankin, as for an infirm person, had been artfully got ready, which, with the other preparations for his escape, was shewn to the officer who conducted the negociation, and who returned without suspicion. At the dead of night the Nabob with his slender band cautiously advanced towards the Tanjorine camp, but with the perfidy usual among Asiatic princes, the instant he entered the lines, the perjured villain ordered him to be arrested, and thrown into irons.

On this intelligence being communicated to the other chiefs, they immediately assembled with a view to determine in what manner the unfortunate prince should be disposed of. The English, the Mahratta, and the Mysorean generals were all equally anxious to have the charge of so important a personage; but the Tanjorine firmly refused to part with his prisoner; and, the assembly breaking up abruptly, his savage soul, delighting in blood, resolved to end the contest by his destruction. A Patan, trained to deeds of horror, was dispatched to execute the barbarous resolution. He found the wretched prince, in chains, stretched on the floor of his apartment, from which, debilitated by age, by anxiety, and by disease, he was unable to rise. The monster's purpose was evident in his features; and it was in vain that his victim solicited a short conference with Mona-ji, to reveal a secret of importance. · The ruthless assassin stabbed him to the heart, and then severing the head from the body, carried it in savage triumph to his employer, who instantly sent it reeking with blood into Tritchinopoly, to be viewed by the Nabob and his courtiers. The army of the murdered prince immediately dispersed, and the French, who had fortified themselves in the great pagoda of Jambakistna, shortly after surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Thus, at length, Mahommed obtained in reality that distinction to which he had so long laid claim, and for which so much blood and treasure had been expended. The English, to whom he had exhibited his patents of investiture, from Nazir-jing, and Gazi-odean Khan, confirmed by the great Mogul, were satisfied of the justice of his claim, and on that basis they had, through innumerable difficulties, adhered faithfully to his interests, and still continued his friends and protectors.

Of the continuance of that protection he was, indeed, deplorably in want, for although the nominal lord of the whole country from the river Penner to Tinivelly, in all that extent there was scarcely a single fortress, besides Tritchinopoly, in which he could repose his head with security. What rendered his fate still harder was, the Regent of Mysore and the rapacious Mahrattas were hovering near to rend even that solitary possession from him. To that chief he had made a secret promise, evidently extorted from him by the necessity of his circumstances, that if, through his assistance and that of the allies, successful, he would surrender to him that city and fort, which the Regent now claimed, as the stipulated price of his services; and those of his subsidiary Mahrattas. Remonstrances were in vain ; the mercenary chief insisted upon the due performance of the contract, and the rival Mahrattas supported him in it. A compromise at length took place between the contending parties, and the Mysorean was, or at least appeared to be, satisfied with having made over to him a grant of the revenues of the island of Seringham, and several other neighbouring districts, with full power to collect them himself; and a renewed promise, that, within a fixed period Tritchinopoly should be delivered up to him. Matters being thus accommodated, and a strong corps of Europeans and sepoys being left in the city, to guard against possible outrage, Mahommed Ali, at the head of a large body of horse, with 500 English and 2500 sepoys, trained after the European manner, began their march for the recovery of the Carnatic. The first place of strength at which they arrived was Volconda; where the chief bought his peace by taking the oath of allegiance, by the payment of 80,000 rupees, and by giving security for the perpetual payment of future arrears. From this place the Nabob dispatched a body of 1000 horse to strengthen the garrison at Arcot, and then marched on to Trivadi, in the pagoda of which place they found a body of French troops, who surrendered at the first summons. They were unsuccessful in their attack upon Ginjee; they were gloriously triumphant at Bahoor. Vandiwash was ransomed by its governor for 300,000 rupees; and every thing was giving way before them, when by the perfidy of the Mysorean who had invested Tritchinopoly, and driven the garrison to the utmost distress by cutting off all their supplies of provision, the army was suddenly recalled to that important fortress.

M. Dupleix stung with anguish at the discomfiture of his troops, and jealous for the honour of his nation, had been exerting all the energies of his mind, and all the resources of his situation, to re-establish its fame, and its power. He encouraged the Regent, and the Mahrattas, who still adhered to him, to persevere in their claims on Tritchinopoly, and he supplied them with arms, with men, and with money. He employed both promises and threats with the Rajah of Tanjore, to prevent his sending succours or provisions to the exhausted garrison; and the Mahrattas cut off the noses of the country people whom they found engaged in that benevolent occupation. He proceeded at length to the bold measure of applying to be made himself Nabob of the Carnatic, and by means of M. Bussy, who still continued and was omnipotent with Salabat-jing, obtained a firmaun to that intent, from the new Soubah, although his own title to the viceroyalty had not been confirmed by the Mogul. By virtue of this pretended commission he appointed Mortiz-ally of Vellore, to act as his lieutenant, and received of him 50,000l. as the price of this delegated authority. He assumed all the pomp and dignity of a real Nabob; and the ample revenues which the French now obtained, in addition to former grants, for their assistance in placing and upholding Salabat on the vice-regal throne, were devoted to support his usurped authority. Among these may be enumerated what are called the Northern Circars, thus denominated from their position in respect to Madras, procured, also, by M. Bussy's intrigues at the court of the Deccan, and amounting to above half a million annually.* The return of the Nabob and Major Lawrence to Tritchinopoly saved the garrison from the disaster that immediately impended over it; but the great length of the siege, and the number of the besiegers, had rendered the country for miles round a desert, and supplies were obtained from a great distance with the utmost difficulty; nearly half the army being engaged as an escort, and the troops being perpetually harassed during their march by large bodies of Mahratta cavalry. Several desperate battles were fought, but nothing decisive took place, till at length an event occurred of the greatest importance of any that could, at at that time, have happened, and by its consequence put a period, for a time at least, to those unceasing wars which, at a period when the parent countries were at peace, had so long desolated the Carnatic.

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* Orme, vol. i. p. 335.

A strong remonstrance, occasioned by the complaints of our East India Company, who found their commerce greatly impeded by those wars, had been made by the British to the French ministry, concerning the ambitious projects of the French on the Coromandel coast, and the recall of M. Dupleix, the soul and source of them all, insisted upon. The additional menace that if the measure were not complied with, a national rupture must ensue; and an order of an immediate equipment for the shores of India, of a squadron of men of war, with a body of troops, induced the French court, at that time not at all inclined or prepared for a general war, to check the ambitious career of their servants in India. Early in the spring of 1754, M. Godehen was sent out to supersede M. Dupleix, and with powers to conclude a conditional treaty with Mr. Saunders, the Governor of Madras, and the able opponent in the cabinet of M. Dupleix, to be approved or rejected, as they might think most proper, by the Court of Directors at home. M. Dupleix, totally unacquainted with what had taken place, received his order of recall with astonishment, but with dignity. He was convinced that in all he had done he had the secret approbation of his government, and submitted to be the victim of political convenience without repining. In the pursuit of this great object of national aggrandizement, if he had squandered the public wealth, he had not been sparing of his own; and he returned to an ungrateful country with a fortune much impaired, instead of being improved in its service.

By the appointed commissaries a suspension of arms was immediately agreed upon between the French and English, which was to include their allies, followed by a conditional treaty, to which, however, the barbarous Mysorean would not submit, declaring that he was under no obligation to regard any treaty that was not made by himself. On receiving intelligence, shortly after, that Salabat-jing was advancing from Golcondah, at the head of a vast army, for the purpose of collecting the tribute, due for many years from Mysore, he abruptly broke up his camp, and after having waited three years with patient perseverance, as well as with great waste of men and treasure, at the head of 20,000 men, to accomplish a favourite project, he retired to his country, in 1755, without having accomplished it. Such was the commencement of our transactions with the kingdom of Mysore; the renowned Hyder served in that camp under his uncle, and learned from his failure, on this occasion, a more wise and politic lesson for his future conduct in war.

With a view to enforce, if necessary, their demands relative to a change of measures in the councils of Pondicherry, the British government had early in 1754 dispatched to India Admiral Watson, with a squadron of three ships, having the 49th regiment on board, and towards the close of the year, Commodore Pocock arrived with two more ships of the line, which, added to those already on the coast, composed a formidable fleet. Of Europeans, too, the number at Madras and Fort St. David's amounted to full 2000 men; yet the terms of the treaty were lenient and favourable, leaving in the hands of the French very large districts, and revenues far exceeding their own. Absolute peace, however, amidst so many armed claimants, and through so wide a circuit as the field of the late war, could not immediately be obtained. Inferior contests for some time agitated the south of the peninsula; but, before the close of the year 1755, the rightful claims of Mahommed Ali, as Nabob, were generally acknowledged throughout the Carnatic, and, invited by the Presidency at Madras to Arcot, under their support and protection, he thenceforth securely fixed his residence in that ancient capital of the province.*

Having now brought the complicated history of affairs in the Carnatic to some kind of termination, we must direct our attention to the transactions of the Company in Bengal, whose Soubah already had followed the example of the Nizam in assuming independence, or at least in paying only a nominal obedience to the Mogul, without remitting a rupee for his support.

The frequent appearance of the MAHRATTAS, however, about this time, on the theatre of war, renders it necessary for us previously, and rather prematurely, for it properly belongs to the general history, to present the reader with a detailed account of the origin and progress of that singular race.

The term Mahratta is very properly derived by Major Rennel† from MARHAT, the name of a province in the Deccan, comprehending Baglana, and other districts, which at present form a large portion of the dominions of that people. The founder of the tribe was SEVAJEE, descended from the Rana of Oudipour, the chief of the Rajpoot princes. His mother was not of such high origin, she is said to have been an obscure person of the

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[*] My authorities for the above extensive detail of affairs on the coast of Coromandel and in the Carnatic, independent of Mr. Orme's more elaborate work, are the authentic "Narrative of Colonel Lawrence" himself, published in 1762, in refutation of M. Dupleix's disingenuous Memoire; Cambridge's "War in India;" Dow's "Decline of the Mogul Empire," important, in what concerns the history of Nizam-al-Muluck and his descendants in the Deccan; the India Papers, and the Gazette accounts, published by authority.

[†] Memoir, p. 79, last edition.

tribe of *Bonsola*, or *Boonsla*, retained to this day as the family name by his descendants, the Rajahs of Sattarah and Berar. His immediate father bore a high command in the armies of the king of Visiapour. Sevajee was born in 1628, and spurning at subordination, early aspired to independent sovereignty. The distractions which about that period prevailed in Visiapour, from the irruption of the Mogul monarch into the peninsula, were highly favourable to his views. Among the mountains of the western coast, and the strong fortresses in which they abound, he first raised his banners, which were resorted to with eagerness by many bold chieftains, of his own tribe of Rajpouts, all animated by the same turbulent disposition. From those mountains they descended in formidable bodies, chiefly cavalry, into the widespread champaign country below, plundering the inhabitants of their treasures, driving away their flocks, and carrying off their grain to their strong holds.

Living entirely in this predatory manner, on the labour and industry of his subjects, the sovereign of Visiapour, who was at that time also engaged in a destructive war with the Delhian emperor, sent armies upon armies against them, but by open resistance, or by treachery, chiefly by the latter, every effort to crush the rising foe was defeated. Aurungzeb himself, then on the throne, who had in the first instance employed this body of banditti to promote his ambitious project of subjugating Visiapour, soon found them to be the more determined enemy of the two, and exerted against them the forces of the empire with very inadequate success. The King of Visiapour dying in 1661, left his son a minor, and dissensions arising among the nobles, relative to the regency, Sevajee took advantage of these distractions, and sent detachments to obtain possession of the towns and sea-ports lying along the shore of the CONCAN,* which was effected with little opposition. Pirates had abounded on this coast from the time of Alexander, whose historians mention the Sangarians of those days as famous in that line, and Sevajee, to whom no species of plunder was unwelcome, encouraged rather than repressed their predatory disposition. By this means he gradually became formidable on the ocean, and to the Europeans settled on that coast: the interruptions given to their trade by his ships, though not hitherto of magnitude or importance enough to be recorded here, are frequently mentioned. In the event, however, we shall find the English navy occupied in utterly destroying the piratical empire in these seas by the defeat of Angria, and the destruction of GHERIA.

While his generals were ravaging the shore of the Concan, Sevajee himself descended from the northern hills in great force into the plains that stretch between Ahmednagar and Aurengabad, every where laying waste the country, and despoiling the Moguls. In another campaign which took place in 1664, he made an irruption into Guzzurat, and plundered Surat of a million sterling, but molested not the English and Dutch factories. Highly exasperated at this new insult, Aurungzeb now commanded the whole army of the Deccan to march against the marauder, but at the same time ordered the general of that army, Rajah Jysing, to use every effort to decoy him to Delhi. What artifices were used it is impossible to say, but by superior cunning, of which he was a consummate master, Sevajee not only went to Delhi, but returned in safety, after an ineffectual attempt to assassinate him, and with a spirit of highly inflamed hostility, to commit new ravages in Guzzurat. We find him again, in 1669, before the gates of Surat, levying heavy exactions, and retiring with an immense booty, in safety, to the almost impregnable fort of RAIREE; situated, like many others of his strong holds in the mountains, on the summit of a lofty rock. Aurungzeb, about this time engaged in an obstinate war with the Patans, not being able to send troops in sufficient numbers to check his incursions, ordered vessels to be constructed in the ports of Surat and Cambay, for the purpose of invading the shores of the Concan, in conjunction with the Seddees; but Sevajee, at all points prepared, with his superior navy captured some, and burned others in the harbours. At length, having become in every respect an independent prince, he caused himself to be publicly enthroned with all the pomp of an Hindoo monarch of the war tribe, and on that day laid the foundation of one of the most powerful sovereignties of India. His life and his victories terminated in 1680.

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* "The region," says Mr. Orme, "called the CONCAN, extends along the western coast of India, from the territory of Goa to Daman, in length 240 miles. The vast range of hills which accompanies the sea-coast, and always in sight of it, from Comorin to Daman, is called the GAUTS, an Indian word which signifies *passages*. This chain, never more than 50, or less than 30 miles from the sea, has in its whole extent very few passages which open into the inland country by windings among the mountains. In all other parts, and especially in the Concan, the whole chain seems one connected wall, to the summit of which every path has been hewn by the hand of man; and, nevertheless, is not to be ascended even by the single foot of the traveller, without the fatigue of hours." Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 22, last quarto edition.

He was succeeded, on his self-erected throne, by his son Sambajee, who began his reign with great apparent vigour, and for some years, upheld its glory, both in the cabinet and in the field, against Aurungzeb, personally opposed to him in the latter. His three principal forts of Sattarah, Pannela, and Rairee, having been separately invested, he descended with all his forces from the mountains, and defeated the assailants. He for a long time protected Sultan Akber, the rebel son of Aurungzeb, at his court, against the menaced vengeance of his father, and at length he so deeply incensed the Mogul by the unprecedented barbarity with which he carried on the war against his troops, poisoning the tanks of pure water near which they might be tempted to encamp, and committing other wanton outrages, that he swore, before his return to Delhi, he would see at his feet the head of Sambajee weltering in its blood. With this determination he fixed, in 1688, his head quarters at the city of Visiapour. With his innumerable army he soon reconquered all the towns and castles in the open champaign country; while along the foot of the mountains, which contained his strong and scarcely accessible fortresses, he so judiciously stationed bodies of troops as prevented any descent of the enemy into the plain. The number of these posts in the high ridge of the gauts, is said to have amounted to no less than 350.*

By open hostility, however, Aurungzeb soon found it impossible to conquer Sambajee, or obtain possession of his person. He therefore sought to effect it by secret ambush. Sambajee had an unbounded propensity to women. He who rose invincible from the toils of war, was still to be caught in the toils of love and beauty. The Mogul bribed the pander of his lust, and secured his prey. He appeared before his captor with an undaunted countenance. Being proffered life if he would turn Mahommedan, he poured forth a bitter invective against the Prophet, and lauded the gods of Hindostan. The fury of the bigotted Mogul rose to its highest pitch; he was instantly ordered to a cruel death. After suffering a thousand indignities, his tongue was torn out. He was again insultingly offered life, if he would abjure the Hindoo faith, and adopt Mahommedism. He wrote, "Not, tyrant, if you would give me your daughter in marriage."

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* Orme's Historic Fragments, p. 93.

His heart was then cut out in the presence of Aurungzeb, and his mangled limbs were given to the dogs.*

This nefarious execution, intended to awe a race not to be intimidated, had no other effect on the Mahratta nation at large than to exasperate them to keener vengeance, and to excite them to deeds of bolder enterprize. To Sambajee, at a very early age, succeeded his son Sahojee, who possessing all the courage and political wisdom of his father and grandfather, during a long reign of fifty years, not only very widely extended the bounds of the empire, but matured and consolidated what their genius had planned and their exertions had secured. The dissensions that raged among the sons and descendants of Aurungzeb, whom his ancestors had braved in the field, were extremely favourable to the exaltation of a race, inured to war and discipline, animated by the same religion, governed by the same laws, and doomed, as it should seem, to rise upon the ruins of a mighty empire. During this long period of distraction, the armies of the Mahrattas over-run and plundered almost every part of Hindostan, excepting Bengal. We have seen them, during the absence of Nizam-al-Muluck, their greatest check, at Delhi, and indeed by his express permission, taking a decided part in the wars that desolated the Carnatic; they had conquered the greatest part of the fine province of Malwa; and, on the return of the Nizam to the south, they had carried their devastations even to the gates of the capital itself, and extorted a vast sum, by way of tribute, from the enervate Mahommed. Finally, in 1735, they obtained from that weak monarch authority to collect the CHOUT, or *fourth* part of the net revenues of the other provinces of the empire, though Bengal for some time longer remained unviolated by their daring irruptions. In short, at the death of Sahojee, which took place in 1740, their territories extended from the western ocean to Orissa, and from Agra to the Carnatic, forming a tract of nearly 1000 miles long, by 700 wide, and including some of the richest and most fertile provinces of the Indian peninsula. The capital of this great empire was established at Sattarah, a fortress situated about 50 miles south-east of Poonah, and near the 18th degree of north latitude.*

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* Orme's Historic Fragments, p. 164, ubi supra.

During the latter period of Sahojee's reign, being oppressed with age and infirmities, he had almost wholly confided the reins of government to a very able minister, named Ballajee, who under the official denomination of the PAISHWAH, or vice-gerent, skilfully conducted all the affairs of the vast empire of his master. Sahojee, indeed, lived so wholly secluded from public business in his palace and fortress of Sattarah, that the Paishwah was considered in the light of a sovereign, and acted as such without the name. From him immediately issued all the orders of government, and peace and war depended on himself alone. Sahojee having no children, was succeeded by his nephew, Ram Rajah, a prince of weak intellects, over whom the Paishwah continued to exert the same powerful influence, or rather in consequence of his defective understanding, a still greater than he had exerted over his uncle, and kept him constantly confined in his splendid prison of Sattarah. He had the power to render the office of Paishwah hereditary in his family, and at his death his son Bajerow succeeded to his high office and his honours.

There was another officer of distinguished eminence in the court of Sattarah, termed BUKSHI, or commander in chief. His name was Ragojee Boonsla, and he was nearly related to the reigning dynasty, as his name indicates. Uncontrolled in their respective situations, and equally ambitious of vice-regal sway, these two great officers agreed to divide between them the empire of their master; the one, the Paishwah, assuming to himself the government of the eastern provinces, fixed his capital at Poonah; the other, the Bukshi, who held the province of Berar in Jaghire, fixed his residence at Nagpour in that province. Though distinct and independent governments, still the chief of Berar acknowledged the supremacy of the Rajah of Sattarah, as the head of the empire, and regarded the Paishwah as the principal executive authority of the state, invested with the exclusive right of concluding treaties, and regulating other great national concerns. The descendants of Sevajee, in their splendid confinement continue to be treated with the greatest respect. "No Paishwah," says Lord Wellesley, who had the best opportunity of knowing, "can enter upon his office without receiving a *kelaut*, or dress of honour from the Rajah.* On taking the field he must previously have a formal audience of leave from the Rajah. The country in the vicinity of Sattarah enjoys an exemption from military depredations of all kinds; and whensoever any chief enters this district, all the ensigns of power and command are laid aside; and the nagara, or great drum of the empire ceases to beat."†

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* Rennell's Memoir, p. 121.

Although it may be considered as an anticipation of events, yet, for the sake of connection, I shall carry somewhat lower down in the century the history of their descendants, and the usurpers of their thrones.

The reign of Bajerow was a reign of activity and vigour; he greatly increased the limits of the Mahratta empire, and wrested from the Portugueze the important fortress of Bassein, and the island of Salsette, near Bombay. He died in 1759; and was succeeded in the Paishwahship, that is to say, on the Poonah throne, by his son Ballajee. His real sovereign, the RAM RAJAH, fourth Rajah of Sattarah, dying without issue, that dignity *ought*, by the ties of blood, to have descended to Ragojee Boonsla, sovereign of Berar; but his dread of the superior power of the Paishwah prevented him from putting in his claim, and it passed into some other branch of the family, who are *supposed* still to reside closely shut up in their ancient but splendid prison; I say supposed, because it is a matter of just doubt whether any of that family at present actually exist at Sattarah.* This suspicion is confirmed by the fact that the Rajah of Berar, on occasions of meeting between himself and the Paishwah, is always treated, in consequence of his rank, as his superior; and, in the capacity of first constituent member of the empire, claims the right of sending to the Paishwah a dress of honour on his accession to the office. The name, however, of RAM RAJAH still remains, though his person be unknown; and is stamped on the seal and coin of the empire.

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* A KELAUT is a dress of honour, conferred by a superior on an inferior, on occasion of accession to office, or as a mark of esteem and approbation.

† Lord Wellesley on the Mahratta war, Appendix, p. 8.

Ballajee died in 1761, leaving three sons; of whom Maderow ascended the musnud. He reigned twelve years, and was succeeded by his younger brother Narrain Row, a youth of 19, whose unfortunate end excites the sigh of compassion. He was assassinated by the base contrivance of his uncle Ragonaut, better known by the name of Ragobah, son of Bajerow, the first Paishwah. Ragonaut had been for some time in confinement at Poonah; for what offence is unknown. On Narrain's accession he solicited his liberty, which it was not thought proper to grant him. Two officers, high in his nephew's service, were suborned by him to perpetrate the bloody deed. On a certain day all the avenues leading to the palace were secured, and the whole building surrounded with the troops under their command. On the first alarm, suspecting the treason, and well aware of the author, the distracted youth rushed into his uncle's apartment, threw himself at his feet, and with tears implored his protection. "You are my uncle," said he, "take my throne; but spare my life; bathe not your sword in the blood of so near a relative." At this instant the two assassins entered the apartment. Ragonaut, affecting anger which he did not feel, ordered them to depart, The hardened ruffians, convinced of his insincerity, rushed forward with their poniards and stabbed him in the arms of his uncle, treacherously extended to protect him. A deed of such black atrocity could not fail to render the author the object of universal hatred and detestation. Though for a short time he enjoyed the throne in defect of other male relatives, yet his crown was a crown of thorns; and the widow of the young and unfortunate Narrain proving with child, and that child a boy, the vote of the chiefs that raised him to that musnud was rescinded, and he was hurled from it with merited indignation. To that favoured child was given the name of Sevajee Maderow, and in due time he mounted the throne, and reigned on it till 1795, when he was killed by a fall from the terrace of his palace.

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* See Moor's Narrative of Captain Little's Detachment, p. 432.

Of the sovereigns of the eastern Mahrattas, on account of our having less political intercourse with them than with the western, fewer particulars are known. The first Rajah of Berar, Ragojee Boonsla, whom we shall soon see performing a part of very active hostility in Bengal, finished his career of glory and depredation in 1749. He left four sons, Janojee, Sabajee, Moodhajee, and Bembajee, of whom the eldest, Janojee, succeeded to the musnud. Janojee dying without issue in 1772, appointed as his successor, the son of his younger brother Moodhajee, whom he had adopted. This appointment occasioned a contention between the brothers, Sabajee and Moodhajee. The former claiming the government in right of priority of birth, and the latter, as father and guardian of the adopted child. They were accordingly engaged in perpetual war until the death of Sabajee, who was killed in an engagement with that brother on the 27th of January, 1775. From that period the government of Berar was holden by Moodhajee Boonsla, who died at an advanced age in 1788, and was succeeded by his son Ragojee, the adopted child of Janojee, the present Rajah of Berar.*

To this summary abridgment of Mahratta history, it may be proper to add a short account, from the same respectable author, of certain celebrated chiefs among them, who amidst the perpetual contests for dominion, usual in all feudal states, have risen to power and eminence on the declining authority of the early usurpers.

The first of these in rank and extent of domain is the family of SCINDIAH. Ranojee Scindia, the founder of this family, rose to notice in the service of Bajerow, the first Paishwah, whom having attended in a successful invasion of the province of Malwa, he was rewarded with a considerable portion of the districts conquered in that province. The grant thus made to him was confirmed in Jaghire to his descendants, by the Rajah of Sattarah. On the death of Ranojee Scindia, Madhajee, his fifth son succeeded to the patrimonial inheritance, of which Oujein was the capital; but by these limits he was not to be confined. Extending his conquests every way, he gradually made himself master of the greatest part of Malwa, of the Rajpout states, and of Agra and Delhi, by which he became possessed of the person and nominal authority of the Mogul, of whom he was the ostensible minister. This ambitious and turbulent chief died in 1794, and was succeeded by his nephew and adopted son, Dowlet Rao Scindia, of whom much will occur hereafter.

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* Marquis Wellesley's Mahratta War, Appendix, p. 22, ubi supra.

The second feudatory chief of consequence, among the Mahrattas, is Holkar. The founder of this family, also, rose to eminence under the first Paishwah, and obtained the reward of his services, like Scindiah, in a large division of the province of Malwa, in Jaghire.* The capital of Holkar is Indore, a city situate about 30 miles south east of Oujein. His income is supposed to be about 80 lacs of rupees, or one million sterling per annum. Holkar has also a considerable part of Candeish, which province is, like Malwa, divided between himself, the Paishwah, and Scindia. He was succeeded by his nephew Tuckojee Holkar, who not being an ambitious man, and having ever shewn great attachment to the reigning Brahmin family at Poonah, was considered as a proper check on the ambition of the other great chiefs of Nagpour and Oujein. He died in 1797, and was succeeded by his illegitimate son Jeswunt, a man of a widely different stamp, politic in the cabinet, and enterprizing in the field, the determined opponent of Scindiah, but not unsuspected of designs on the musnud of Poonah itself, though prevented from carrying those designs into execution† by the vigour and vigilance of the British government.

The third considerable chieftain, or Jaghiredar, is Futtey Sing, known by the family name of Gwickar, who divides with the Paishwah the largest and finest part of Guzzurat; his particular share chiefly lies in its northern districts. The fourth is, or rather was, for he was killed in 1799, fighting against his old enemy, the Rajah of Colapore, Purseram Bhow, who to the dignity of belonging to the Brahmin class, added the advantage of great riches and military authority. His son, Appah Saheb, inherits his estate, and his hatred of the aforesaid Rajah, with whom he wages continual war. The fifth is the Rastia family, also Brahmins, long settled in the Concan, and possessed of great power and distinction in the state of Poonah. The present chief is named Maderow Rastia, has a revenue of about 20 lacs of rupees, and commands a force of about 4000 horse, and as many peons.* These are among the principal feudatories of the Mahratta state, which, in the course of a century and an half, from a few wandering bands of robbers, has arisen to the proud distinction of being the first native power of India. As their names, which may sound not a little uncouth to an English ear, will frequently occur in the subsequent pages of this work, the above concise account of them may be useful towards understanding their relative situation hereafter in that empire, which their ambitious projects convulsed.

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* Jaghire, or Jagheer, means a grant of land from a sovereign to a subject, revokable at pleasure; but generally, or almost always, for a life rent.

† Lord Wellesley, Appendix, p. 18.

In concluding our account of this singular race of men, a few reflections present themselves, to which a view of their extraordinary character and manners naturally give birth in the mind of every intelligent reader.

The Mahrattas, whether considered as a nation or as individuals, constitute a peculiar phænomenon in the history of human society. Superstitiously addicted to the mild rites of the Brahmin religion; never eating of any thing that has life, and by their belief in the metempsychosis, restrained from killing even the most noxious reptile that molests them, yet barbarously mutilating, and in their sanguinary warfare putting to death thousands of their fellow-creatures, and that often with aggravated tortures, they exhibit a contrast of character wholly unparalleled.

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* Ibid, p. 28.

The engines of that torture which they are said to carry with them to force confession of concealed treasure, are of a terrible description. The iron chair in which, heated red hot, the offender is placed, and the envelope of the same metal also heated red hot to encircle his head, are among a few of them. These are particularly mentioned by the missionaries who resided in the Carnatic at the time of their grand irruption there in 1740, and, in fact, for one of them, Pere Madeira, after having been first severely flogged, and exposed several days naked to a vertical sun, to make him discover hidden treasure, the chair and that envelope were heated red hot; but by the interposition of one of the generals he was respited.* Their more lenient punishments are slitting the nose, and cutting off the ears; but Bernier, who was an eye witness of their cruelties during the plunder of Surat in 1664, says, that to make the rich inhabitants discover their wealth, they were guilty of more horrid cruelties, cutting off the legs and arms of those who were suspected of secreting it.†

If it were only against the Moors, the ferocious invaders of their country, the despoilers of the Hindoo temples, and the remorseless murderers of the priests of Brahma, that these cruelties were directed, it would be less a subject of wonder, since Sevajee publicly announced himself the avenger of the Gods of Hindostan against the sanguinary violators of their shrines, meaning Aurungzeb and the Moguls; but their rage is indiscriminating, and Hindoos and Mahommedans are alike the victims of their unrelenting barbarities. How astonishing must this conduct appear to every reflecting mind! Scrupulous minutely to observe all the prescribed duties of their cast, with respect to diet and ablutions, even amidst the tumult of war, and often to the obstruction of the business of a campaign, yet practising every species of brutal inhumanity: how strange the transition from the meekness of prayer to the rage of plunder, from ablution in the purifying wave that washes away sin, to bathe in torrents of human blood. From all this pollution, however, the Brahmins, who share in the plunder, have the effrontery to tell them they are purified by the sacrifice of a buffalo, accompanied with many mysterious ceremonies, and with this wretched salvo their consciences are appeased.

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* See Lettres édifiantes, tom. xvi. p. 264.

† See his Memoir of the Mogul Empire, part 2d, p. 151.

This whole account will render less incredible what on good authority I had long ago intimated in the Indian Antiquities, when detailing the ancient sanguinary rites of Hindostan, that, even at this day, certain tribes of the ferocious race of Mahrattas are more than suspected of secretly cherishing a number of human victims, the most remarkable for personal beauty that can possibly be obtained, and generally in the full vigour and bloom of youth, for the rites of the ALTAR; of fattening them like the stall-fed oxen for slaughter; and on grand solemnities of festivity or grief, of actually offering up those unhappy victims to their gloomy goddess, CALĨ, in all the pomp of that tremendous sacrifice.*

Making war their sole profession, and letting themselves out to the best bidder, they are to be found in all quarters, and are alternately engaged by all parties. It is dangerous, however, to employ them, for the offer of better terms generally induces them to change sides, and, plunder being their grand object, they often devastate the very country which they were hired to defend. Their principal strength lies in their numerous cavalry, which they cherish with the greatest care, and their horses, like themselves, being inured to privations and perpetually in exercise, are of a hardier nature, and more capable of bearing fatigue, than any brought into the field by the princes of India. Rapid in their movements, and unincumbered with baggage, they render themselves formidable to the Mogul armies, by harassing their rear, by ravaging the country, and by cutting off their supplies. They avoid as much as possible a general engagement, but when it takes place they combat with resolution ; and in the use of the sabre are dreadfully dexterous. If however their arms are crowned with victory, their principal attention is instantly directed to plundering the camp of the vanquished, instead of pursuing them to extermination. Were they firmly united under one able commanding chief, as under Sevajee, they would be formidable indeed, and must soon be the sovereigns of Hindostan ; but their government being feudal, divided among many chiefs, mostly at variance with each other, their power is weakened in proportion, and it is only from their devastations that Hindostan has to fear.*

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* Indian Antiquities, vol. v. p. 79.

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* Besides the authors above referred to, Fryer and Thevenot, who were both in India when Sevajee flourished, may be consulted ; and in Mr. Cambridge's "War in India" will be found, dispersed, many interesting particulars respecting this singular nation, their manners and habits. Mr. C. justly observes "that it is owing to their arms alone, that the Mahommedans have been prevented from the usurpation of the whole peninsula of India," p. 157, second oct. edit.

CHAPTER V.

Transactions in Bengal.—Jaffier Khan made Soubahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; oppresses the English at Calcutta.—Succeeded in 1725 *by Sujah Khan.—Promotion of* ALLAVERDY, *and his Tartar Brother, to the first Authority in the Government—they intrigue against the Nabob, who dies in* 1739.—*Succeeded by his son Suffraze Khan, a Monster of Depravity—invaded and killed by Allaverdy, who usurps the Supreme Power.—The* MAHRATTAS, *in* 1742, *in two vast bodies make an Irruption into Bengal, and commit horrible Devastations.—Allaverdy contrives to sow jealousy between the two Commanders.—The Poonah Chief, bribed by two millions of Rupees, retires.—The Chief of Nagpour defeated and driven beyond the western Limits.—The Court of Delhi confirms Allaverdy in the Soubahship, and he finally makes Peace with the Mahrattas.—Appoints his Successor, and dies.—The situation of the English under Allaverdy's Government.*—SURAJAH DOWLAH.—*His character, and bitter hatred of the English.—Makes War upon them.—Besieges and takes Calcutta.—The* BLACK HOLE *Disaster.—Arrival in Bengal of Clive and Watson.—Calcutta retaken.—Battle of Plassey,* 1757.—*Meer Jaffier ascends the Musnud.—Death of Surajah Dowlah.*

AT the period when the English, settled at Calcutta, sent an embassy to the emperor Furrukseer at Delhi, as hath been already related, Bengal was governed by a viceroy from the court of Delhi, named Jaffier Khan, a rapacious and sanguinary tyrant, whose repeated exactions, as before intimated, had compelled them to make that appeal to the justice and liberality of the emperor. He was himself, at the time, by his envoy, a supplicant at the court of Delhi, soliciting that the large provinces of Bahar and Orissa might be annexed to his government of Bengal, which request was granted, together with the reversion of the whole to Sujah Khan, an Omrah of distinction, who had married his daughter, and who he intended should be his successor. With the increase of his power his tyranny and extortions kept pace; but the Company's agents thought it more prudent to soothe him with presents than provoke him to open hostility, by opposition; especially as there appeared little probability of redress from any application to the court, at that period distracted by rival factions. In 1725, death released them from his oppressive yoke; and he was succeeded in the government of the three provinces by that Sujah Khan, whose appointment, we before observed, had been confirmed by the Mogul.

Sujah acted at that time as viceroy for his father-in-law, in the province of Orissa. On receiving intelligence of his death he removed to Muxadavad, the capital of Bengal, where he was invested with the insignia of the authority of Nabob, or rather Soubahdar. He was accompanied thither by two Omrahs, brothers, whose history, as being of considerable importance in the transactions of this period, must be summarily related. These Omrahs were of Tartar origin, and had come to his court at Cattack, the capital of Orissa, with strong recommendations from Delhi. The elder, Hodgee Hamed, was cool, cautious, and cunning, but not endowed with any great portion of natural courage; the younger, Allaverdy, possessed a brave, active, vigorous, independent, mind. Brothers by blood, they were also bound to each other by the ties of inviolable friendship. Steadily pursuing one object, aggrandizement, these favoured foreigners gradually rose to the highest employments in the court and the camp. Hodgee became his prime minister, and

Allaverdy commander in chief of his army. With their master's elevation they also ascended, and continued to occupy the same high stations in the Soubahship, as those which they had filled in the inferior government of Orissa.

In 1729, Allaverdy was appointed to govern Bahar, a province which being perpetually harassed by the contentions of petty chiefs, not yet wholly subjugated by the Mogul arms, demanded a viceroy of his vigorous and military character, to restore and sustain order within its limits. This desirable event, after a considerable period and several severe conflicts with the chiefs in arms, he happily accomplished, and in 1736, forgetting his innumerable obligations to Sultan Sujah, under whom he then acted, solicited as his reward from Delhi, the government of Bahar, free from any dependence on that of Bengal. To his own well-founded claims for this boon, immense bribes were added by his brother Hodgee, the probable plunder of the Bengal treasury, and the grant was obtained; though the public promulgation of it was prudently delayed till that minister could be placed in safety beyond the justly-apprehended vengeance of Sultan Sujah. It was impossible, however, that a public grant of this nature should long remain concealed from the knowledge of the Soubah. He heard of it, and meditated a deep revenge on the perfidious brothers. Before, however, any measure of vengeance could be resorted to, the invasion of India by Nadir Shah took place, and the thunder of the storm that rolled over Delhi was heard in the distant provinces; it appalled the terrified governors, and paralyzed alike the arm raised to inflict vengeance, or to extend conquest. While however revenge only slept in his breast, he was assailed by a more dreadful foe, incurable disease! and before the departure of Nadir Shah from India, Sujah expired.

His only surviving son, Suffraze Khan, ascended the vacant throne, inheriting with it his father's inveterate hatred against the two brothers, which the dictates of prudence alone restrained from bursting forth into some act of decisive vengeance. But revenge in the soul of Suffraze was only *one* of many dreadful passions that agitated it; he was from his youth the victim of unbounded lust, and was sunk in perpetual inebriety. With the increase of his power his rage for women, intoxication, and every other criminal indulgence kept pace. His intellects, never very strong, at length became impaired by this long course of debauchery, which afforded an opportunity to his disaffected minister to join with other Omrahs of the court, equally disaffected, to attempt his removal from a throne which he had disgraced by his folly, and polluted by his crimes. By deep dissimulation and intrigue, after long solicitation, Hodgee obtained permission to resign his high employ, and depart the realm. When he appeared at the Durbar, at the usual audience of leave, instead of being treated with the respect due to a minister who had so long held the reins of government, he was the object of insult and mockery to the infatuated Sultan; and an honourable retirement was converted into a disgraceful banishment.

Affecting indignation at this treatment of his brother, Allaverdy immediately commenced his march for Bengal. Nothing could obstruct his impetuous career; and he was in the heart of the province before the Soubah had raised a man to oppose him. By exertions, however, of which from his voluptuous and indolent life he could scarcely have been deemed capable, he raised an army of 30,000 men, horse and foot, and met his enemy on the plain of Gheria, about five miles from Muxadavad. The army of his antagonist was not superior in numbers, but it was far superior in spirit. It consisted of a hardier class of soldiers than those which Bengal produced, many of them being Patans, the most warlike race of Hindostan, nurtured in the mountains of the north, amid the storms and snows of Caucasus. With troops, like these, and which in the recent wars of Bahar had seen much service, it was impossible for Suffraze successfully to contend. Treachery too had deeply infected every part of his army; and large bodies of troops deserting to the enemy left their master wholly unsupported, except by a few squadrons of horse. In this extremity his elephant driver, at the forfeit of his head, offered to conduct him safely back to his capital. He spurned at the cowardly proposal, and ordering him to push forward amidst the thickest of the foe that crowded around the standard of Allaverdy, at the head of his few remaining troops renewed the fight with desperate valour, and died more gloriously than he had lived.

Allaverdy after the battle immediately marched to Muxadavad, and, with loud acclamations of the delighted populace, was proclaimed Nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. His high military character, together with the moderation which he used in this great change of fortune, endeared him to all, but rendered him formidable to Nizam-al-Muluck at the court of Delhi, who could bear no rival in arms, or power. By his incitement, therefore, the Mahratta bands again visited the districts round Delhi, and demanding the chout or tribute for Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, were desired by the emperor to go and collect it themselves. Armed with this authority from the supreme power, and animated by the prospect of the immense booty to be obtained in those rich provinces hitherto sacred from their ravages, this mighty nation of marauders immediately began the preparations for the long-meditated irruption. They were proportionate to the magnitude of the *object*, and the extent of the *field* to be explored. After harassing the frontiers with inferior detachments, the generals of that nation in its two divisions of Poonah and Berar, in 1743, each at the head of a body of not less than 80,000 horse, with their usual celerity, but in different directions, burst in upon that devoted region. The army of Poonah, commanded by Bajerow; that of Berar, by Ragojee Boonsla; the same, who, in 1740, invaded the Carnatic. The two armies, sweeping every thing before them, met at Burdwan, where it was agreed that the war should be carried on in conjunction, and the plunder be equally divided.

Sensible of the dangers that surrounded him, but still undismayed, Allaverdy encamped near his capital, determined, while there existed such vast disparity of numbers, neither to give nor to accept battle. He permitted them, for a time, without opposition, to ravage the country, and glut themselves with plunder. Well skilled, though a foreigner, in Indian warfare, and all the wiles of Indian politics, he relied for eventual success on the more certain measures of intrigue and bribery. By emissaries retained at an high price in their respective camps, and of too distinguished a rank to create suspicion, he sowed between the generals the seeds of distrust and jealousy, insinuating to each that undue advantage had been taken, and a fair distribution had not been made of the provincial plunder. In discussing this subject a coolness was produced between them, and at length Allaverdy so far gained over the Poonah general as to induce him to agree that, on the consideration of two millions of rupees to be instantly paid, and three millions more, when they should have arrived in their own country, their troops should be immediately withdrawn. At a meeting holden for the purpose between the three commanders, these terms were ratified; but Bajerow alone kept firm to the compact, for having received the money he marched off with the treasure and his men, while Ragojee, with the usual faith of a Mahratta, continued plundering and devastating, wheresoever plunder was to be obtained.

Allaverdy having now accomplished one of the two objects which he had in view, their separation or expulsion, began the most vigorous preparations to attack Ragojee, but that wily chieftain avoided a general battle, and spreading desolation in his progress, retired into Orissa, which he wholly subjugated in the space of three months. In the following year, 1744, the indefatigable Allaverdy marched into that province at the head of all his forces, by various stratagems brought the enemy still reluctant, to engage him, totally discomfited him, and finally compelled him to retreat beyond its western boundary. Thus terminated an irruption, one of the most dreadful in the Indian annals, an irruption, still remembered with horror by the terrified Bengallers; "and I myself," says Major Rennell, writing in 1788, "have beheld many of the objects of their wanton barbarity, mutilated and defaced."*

Although during this invasion the European factories remained unmolested, and the English, in particular, received no other detriment than the loss of about 300 bales of raw silk which, in its passage down the river from Cossimbuzar to Calcutta, were seized upon by the Mahrattas, yet the great obstruction given to commerce throughout the provinces by these disasters, greatly impaired their profits, and retarded their payments. At the same time it had this pernicious effect, that while it enhanced the price it debased the fabrics of all kinds of manufactures. The affrighted inhabitants, in dread of personal insult and mutilation, fled from their looms and their fields, to the woods, where they perished with hunger, or were the food of tigers; and not a few sought

* Rennell's Memoir, p. 85, of the Introduction.

refuge among their countrymen at Calcutta, to whom they imparted their terrors. Under these impressions, and dreading a visit from those unprincipled robbers, the Indian inhabitants of the colony solicited and obtained permission at their own expence to dig a ditch round the Company's bounds, an extent of seven miles, and in six months nearly one half of that extent was finished; but those terrors at length subsiding, they discontinued the work; which from the occasion was called the *Mahratta ditch.* Allaverdy by no means opposed this act of self defence, nor, though guilty of some exactions on the ground that they who enjoyed the protection, should contribute to the expence of his arms, had the English any particular reason for complaint under his long and turbulent government.*

That reign was indeed embittered by various and successive calamities; for not long after, in a successful irruption of the Patans into Bahar, his brother Hodgee, then governor there, and who had been instrumental to the destruction of Mustapha Khan, the Patan general, was seized, publicly scourged like a criminal, and then cruelly put to death. Great bodies of Mahrattas too, chiefly from Berar, lured by the vast plunder which their countrymen in their former excursion had brought away, and incited by the court of Delhi, year after year poured in upon the more exposed parts of the province, ravaging and slaughtering without mercy, and kept his harassed armies continually in the field. At length, having contrived to make his peace with the emperor, a firmaun was issued confirming him Soubah of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, on condition of his annually remitting the ancient tribute of *six millions* of rupees. Of the Mahrattas, also, he finally purchased peace, by ceding to them, in perpetuity, all Orissa, south of Cattack; and having thus settled the affairs of that government of which he was originally an usurper, but was now the legal sovereign, he hoped to pass the few remaining years of his life in repose and felicity. An injudicious choice of a successor, however, destroyed that pleasing hope, and involved it in the deepest gloom and misery.

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* Orme, vol. ii. p. 45. Holwell's Indian Tracts, p. 86.

Having no male issue, he adopted from the surviving remains of his brother Hodgee's family Mirza Mahmud, the eldest son of the brave but unfortunate Zaindee Hamed, his nephew, whom in the first instance he had designed for his successor, and whose virtues and abilities justified the choice. Neither those virtues nor those abilities descended to his son, now only seventeen years of age, but old in every species of depravity; by habit and nature inflexibly cruel, sullen, obstinate, and vindictive. Flattered by minions from his infancy his insolence was unbounded, and, indulged by the over-weening fondness of Allaverdy in every gratification, his passions were headstrong and ungovernable. To this monster of vice the Soubahship of Bengal descended in 1756, and among the earliest acts of his reign was one of avowed hostility to the English, whom he had long beheld with rancour and suspicion, and whom he had basely calumniated to the dying Allaverdy. The occasion of his rooted aversion to them is stated to have been, summarily, as follows.

Among the Hindoo merchants, resident at Calcutta, and employed in providing the investments of the Company, there was one named Omichund, a man reported to be worth four millions of rupees, and the splendour of whose establishment was adequate to his princely fortune. To this man's protection had fled another Hindoo of eminence, by name Kissidas, whose family had been hostilely engaged in designs against his succession, and whose person the Soubah was anxious to secure. A letter was therefore addressed by him to the President, demanding that

Kissidas and his treasures should be given up; but from some doubts respecting the genuineness of the letter, in a country where forgery is practised without limit, for political as well as other purposes, no satisfactory answer having been returned, and the Nabob also being given to understand by his spies in Calcutta, that the English were busied in strengthening their fortifications in that city, a second letter was sent, ordering them immediately to desist, and threatening them with his vengeance if they did not destroy all the additional works already erected. It was in vain the Presidency now urged that those works were solely intended to resist the possible attacks of the French, with whom a war was immediately expected to break out, their persevering in constructing them was considered as an act of rebellion against his authority, and he immediately marched with his army to Cossimbuzar, where the English fort was invested, taken, and plundered. The army, said to have consisted of 50,000 men, then moved on towards Calcutta, and notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the rich merchants and bankers of the province interested in its trade, and the frequent arrival of letters of submission and humiliation, dispatched from Calcutta in hopes of mitigating his wrath, continued its course to Hoogley. This was done with such rapidity, that many of the troops died through excessive fatigue, and many by the intense heat of the sun darting its beams perpendicularly on their heads at the hottest season of the year, about the middle of June. The reason of this rapid progress was the tyrant's fear of losing by removal the immense plunder which he had been informed by his courtiers was to be found in the magazines of Calcutta, which they represented to him as one of the richest cities in the world, overflowing with the choicest productions of either hemisphere.

When, at length, the Presidency became convinced that they must owe their safety to resistance alone, the most vigorous measures possible, in their situation, were resorted to. What works of defence in that short space could be added to the existing ones, were added: and every preparation practicable was made by the garrison to repel the threatened assault. The regular garrison, however, consisted of only 264 men; the inhabitants serving as militia, amounted to 250, in all 514 men; one half of whom had never seen any service whatever. What, however, they wanted in number they made amends for in spirit and resolution; and therefore having previously sent the ladies and children belonging to the garrison, together with such as were infirm or otherwise unfit for active exertion, on board the vessels, of which there were several lying in the river, they awaited the dreadful contest with the intrepidity of Britons.

The town and fort were invested by this vast army on the 15th of June; but before the Nabob commenced the attack, he is said to have proposed an accommodation with the Governor, provided he would pay him the duties due upon the trade of Calcutta for 15 years, defray the expenses of his army, and deliver up the Indian merchants, the avowed objects of his indignation and vengeance, who, on suspicion of treachery, had been secured in the fort. This, however, being considered only as the insidious proposal of a tyrant, equally avaricious and sanguinary, was not assented to, the attack immediately commenced on a strong redoubt at the entrance of the town, called *Perrings*, whence his troops were repulsed with considerable loss. On the next day the assault was vigorously renewed in many different quarters, but with no more success, the garrison, though reduced by desertion and slaughter, to one half their original number, undauntedly persevering in all the arduous duties assigned them. On the third day the enemy was more successful, and their overwhelming battalions pouring into the city, on fire in many places, filled it with death and desolation. The barbarous rage of plunder was let loose upon the habitations and warehouses of unoffending merchants. What could not be plundered the devouring flames consumed; and the miserable remainder of the inhabitants, who had not already fled before the stern destroyer, now sought refuge on board a vessel that still lingered in the road. From the crowded deck with agonizing hearts they beheld the flames, and the yet more cruel foe, ravaging their property, while sorrowing, dejected, impoverished, they slowly descended that river which had so often witnessed their exultation and triumphs.

The garrison now found it necessary to retreat within the walls of the fort, weakened, but not dismayed; overpowered, but not vanquished. Unfortunately, at this critical juncture, Mr. Drake, together with the commanding officer on duty, forgetting the character of men and Britons, in the face of the astonished and indignant garrison, meanly fled from their posts, and escaped in a boat that accidentally lay at hand, leaving to Mr. Holwell the honour and the danger, at the head of about 190 brave men, to combat to the last extremity against a foe of such immense superiority. That extremity, it may be supposed, under such circumstances could not be far distant; and, in consequence, after opposing the advances of the enemy step by step with heroic bravery for three days longer, till a third even of this small band were either killed or dangerously wounded, on the morning of the 20th of June, a flag of truce was displayed on the ramparts, answered at noon, and in the evening the fort surrendered.

At five, the Nabob, inflated with his success, entered the fort, attended by his general, Meer Jaffier, and other great officers. There, seated in the principal apartment of the factory, he held his durbar in state, and received the adulatory compliments of his courtiers on the success of his arms, who compared him for valour and wisdom to Timur and Akber. His first order was to explore the treasury, which, from a variety of causes, proved to be exceedingly deficient, scarcely containing 50,000 rupees. On receiving this intelligence he expressed extreme surprise and indignation, and sent in a rage for Mr. Holwell to know where the vast treasures of the factory were buried. He reproached him for his presumption in attempting to defend the fort against so valiant a hero as himself, at the head of such a powerful army, and insisted upon his discovering the hidden treasure; but, mingling promises with threats, assured him on the word of a soldier, that no harm should befall him. He then commanded Omichund and Kissidas to be brought before him, to whom he behaved with more moderation than was expected; but in Omichund's treasury were found 400,000 rupees, which operated forcibly on his avarice, and probably disarmed his vengeance. Before seven o'clock that evening Mr. Holwell was again, twice, sent for on the subject of the treasure, but as no violent measures were resorted to, it was evident he meant to obtain by artifice what it was presumed would, by English firmness, be refused to severity. He was remanded to his companions in affliction, and the tyrant, after refreshment, retired to his repose.

The night approached; a night of woe and horror indescribable! The miserable remainder of the garrison, amounting in all to 146 persons, including Mr. Holwell, were assembled together under a varanda, or open gallery, surrounded by a strong guard. The night was intensely sultry, such as may be supposed in Bengal at the hottest season of the year, but increased considerably beyond its usual fervour. A place sufficiently large and secure for their confinement till the ensuing morning was sought for, or pretended to be sought for in vain. They were then ordered by the commanding officer to go into an apartment adjoining, whose dimensions were not 20 feet square, the common dungeon of the fort, and from its darkness and noisomeness, denominated by the garrison the BLACK HOLE. To the greater part of the prisoners the dimensions of this room were unknown; but some, to whom they were known, beginning to expostulate, the brutal chief ordered the first that hesitated to be cut down: the murmur ceased, and they were all with difficulty thrust in. The door, which opened inwards, was then locked upon them: upon far the greater part of them for ever. "Figure to yourself," says Mr. Holwell, one of the few who lived to tell the affecting tale, "figure to yourself, if possible, the situation of 146 wretches, exhausted by continual fatigue and action, thus crammed together in a cube of eighteen feet, in a close sultry night, in Bengal; shut up to the eastward and southward, *the only quarters whence air could come to us*, by dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north, open only to the westward by two windows, strongly barred within, through which we could receive scarce any the least circulation of fresh air."* It is impossible for imagination to *figure* any thing half so tremendous as this untimely interment in a gloomy and fœtid cavern; this awful anticipation of the horrors of sepulchral darkness!

They had not been many minutes incarcerated in this terrible dungeon before it became evident to all, who were capable of serious reflection, that death by suffocation must inevitably be the doom of by far the greater part of them, unless immediate relief could be obtained. Violent efforts were therefore instantly made to force open the door of their prison; but that door being very strong, and, as before observed, opening inward, all their exertions were ineffectual. In fact, those efforts only increased the rage of the fever that now began its dreadful work of devastation among them. In this state of awful suspense and perturbation, Mr. Holwell, who had placed himself near one of the windows, exhorted them, as the only means of preservation, to keep both body and mind as composed as possible. His remonstrances produced only a short interval of quiet, during which he applied to an old Jemautdar, who bore on his countenance some marks of humanity, promising him in the morning 1000 rupees, if he would separate the prisoners into two chambers. Apparently affected with their melancholy situation he went and used his efforts to accommodate them; but soon returned, and said it was impossible. A larger bribe was offered. He retired once more, and returned with the deathful intelligence that no relief could be afforded, for the *Nabob was asleep, and nobody dared to awake him.* Despair sate on the faces of all who heard it, and now crowding to the windows for *air,* distinction being forgot, and even friendship obliterated, each combated with ferocity against the other to obtain that invaluable blessing. In this tumultuous struggle, and closely wedged together in one compact mass, some, less robust of body, expired under the insupportable pressure; some fainting with the intolerable heat, sunk to rise no more! while others, parched with the ardors of a thirst never to be extinguished, filled the apartment with loud outcries for water. Indeed, *water! water!* soon became the universal cry, which when obtained by the kind offices of the good Jemautdar, only increased the fever which it was intended to assuage. The very sight of it threw them into convulsions, and occasioned a renewal of their dreadful conflicts, while in their eagerness to procure it, half of the precious boon was lost. The inhuman guards were all this time making themselves merry with their sufferings, and held up lights to the bars to have the diabolical satisfaction of viewing their deplorable contentions.

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* See Holwell's Narrative, in his Indian Tracts, p. 392.

The air of the dungeon now became in a high degree vitiated, being saturated with the effluvia of putrifying bodies, of which the stench was little less than mortal. Before midnight, all who were alive and had not partaken of the air at the window, were either seized with a lethargic stupefaction, or raving with delirium. Every kind of invective and abuse was uttered in hopes of provoking the guard to fire into the dungeon, and put an end to their miseries. Some frantic with their torments, were blaspheming their creator, and others imploring heaven with wild and incoherent prayers. Sometimes a dreadful silence ensued; and then again were renewed the shrieks of woe and the outcries of horror. At two o'clock only 50 remained alive, but even this number were too many to partake of the saving air; the contest for which and life continued until the morning, long implored, began to break, and with the hope of relief gave the few survivors a view of the dead. Agonizing at the sight of their deceased comrades, most of whom, a few days before, were in the bloom and vigour of life, those at the windows again renewed their earnest solicitations with the guard to open the door, but in vain. Thinking that Mr. Holwell, who, entirely overcome with the heat and pressure, had retired from the window to die amid the ghastly throng expiring around him, might, if yet alive, have more influence than themselves, a search that doubtless saved his life, was instantly made for him, and he was again placed in his painful state of pre-eminence, the window. Before, however, he was sufficiently recovered to become their orator, an officer sent by the Nabob came and enquired if the English chief yet survived, and shortly after the same man returned with the thrice welcome mandate to open the prison. The dead were heaped in such piles against the door, and the survivors had so little strength remaining, that they were employed nearly half an hour in removing them before they could clear a passage sufficiently wide to go out, one at a time; when, horrible to relate! out of 146 who went in, no more than 23 came out alive! The Nabob's troops beheld the dreadful havock of death, and the deplorable state of the survivors, without commiseration, although the intolerable stench that issued from the dungeon caused them to remove to some distance. At length, from fear of infection, they were compelled to clear the dungeon, and afterwards dug a deep trench on the outside of the fort, into which all the dead bodies were promiscuously thrown. Such is the statement of this dreadful affair, unequalled in the annals of human misery! given for the most part in the words of the respectable chief himself, (quæque ipse miserrima vidit) who notwithstanding the shock which his constitution suffered on this occasion, returned to England, and lived till the advanced age of 90.

Although the guilt of this dreadful massacre is not wholly imputed by the writer to the Soubah, who had only issued general orders for the secure confinement of the prisoners during the night, but to the enraged soldiers on duty, in revenge for so many of their comrades slain in the siege; yet his subsequent conduct evinced the callous obduracy of his heart. When shortly after Mr. Holwell, unable from weakness to stand, was, at his command, carried before him, he shewed no symptoms of compassion for his condition, or remorse for the death of the other prisoners, but sternly demanded the *treasures*, and threatened him with still farther injuries, if he persisted in concealing them.

He was then, in that weak state, put into fetters, and with two other gentlemen of the council, supposed also to be conscious to the concealment of the treasure, sent in an open boat, under accumulated indignities, to Muxadavad. The rest of the prisoners were permitted to go where they pleased, and a few of them, by the utmost exertion of their remaining strength, were happy enough to reach the vessels that still lay in sight at Govindpore. The remainder having removed to the farthest distance possible from the scene of woe, crawled into some deserted huts in the vicinity, where the compassionate natives administered to their wants, and as far as they could, assuaged their maladies.*

Having fulfilled, as he thought, his menace of exterminating the English, and having collected together the plunder, (which, altogether, did not exceed the sum of 200,000l.) on the 2d of July the Nabob quitted Calcutta to return to his capital, leaving a garrison of 3000 men, and Monick-chund, one of his generals, in the command of the place. In passing by the French and Dutch settlements, he also threatened *them* with extirpation unless they paid him a large sum of money. In their dread of a similar catastrophe, the Dutch bought their peace with 450,000 rupees; the French, who are said to have supplied him, in his march to Calcutta, with 200 chests of gunpowder, paid the fine of only 100,000 rupees. In the mean time those who had honourably, as well as those who had ignominiously, taken refuge on board the ships had passed down the river under the fire of several pieces of cannon, mounted to obstruct their progress, till at length they reached Fulta, the station of all the Dutch shipping, where, on account of the southerly monsoon, it being impossible to quit the river, they resolved to remain; though inconveniently crowded together, exposed to all varieties of weather, without change of raiment, and often without provision, they suffered hardships little inferior to those who had experienced the horrors of the infernal dungeon. Mutual altercations, and severe reproaches for what now could not be remedied, greatly added to the distress of their situation; till, at length, wearied out with ineffectual wrangling, they agreed to dispatch messengers to Madras to make known their deplorable situation, and to solicit those immediate and effectual succours which could alone save them from utter ruin.

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* Mr Holwell's Letter, in his "Indian Tracts," p. 387.

The deputation arrived at Madras on the 5th of August, and nothing could exceed the horror and consternation into which the presidency was plunged by the fatal intelligence of which they were the bearers. Although occupied in preparing to send a detachment of 300 Europeans, solicited by Salabad-jing to assist him in getting rid of the French army under M. Bussy, an object under any other circumstances of the highest possible importance, the destination of that force was immediately altered to Bengal, to which 600 more European regulars were added, together with 1500 sepoys. Admiral Watson was fortunately at that time in the road with a squadron consisting of the Kent of 64, Cumberland of 70, Tyger of 60, Salisbury of 50, Bridgwater of 20 guns, and a fireship; to which were added, as transports, three of the Company's ships, and two smaller vessels. Colonel Clive was requested to take the command of the forces, and embarked in the Kent, the flag-ship of Admiral Watson; while Admiral Pocock hoisted his flag in the Cumberland. This formidable force sailed for the Ganges on the 10th of October, and after encountering much bad weather, from the violence of the northern monsoon, during which the Cumberland, the largest ship, and having on board 250 men, and the Marlborough, one of the Company's ships, loaded with the greatest part of the field-artillery, were separated from the fleet, arrived at Fulta on the 15th of December. This misfortune proved a very considerable diminution of the force. The absence of the troops, however, the more fatal disaster of the two, was in part repaired by the recovering men of Captain Kilpatrick's detachment, which had previously arrived in the Ganges, but by encampment on its swampy shores had suffered severely, and by volunteers who enrolled themselves at Fulta.

At length, every thing being prepared for this important expedition, on the 27th of December all the ships and vessels of whatever denomination that had assembled at Fulta were put in motion, and the next afternoon anchored at Mayapore, a town ten miles below the fort of Buz-buzia, which Admiral Watson determined to attack on the following day. As there could be little doubt of success, and it was probable that the vanquished garrison would endeavour to make good their retreat to Calcutta, an ambuscade was planned to intercept that retreat. It was directed by Colonel Clive in person, and was the prelude to a more serious action than was expected; for Monick-chund, who has been mentioned as the general left in command at Calcutta, having marched down to Buz-buzia the day before, at the head of 1500 horse and 2000 foot, a general engagement took place, and was continued by the Moguls for some time with resolution, till a cannon ball passing very near the turban of Monick-chund checked his ardour for combat, and induced him to turn his elephant, the usual signal of retreat to an eastern army. That signal was obeyed with no reluctance by his troops, who immediately marched away to the north-east, and with their chief expeditiously returned to Calcutta. The success of his master in taking that fort had filled this hero with a vain confidence of superiority; and he made no doubt but that a similar triumph would attend the march of his own army to Buz-buzia. The vigorous exertions of a Clive, though extremely cramped in the late engagement, had taught this presumptuous chief a very different lesson. So deep indeed was the impression, that he remained in Calcutta only a few hours, when, leaving 500 men to defend the fort, he hurried away with his fugitive bands to Hoogly, and thence to the terrified Nabob at Muxadavad. In the mean time, the Kent, which had outsailed the other ships, anchoring before Buz-buzia, with her guns alone silenced the cannon of that fort, but the troops having been extremely fatigued, it was resolved to delay the assault till the next morning. The garrison however saved them the trouble, for taking advantage of the darkness that concealed their motions, they decamped in the course of the night. The two intermediate forts of Tannah and Aligur were also, on the approach of the fleet deserted, and at 9 o'clock on the 2d of January, 1757, the Kent and Tiger anchored before the gates of Fort William, but for want of wind could not immediately present their broadsides, during which disadvantage the Mogul garrison with an unexpected vigour cannonaded them briskly from the line of guns fronting the river, and killed several men. The encreasing fire from the ships, however, soon silenced them, and by 11 o'clock the fort was evacuated. A detachment under the command of Captain Coote (the troops with Colonel Clive having not yet arrived) immediately landed, retook possession of the fort, and with loud acclamations, once more, hoisted on the ramparts the colours of Britain.

The next day Admiral Watson solemnly re-instated Mr. Drake, and the former members of the council in the government. Their sensations, when again entering that fort from which some had been driven, and others had dishonourably fled, in the dark hour of peril, may be more easily conceived than expressed. To their surprise they found the greatest part of the merchandize belonging to the Company remaining in the warehouses without detriment. It was the Nabob's portion of the plunder, and had not been removed. All other species of moveable property had been seized upon, and carried away. Many of the best houses in the settlement had been demolished, and a still greater number had suffered by the conflagration. About 50,000 of the Indian inhabitants had returned to their dwellings during the government of Monick-chund, but these were mostly of inferior rank: the superior classes knew and dreaded his insatiable rapacity.

The positive orders of Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive were, to obtain full reparation of all injuries, and, if necessary, to attack the tyrant in his capital. The national honour had received a deadly wound in his triumph over Calcutta, and the horrors of the dungeon cried aloud for exemplary vengeance. Impelled by these orders, and animated with these sentiments, on hearing that the town of Hoogly was in great consternation, they resolved to attack it while that impression remained. The fort was garrisoned with 2000 men, and 3000 more had been dispatched from Muxadavad for the defence of the town; but these latter retreated on receiving intelligence of the advance of the English. A portion of the fleet, and a competent number of military without difficulty soon effected the capture of a place, incapable of making any vigorous defence. Here they retaliated on the Nabob some of the evils inflicted on Calcutta, setting fire to the buildings and storehouses, and greatly distressed the enemy by destroying the large granaries of rice collected in the neighbourhood. Having done this service, and without any intention of keeping possession of the place, the expedition returned to Calcutta.

The Nabob, highly exasperated at this new insult, immediately left his capital at the head of all his forces. The English were prevented by the want of their field artillery, and of bullocks to draw it, from immediately marching to meet him, but were not negligent in making the necessary preparations to receive him, should he a second time pay a visit to Calcutta. The army encamped about a mile northward of the town, in a situation extremely well chosen, where they waited his approach, and the arrival of their artillery. That approach was not long delayed; and, soon after, a partial action took place, in which he lost 22 officers of distinction, 600 men, and 500 horses. This somewhat damped the ardour of his courage, and he retired to some distance. In the mean time intelligence was brought to Calcutta that war had been declared between France and England. As the French were strong at Chandernagore, where they had a large body of Europeans and a train of field artillery, Colonel Clive apprehended that if they should join the Nabob, the English force, strong as it was, would scarcely be able to cope with them, and therefore, mingling prudence with valour, was willing to try the effect of negociation. A correspondence with the Nabob was, in consequence, opened by means of Omichund, who attended that prince, and was high in his favour. The Nabob, not without his apprehensions of the final result of the contest, consented, and among the terms demanded by the English were the full restitution of all plundered effects; a permission to fortify Calcutta in whatever manner they might think proper; liberty to coin gold and silver in a mint of their own; exemption of their merchandize from all taxes; and in general a renewal of all the immunities granted the Company by the emperor FURRUKSEER. To these terms he assented, swore to abide by them, and re-commenced his march to the capital; but, evasion being suspected, and it being afterwards proved that he secretly abetted the French, and had even sent the government of Chandernagore a present of 100,000 rupees, all confidence in him was lost, and revenge only slumbered to be poured upon his head in a tenfold proportion.

The Marlborough having at length arrived with the field artillery, and a fleet from Bombay having brought a large additional force, the English troops were thought powerful enough to attack the French and Moguls united. Accordingly, on the 7th of March, the camp formed near Calcutta broke up, and, as the French had acted a very perfidious part both on the present and on the former occasion, the march against Chandernagore was instantly commenced. The Nabob, by expostulation and direct menaces, endeavoured to retard the fate of that settlement, but in vain. It was too near, too formidable, and too malignant a rival to be longer endured. The French, pre-eminent in military tactics, had fortified Chandernagore in the strongest manner. The works were of the best masonry, and the cannon were of an unusual magnitude. The garrison consisted of 600 Europeans, and 300 sepoys. I must again, however, repeat the impossibility of going, in this work, into the details of battles and sieges, except on occasions of the highest interest and importance. Let it suffice to say, that the Kent, Tiger, and Salisbury, being so stationed as to batter the fort, in front, with irresistable effect, the batteries erected on the land side, exerted their fire in other quarters with proportionate success; and, though the place was gallantly defended during the time of the assault, in a very few hours this fine settlement was completely in the possession of the English, never to be restored. The amount of the plunder, of various kinds, however, did not exceed 100,000l. sterling, with which the ships being loaded they returned in triumph to Calcutta.

The account of the surrender of Chandernagore reached the Nabob at the same juncture with intelligence of a still more disagreeable nature, that a vast army of Patans were in full march to invade Bahar, and that they had engaged Balajee Row, the general of the Mahrattas, to invade Bengal. Although a part of his army, intended to raise the siege of Chandernagore, had already advanced within 20 miles of Hoogley, the artful despot now changed his tone, and not only sent letters of congratulation to Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, expressing the strongest desire to remain in friendship and alliance with them, but offered the territory of Chandernagore to the English on the same terms as those by which the French Company had held it. Shortly afterwards, the intelligence of the invasion of the Patans proving untrue, he repented of his proffered generosity, and openly protected and patronized the French, furnishing Mr. Law, the chief of the French factory at Cossimbuzar, who had raised a body of men to act offensively, with money, arms, and ammunition. On hearing that Colonel Clive had sent a detachment in pursuit of this Mr. Law, he grew enraged, and declared publicly he would put Mr. Watts, the chief of the English factory at the same place, to death: at the same time he gave orders to the general of his army that had advanced towards Chandernagore, to remain at Plassey, in the island of Cossimbuzar, 30 miles to the south of Muxadavad, and consequently so far on its way to Calcutta. Clive, at length, finding that with a prince so perfidious no measures were to be kept, that the articles of the treaty remained still unfulfilled, that in short no restitution was made or ever intended to be made; having moreover been informed that it was the Nabob's avowed purpose, declared to his courtiers in some vain-glorious moment, that after having vanquished the Patans, he would return, and exterminate all the English in his dominions, and that, to accomplish this purpose, he had actually invited M. Bussy to join him with all his army from Deccan.—Clive, I say, fully acquainted with these particulars, resolved on WAR. It was a war deeply interesting in its conduct and results both to Asia and Europe; it taught the inutility of myriads in the embattled field without a soul to animate, and a head to direct them; it tore an empire from the house of Timur, and gave it to the "merchant princes" of a remote island in the western ocean.

A variety of circumstances led to the conclusion that, notwithstanding the immense army and resources of the Nabob, the contest would be favourable to the English. His tyranny and cruelties had arrived at an intolerable height. He had imprisoned Monick-chund, and fined him a million of rupees on account of the effects which that officer had plundered at Calcutta. Every man at his court that had wealth trembled at his rapacity. Two brothers, named the SEATS, the richest men in the province, were in such a constant state of alarm that they found it necessary secretly to engage a large body of troops for the defence of themselves and their property; if necessary, even against the Nabob himself. Assassination by poison or the dagger were in such frequent use since his ascension of the musnud, that no omrah, who attended his durbar, went without apprehension that he should never return. The spirit of rebellion had long lurked among his courtiers, and now a conspiracy deeply laid, but cautiously conducted, was verging on maturity, at the head of which were Roydoolub, his Duan, or treasurer, and his principal general, Meer Jaffier, who, as himself declared to Mr. Watts, the resident at Cossimbuzar, was in perpetual danger of his life from the sanguinary bias and dreadful caprices of his master. Mr. Watts was instructed to fan this flame of general discontent, and to stipulate those conditions with Jaffier, upon which Colonel

Clive promised to raise him to the musnud in case of success. The principal conditions stipulated were, "A full restitution in money for the losses sustained by the Company and individuals; a re-imbursement of the charges of the military and naval force in the expedition; the total expulsion of the French from Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and a large additional grant of territory round Calcutta." A treaty to this effect having been mutually agreed to, and signed, and all the necessary preparations previously made, the troops intended for the attack on the tyrant's capital were put in motion. Into the particulars of this expedition, and the consequent battle of Plassey, on account of its great importance, I shall enter with more than usual detail. I must here remark that my business is faithfully to record historical facts; but neither on this, nor on any other occasion of our interference with the princes of Hindostan, have I room, or inclination, to engage in political discussion.

On the 13th of June, 1757, the whole army moved forward from Chandernagore, to which place they had previously advanced; the Europeans, with the artillery, stores, and ammunition, in 200 boats, towed by the Indian rowers; the sepoys, in sight, along the high road, made by the Mogul government from Hoogley to Patna. At Hoogley the new governor threatened to oppose the passage of the boats, but a twenty-gun ship that attended them, coming up and anchoring before the fort, together with a menacing letter from Clive, prevented his putting that threat in execution. The commander had already dispatched letters to the Nabob, upbraiding him with his multiplied perfidies, and announcing his approach. A rumour of the conspiracy to dethrone him, with Jaffier at its head, had reached his ears, and after some angry messages had passed between them, he was preparing to attack the latter in his palace. The sudden flight of Mr. Watts, the envoy, and the other gentlemen of the factory at Cossimbuzar, convinced him of the reality of that conspiracy; and now filled with consternation, and well aware of the great influence as well as military abilities of his general, he laid aside his hostile intentions towards him, and endeavoured by every means in his power to mollify his anger, and separate him from his English connection. The meditated assault was, therefore, converted into a friendly negociation, and Jaffier put on the appearance of being reconciled to his master. When solicited, however, to attend the durbar, being apprehensive of some violence, he declined the honour. The stake was great, a kingdom! and no time was to be lost. The Nabob, therefore, relinquishing his state, condescended to visit Jaffier, carrying with him but a slender guard. This visit, and the explanation that followed, produced a reconciliation; but only sincere on the part of the Nabob; though sanctioned by mutual oaths on the Koran. The confidence with which this interview inspired the Nabob, induced him immediately to write a letter full of invective and breathing defiance to Colonel Clive; at the same time he ordered his whole army, in which were now included the troops of Jaffier, without delay, to commence their march to Plassey.

In the mean time the English army had advanced to Cutwah, on the western shore of the Ganges, opposite the island of Cossimbuzar, and after some little resistance, had taken possession of the fort which commanded the passage of the river. Here Clive received letters from Jaffier, stating the circumstance of his pretended reconciliation with the Nabob, but in spite of his oath solemnly taken on the Koran, avowed his determination of abiding by his prior contract with the English commander; he also informed him that on the moment of writing he was preparing to quit the city for the camp, but as he proposed no plan of operations, Clive remained for some time in a state of the greatest perplexity what plan to pursue, especially as the English had no horse, and the principal strength of the enemy lay in his very formidable body of cavalry. In this dilemma he summoned a council of war, and the majority, under the existing circumstances, were against immediate action. In this opinion Clive at first coincided; but the dread of imputations which might be dishonourable to the English name and character among the princes of Hindostan, who might impute his inactivity to timidity, determined him, at length, to pursue that line of conduct which valour dictated, and glory approved. Taking, therefore, all the risque upon himself, and resolved to brave every difficulty, he issued orders that the army should cross the river the next morning. With the first beam of the rising sun those orders were carried into execution, and, by four o'clock in the afternoon, the whole army was landed on the opposite shore, impatient to be led against the enemy. Here other letters arrived from Jaffier with information that the Nabob had halted at Muncarra, a village six miles to the south of the city of Cossimbuzar; that he was entrenching himself, and intended there to wait the event; and he recommended that the English army should attack him by surprise, marching round by the inland part of the island. No junction, or co-operation of forces being even now intimated, Colonel Clive returned this decided answer; that he should immediately march to Plassey, and the next day advance six miles farther to the village of Daudpoor, where, if Meer Jaffier did not join him, he would make peace with the Nabob. Before sun-set the troops were again in motion; but the immense labour of towing the boats against a stream uncommonly rapid prevented their proceeding with expedition, and it was one o'clock in the morning when they reached Plassey.

A grove of mango trees, of considerable extent, adjoined to Plassey, and of this grove the army took immediate possession. They had scarcely done this, before their ears were assailed with the sound of martial music, such as generally accompanies the night-watches of an Indian camp; by this they were convinced that a hostile army was encamped at no great distance, and, on cautious enquiry, it was found to be the Nabob's. On finding the English slower in their progress than his startled imagination had suggested, he had altered his intention of remaining at Malcurra, and arrived at Plassey twelve hours before them. The proper guards and centinels being stationed, the wearied soldiers were permitted to take repose; the crisis was too awful, from the vast disparity between the two armies, to allow the eyes of the general and his chief officers to be closed in slumber. The whole of the English force consisted of a body of 900 Europeans, 100 topasses, and 2000 sepoys; in all 3000 men, with eight field pieces, all six-pounders, and two howitzers. To these the advancing morning would see opposed the formidable army of 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and 50 pieces of cannon, for the most part of the largest calibres, 24 and 32 pounders. The cavalry, too, which Clive chiefly dreaded, both men and horses, drawn from the northern regions, were of a more robust class than any he had been accustomed to encounter in the armies of Coromandel. Near the grove, and on the banks of the river, stood a hunting-house of the Nabob, the summit of which Clive with the break of dawn ascended to take a comprehensive view of the numerous battalions, already alarmed and in motion, with which his small but resolute army had to contend. He was struck with the splendor of their battle array, and the exulting confidence which they displayed, as they quitted their entrenchments, and marched into the plain on which so many were that day doomed to perish. They advanced towards the grove in large columns of horse and foot, and in the openings between the columns were interspersed the artillery, mounted on huge machines, raised six feet from the ground, and drawn by 40 or 50 yoke of white oxen of the largest size, while behind each cannon walked an elephant, trained to assist at difficult tugs, by shoving with his forehead against the hinder part of the carriage. Against this immense unwieldy army the English general had now to oppose the efforts of genius, and the energies of disciplined valour.

The first display of that genius was shewn in his instantly ordering the army which he commanded to quit the GROVE, as their longer continuance beneath its gloomy covert might, by the enemy, be imputed to timidity, and his boldly drawing them up in a line with the hunting-house, in the very front of the advancing foe. The European battalion, with three pieces on their *right*, and the same number on their left, occupied the centre of that line; the sepoys, in two equal divisions, were stationed one on the right hand, and the other on the left, of the battalion. The two remaining field-pieces and the howitzers were advanced 200 yards in front of the left division of sepoys, and posted behind two brick-kilns, whence in the course of the day they did effectual execution. Thus every thing being arranged by the wisdom and prudence of their accomplished general, the army waited, in awful silence, the attack which was to decide the fate of the English in Bengal.

On the plain of Plassey were two tanks, or public reservoirs of water, the one much larger than the other, and considerably nearer to the grove. These tanks are generally surrounded with a mound of earth, at some distance from the margin of the water. On the mound of the latter of these tanks, that nearest the grove, a body of about 40 Frenchmen, fugitives from Chandernagore, and in the pay of the Nabob, under the command of one Sinfray, had advantageously taken their station with four pieces of light cannon. In a line with this tank, also, close to the banks of the river, two larger pieces of ordnance were stationed. Behind these posts 5000 horse and 7000 foot were drawn up under the command of Meer Murden, the Nabob's favourite general. Meer Jaffier and the confederate generals were in a distant part of the field, determined, as it should seem, to preserve his oath to God and his fidelity to the Colonel, by standing neuter in this arduous contest.

The first shot was fired by the party at the tank, which seemed to be the signal for commencing the fire through the whole line of the artillery of the Nabob. The shot from the French detachment did some execution; but that from the Mogul artillery, being unskilfully pointed, flew too high. The two advanced field pieces in front answered the fire from the tank; the dreadful fire of the European battalion was directed against the heavy artillery on the plain, but from the distance they kept could not reach the guns. Every shot however took effect either in one or other of the numerous bodies of infantry or cavalry opposed to them; and dreadful was the slaughter, horses and men rolled promiscuously together over the bloody plain. In order to induce the enemy to advance their heavy artillery nearer, a stratagem was devised and practised; the troops were ordered to retire into the grove. Elated by this retreat, the imagined effect of their prowess, the Moguls moved forward, and fired with increased vivacity, but their shot only struck the trees, for the men were ordered to sit down, all but the cannoneers, who now poured the destructive fire of their artillery upon them with the effect desired; silencing the guns, and exterminating those who worked them. Explosions of powder were now heard frequently among their artillery; and this seemed the moment for rushing on the disheartened and confounded enemy; but in a council holden at the drum head it was determined to continue the cannonade during the rest of the day, and at midnight to attack the Nabob's camp. To add to their misfortune, about noon, a very severe shower of rain fell, and so materially damaged the enemy's powder that their fire slackened considerably; while the English ammunition continued uninjured, and their fire unabated.

All this time the Nabob, justly apprehensive that no superiority of numbers would ultimately prevail against British skill and valour, remained in his tent, far from the reach of danger, and deeply agitated with terror. Notwithstanding this, his attendants, one half of whom were engaged in the conspiracy, flattered him with the assurance of decisive victory. Intelligence being, at length, brought him that his favourite general Meer Murdeen was killed by a cannon-ball, that terror became excessive, and in an agony of conflicting passion he sent in haste for Meer Jaffier. As soon as the general entered the tent, he tore his turban from his head, and throwing it on the ground, exclaimed; " Jaffier, that turban you must defend." He promised to do so at every risque, but immediately on quitting the tent wrote word of what had passed to Colonel Clive, and urged him either to press forward that instant, or to attack the Nabob's camp at three the next morning. The incessant firing operating on the messenger's fears, prevented his immediate advance, and in the mean time, the Nabob's terrors continually increasing, he consulted his courtiers as to what in this extremity was best to be done. Roydoolub, the treasurer, taking advantage of them, recommended his immediate return to his capital. The Nabob acquiesced, and ordered the army to retreat into the intrenchments. No time was lost in making these orders known; the cannonade ceased on the part of the enemy; the trains of oxen were perceived yoking to the artillery, and the whole army was soon in full retreat. The French party at the tank, alone remained firm in their station, and continued the firing; till Clive, in person advancing with a strong detachment drove them away, and planting the English artillery upon the mound, cannonaded from it the fugitive Moguls.

The main body of the English army now advanced towards the camp of the enemy. On their march a considerable portion of their army was observed to linger in the rear, and by their motions towards the north-east angle of the grove it was supposed that the baggage and boats were intended objects of their attack: a detachment with cannon was therefore sent to oppose their progress. They proved eventually to be the troops of Jaffier; but their signals were not understood, and the fire of the artillery soon stopped the approach of the supposed enemy. Advancing still nearer to the intrenchments of the enemy, a more vigorous cannonade than ever was now commenced by the English. Galled by the fire, some regiments of horse came out of the intrenchments, threatening to charge sword in hand, and several pieces of their artillery were again put in motion; but the former were constantly repulsed by the well-directed fire of the cannon, and the havock made by the shot among the bullocks rendered the latter absolutely unmanageable. At length the troops of Jaffier being recognized, and their desertion of the Nabob's standard being evident, Clive resolved to take advantage of this circumstance, and the panic universally prevailing through the Mogul army, by storming their camp. After a most judicious disposition of his little force, it pressed forward in three divisions; the works, principally defended by the French, were soon carried, and the astonished foe fled with precipitation; their terrified monarch leading the way, mounted on a camel urged to its utmost speed, and accompanied by about 2000 of his fleetest horse. Although immense spoil was spread around them, the English soldiers, being promised ample compensations in money, suffered not their ardour to cool, nor their progress to be impeded by the plunder of it; but received, with acclamation the orders of their general, to march on, that evening, to Daudpore, where by a note written hastily on the field of victory, he requested Jaffier to meet him the next morning.

To that conference Meer Jaffier, attended by his son Meerum, was punctual, but approached the Colonel under evident apprehensions of his displeasure for not having joined the British army, conformably to his promises. Clive, though, not wholly satisfied with the efforts he had made, was too magnanimous to reproach him, and accepted his apologies for his conduct. He then embraced him, and aloud saluted him Soubah of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. He advised him not to delay an instant his march to Muxadavad, in order to prevent the escape of Surajah Dowlah, and the plunder of his treasures: promised that he himself would follow with all possible celerity; and by him dispatched letters to the other confederated chiefs, particularly to Monick-chund, promising him that no enquiry should be made concerning the plunder of Calcutta.

With respect to Surajah Dowlah himself, with such rapidity was his flight effected that he arrived at his capital before the midnight after the battle, attended by some of his principal omrahs, equally well mounted. These, quickly assembled in council, began to deliberate what was best to be done in the present calamity. Their opinions were various and opposite: some recommended his throwing himself wholly upon the generous clemency of the English; but this was rejected, as springing from treachery. Others were for a liberal advance of pay to the army, and the Soubah's again appearing at their head the next morning. Out of the sound and the reach of the English cannon, this advice appeared the most plausible, and three months pay to the troops was immediately ordered. The morning, however, found the Soubah engaged in an employ widely different from that of commanding armies; he was preparing with the utmost precipitation for flight, and had already sent away his women, with 50 elephants laden with treasure, and necessaries, meaning himself to follow under the covert of the ensuing night. At ten that night, taking with him a casket of his most valuable jewels, disguised in mean attire, and shuddering at the quivering of a leaf, the conqueror of Calcutta secretly went out of a window of his palace, and attended only by his favourite concubine, and the eunuch who governed his seraglio, got undiscovered into a boat prepared for the purpose by the eunuch, and rowed away to the northward, meaning to go to Patna, where the governor was the faithful friend of his family.

Meer Jaffier, on his arrival, having been informed of the Sultan's flight, immediately dispatched various parties in pursuit of him. Many of his infamous parasites were taken in endeavouring to effect their escape, and intelligence soon arrived that the women, and elephants with the treasure, were stopped by a party of Jaffier's troops at a town on the Ganges, 15 miles north-east of Muxadavad. On the 29th of June Colonel Clive, at the head of a large proportion of his army, the main body of which lay encamped in the neighbourhood, made his public entry into Muxadavad, and was lodged in a magnificent palace, called MORAUDBAUG. Here he was immediately attended by Meerum, the son of Jaffier, with whom in a short time he returned to the palace of the late Nabob, of which Jaffier had taken possession. In the great hall of audience, where the musnud was fixed, on which enthroned Surajah Dowlah sate on public days, Jaffier, with the great officers in the city, was waiting to receive him. The first salutations having mutually taken place, Clive led him towards the musnud, and, placing him upon it, made obeisance to him as lord of the three provinces, and presented a plate with gold rupees; in the same manner all the Omrahs present, likewise, paid their homage, and presented gold. Afterwards he was publicly proclaimed Nabob, and the general rejoicings proved how welcome was the change to an oppressed and irritated people.

The awful hour of retribution for so many extortions and murders as Surajah Dowlah had committed was at hand; and the vengeance of heaven was directed by one of the objects of his cruelty. So many parties were sent in pursuit of him, that it was scarcely possible for him to escape. The rowers of his boat had by very great exertions reached Rajamal, a town 70 miles north of Muxadavad. Here, overcome with excessive fatigue, they were compelled in the night to stop. Close by the river spread a deserted garden, under whose umbrageous covert the Nabob and his concubine were happy to procure shelter. At break of day he was recognized by a man of mean condition, who had however good reason to remember him, for on a former sanguinary expedition that way, for some slight offence he had ordered the poor fellow's ears to be cut off. The injured man immediately communicated the intelligence to a brother of Meer Jaffier who resided in Rajamal. He was instantly secured, and delivered to the soldiers who were in quest of him to be conveyed to Muxadavad, which was done with every mark of studied insult and indignity. At midnight, bound and covered with bruises, he was brought, as a common felon, into that palace of which a few days before he had been the despotic lord. Meer Jaffier is said to have relented at the piteous spectacle, and as he lay prostrate before him, overwhelmed with the dread of death, and with tears imploring *life alone*, wished to preserve a prince who had been so highly his benefactor. But Meerum, his son, a youth not seventeen, to the last degree fierce and barbarous, insisted on instant death, in which decision joined many of the courtiers, who saw the impolicy of preserving the possible source of so much future contention. Others, however, induced by respect for Allaverdy's family, inclined to mercy, among whom apparently Jaffier. His committing him, however, to the care of Meerum, his decided enemy, for the night, argues little in favour of his sincerity; for Meerum, when his father had retired to his seraglio, by a confidential servant sent an immediate mandate for his execution. So eager were the executioners to perform their dreadful office, that when the agonizing Sultan requested time only sufficient to make his ablutions, and say his prayers, that he might die a true mussulman, a pot of water, which accidentally stood in the chamber, was hastily thrown over his head, and he was dispatched with repeated stabs of swords and poniards. The next morning his mangled remains were exposed on an elephant through the city, and then consigned to the tomb of Allaverdy.

The important work of the restitutions was now seriously entered upon; but the sum which Jaffier had engaged to pay on that score was found far to exceed all the treasures left in coined money and jewels by the deceased Nabob. The sum originally stipulated amounted to 22,000,000 of sicca rupees, equal to 2,750,000 pounds sterling, including donations to the squadron, the army, and the committee. Of this vast aggregate, upon the strong and repeated representation of Roydoolub, the treasurer, of the absolute inefficiency of the exchequer at once to discharge it, one half was agreed to be paid immediately down; the other half to be paid in three years, at three equal payments. On the 6th of July was received the sum, in coined silver, of 7,271,666 rupees, which, being packed up in 700 chests, and laden in 100 boats, was, under a strong escort, conveyed down the river to Calcutta, the boats of the whole fleet attending with banners displayed, and music sounding, in the manner of a triumphal procession. In August following, the remainder was paid in gold and jewels; and caused not only the public but the private treasuries of individuals in Calcutta once more to overflow with wealth. Nothing could exceed the transport into which the whole city was thrown by this great change in their affairs, from despair and poverty to exultation, and affluence—commerce revived and protected, their ancient privileges restored, and the limits of their territory greatly enlarged. The praises of Clive, of Watson, and the brave army and squadron, whose unequalled exertions had redeemed them from that state of despondency and penury, glowed in every heart, and resounded on every tongue.

That exultation, and those praises, however, only the first of those commanders survived to witness; Admiral Watson, after a few days illness, having fallen a victim, on the 16th of August, to the attacks of a malignant fever peculiar to the climate. Colonel Clive, at length, having settled affairs at Muxadavad, and firmly seated the new Nabob on his throne, began to descend the river with the army on the 14th of September following, and was received at Calcutta with all the honours due to so distinguished a general. He freely lent the aid of his genius to every plan adopted for improving the settlement in its military and its civil departments; and for the defence and ornament of the city which his protecting arm had saved. From that æra Calcutta, now become the capital of an extensive district, daily increased in splendour and population. To guard against the recurrence of any similar calamity, under Clive's inspection, the foundations of a vast fort, the future wonder and terror of the East! were immediately laid; immense magazines were constructed; and the banks of the Ganges were lined with the magnificent palaces of its merchants, who began to vie in splendour with the princes of Asia.*

The great importance of these transactions just recorded in Bengal, not only with respect to the Company's affairs, but eventually to ALL INDIA, which has since, through its utmost limits, felt the decided superiority of the British nation, both in the *cabinet* and the *field*, rendered necessary the ample details above given. Having now brought the history of the European establishments, and more particularly, that of the Company in Bengal, down to the close of the year 1757, we shall in the next book resume, and uninterruptedly pursue the regular Mogul history to its termination, that is, to the last visit of Abdollah to Delhi, when its authority virtually expired. In an additional book, the history of the European establishments, or rather that of our East-India Company, in which they were ultimately absorbed, will again be continued, and the work conclude with a summary statement of the different powers among which that once mighty empire is at present divided.

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* My authorities for the preceding statements are nearly the same (except a few references, already correctly exhibited in the pages where they occur) as those referred to at the close of the last chapter; Orme, Cambridge, Holwell, the accounts published from the India House, and in the London Gazettes of the period.

BOOK VI.

IN WHICH THE HISTORY OF THE MOGUL EMPERORS IS CONCLUDED.

CHAPTER I.

SHAH JEHAN, *after crushing his rival, Shehriar, and murdering his Uncle Daniel's surviving Progeny, ascends the Throne.—Account of the Children of the Emperor.—Preliminary Observations, and Review of his Character and past Conduct.—In the subordinate Capacity of Prince deeply criminal; as a Sovereign, endowed with many excellent Qualities.—Flight and Rebellion of Lodi.—War in Deccan.—Defeat of the confederated Princes.—Death of Lodi.—Renewed War in Deccan.—Dowlatabad taken, and the Nizam made Prisoner.—The Emperor returns to Agra.—The astonishing Magnificence of his Court.—The Peacock Throne.—Aurungzeb begins to distinguish himself.—The Emperor visits the Northern Provinces of his Empire.—Rebuilds Delhi; and denominates the new City after himself,* JEHAUNABAD.

FROM the petty conflicts of rival Soubahs, and their feudal dependencies, we at length return to the more dignified contests of imperial ambition. A considerable portion of the early military achievements of Shah Jehan (or rather Jehaun) have already engaged our attention, during the reign of his father Jehanguire; first, in the wars waged with Rajah Ranna, the most powerful of the native princes in Malva;* secondly in the partial subjugation of the kingdoms of the peninsula; and lastly in his nefarious but unsuccessful attempts to dethrone that father. The hand of all-conquering death had now removed the great bar to his ambition; but he mounted not the vacant throne without some obstruction, and the shedding of that kindred blood, which, in Eastern climes, too generally bathes the steps by which it is ascended.

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* See of this Volume, p. 198 and 199; see, also, Gladwin's History of Jehanguire, p. 30 and 39.

So entirely enslaved, in his latter days, was the deceased emperor by the charms and artifices of his beloved NOURMAHAL, and so unbounded was her influence in the empire from that monarch's devotion to her, and the power of her brother, Asoph Khan, the Vizier, that scarcely was the breath out of his body, when she attempted to realize the daring project, formed in her mind, of raising her son-in-law Sultan SHEHRIAR to the imperial dignity; a project to which she had, in the unguarded moments of blind devotion, gained the consent of the doating emperor. For this purpose a sum amounting to 90 lacs of rupees was lavishly distributed among the soldiery by the young candidate for sovereignty; and the great distance of Shah Jehan in the south, seemed to render practicable the meditated usurpation. Asoph, together with the principal courtiers, however, entertained different sentiments, and, firm to the interests of Jehan, not only confined his sister to the palace, but took up arms against Shehriar, who in vain opposed them with a purchased army of 20,000 horse. To prevent the tumults usual during an interregnum, and to crush for ever the claim of Shehriar, they placed the crown on the head of Sultan Bolaki, the son of Khosro, the eldest son of Shah Jehan, who certainly possessed the prior claim. His actual elevation to the throne, however, was by no means intended, nor did Sultan Bolaki without reluctance receive a boon pregnant with so much danger. Letters were immediately dispatched to Shah Jehan, explaining their conduct, and recommending expedition in his progress to take possession of the hereditary diadem. In the mean time, precipitately hurried on by ambition to his ruin, though deserted by his mercenary generals, and the greater part of his hired army, who fled to Bolaki, Sultan Shehriar attempted to fortify himself in Lahore against the imperial troops ; but Asoph Khan with superior forces storming its castle, he was taken prisoner, and blinded by a red-hot iron, which fatal operation, throughout Asia, excludes the prince for ever from the imperial dignity.

Shah Jehan wanted no incentive to expedition ; and his right to the throne being indisputable from the death of his elder brothers, Sultans Parveiz and Khosro, he was joined in his march by all the principal Rajahs, and governors of provinces, with armies fully adequate to support that right. Still, however, accustomed to, as well as practised in, the perfidies of eastern courts, there appeared to him no safety while Shehriar, Bolaki, and the three sons of Sultan Daniel, the deceased brother of Jehanguire, who were all confined in the castle of Lahore, remained alive. Haunted by these phantoms, and the terrors of a guilty mind, he sent without delay, by an officer in his confidence, an order for the murder of those unfortunate princes ; and Asoph the governor, too obedient to his new sovereign, and too well versed in the state-policy that dictated the sanguinary measure, delivered them over to the ruthless assassins. Sultans Shehriar and Bolaki were executed as rebels and traitors, for having assumed the imperial purple, though in fact it was cruelly forced upon the latter. But hard indeed was the fate of the innocent progeny of Sultan Daniel who had been confined during the whole reign of Jehanguire, and from whom no plots could be feared, being alike imbecile in mind and body, from long confinement. But what can allay the awakened fears of a tyrant? At midnight the blood-hounds of despotism were let into their apartments, and strangled them in their beds. Their bodies were then secretly conveyed away, and buried in a garden near the tomb of the deceased monarch. In this manner, either by the dagger or the bow-string, were dispatched all the males of the house of Timur, so that he himself and his children alone remained of the posterity of Baber the conqueror of India. Of those children, at least the sons, doomed at a future period to be the scourge of their father, and the avengers of the blood thus inhumanly shed, it is necessary to present a short account to the reader.

They were four in number: DARA, the eldest, was at his father's accession, only thirteen years old; he was a prince, as far as his mental qualities had yet dawned, of an open, noble, and generous disposition. SUJAH, the second in order, was in his twelfth year, a youth of great shrewdness, penetration, and bravery. AURUNGZEB, the third, was in his tenth year, and had already displayed evident symptoms of that cautious reserve and deep dissimulation which marked his riper years. Of the fourth, MURAD, being only four years old, no opinion indicative of his future conduct in life could yet be formed. Shah Jehan had also three daughters, Jehanara Begum, Roxanara Begum, and Banu Begum, all highly accomplished, and beautiful; and all more or less conspicuous in the changeful scenes of this eventful reign.

These obstacles removed, and the empire being in profound peace, Shah Jehan was crowned at Agra, with circumstances of unusual pomp and splendour, according to Fraser,* on the 1st of February, 1628, in the 37th year of his age; having been born on the 5th of January, 1592. He immediately appointed Asoph his Vizier, and the famous Mohabet Khan captain-general of his armies. The first was the father of his favourite Sultana, had secured to him the possession of the empire, and was, moreover, endeared to him by the tender care which he had taken of his children, who were hostages for the good behaviour of the father at the court of Jehanguire, when that monarch died. The second, although once his declared enemy, had found means by assisting him in his recent misfortunes with large supplies of men and money to regain his forfeited regard. Their salaries were ample beyond all former precedent; proportionate to the great services rendered by both to the empire, and suitable to the magnificent mind of Shah Jehan. As the reader may possibly revolt at the term *magnificent* applied to the man so lately criminated as the unfeeling murderer of innocence and virtue, it becomes necessary to premise a few introductory remarks, before we enter on the events of this diversified reign.

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* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 24.

It has been already observed that the lofty title of SHAH JEHAN, or *king of the world*, was given him by his father after his conquest of Rajah Ranna, and the province of Malva; an injudicious mark of over-weening affection! since the title of Shah, or king, had been hitherto solely confined to the EMPERORS of the house of Timur; and this doubtless fanned the flame of his ambition to be what that title implied. The reader will be pleased to pardon my bringing again before his view the portrait then drawn of this monarch, and the subsequent reflections, as they are necessary to the complete developement of a character, one of the most singular, in many respects, of all that occur in the varied page of this history; and not less eminent for his greatness than his misfortunes.

"From the moment in which Sultan Khorum was dignified with the title of Shah Jehan, he seems to have discarded from his mind filial obedience, fraternal affection, and every other restraint on an insatiable ambition. He saw with equal indignation and contempt a woman (Nourmahal) swaying the sceptre of Hindostan, and every high post of honour and emolument bestowed upon her own relations. He determined to break the charm by which his father and the empire was bound, and risk every thing to obtain a throne for which he esteemed himself so much better qualified. There was no tie so sacred, no consideration so valuable, which he was not eager to sacrifice for the darling object that now engrossed all the powers of his soul, and influenced all the actions of his future life. The unfortunate Khosro had been committed to his custody, as to the custody of a brother who would naturally mingle pity with necessary restriction, and mitigate by tender assiduities the hardships of confinement. But Khosro was not wholly incapacitated for reigning, being very partially blinded, and *might* be an obstacle to his ascending the throne: he was therefore destined to destruction; and the better to prevent suspicion, the inhuman deed was perpetrated while he himself was absent on a hunting party. At midnight some hired assassins rushed into the chamber of the devoted prince, and strangling him, for ever annihilated from that quarter, the fears of a jealous and obdurate brother.

"If power alone could have satisfied this enterprising prince, he possessed already an ample share of it. The whole southern army was at his disposal; and he united under the extensive government, to which by the liberal indulgence, or perhaps the forced consent, of Jehanguire, he was appointed, the provinces of Deccan, Candeish, Berar, and Guzzurat; over which he ruled with unlimited authority. He assumed every attribute of royalty; appointed governors to the several provinces and cities under his jurisdiction; and affected on all occasions the state and splendour of a KING. But nothing less than an imperial diadem would fully satisfy Shah Jehan.——"*

That diadem was at length obtained; that empire was now his own; and it must be owned that, could his previous assassinations be forgotten, no prince ever conducted himself in many respects more worthy of the imperial dignity, till that dark, that fatal moment arrived, when his sons, impatient for the sceptre of their sire, began to pursue towards *him* the same iniquitous line of policy with which he had acted towards Jehanguire; following with too scrupulous exactness the pernicious example which in his youth that sire had set them. For the greater part of this interesting piece of history we are indebted to the learned and philosophic Bernier, who resided at the court of this prince for eight years, in quality of his physician, enjoyed a great share of his confidence, and attended him in several of his journeys, particularly to Cashmere, of which beautiful province he has favoured us with a correct and animated description. Since we can no longer have the advantage of Mr. Gladwin's *almost literal* version of a respectable Persian author, as in the life of Jehanguire, Bernier will be our surest guide, though as Mr. Dow professes to translate the SHAH JEHAN NAMMA, or history of Shah Jehan, by Mirza Casim, private secretary to Aurungzeb, considerable advantage will accrue from that, certainly not *literal*, but very *liberal* version.†

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* See of this Volume, Part I. p. 200; and indeed an attentive perusal of the whole of what relates to Shah Jehan in the former reign, is necessary to the full understanding of his conduct in this.

† Sir William Jones early cautioned me, on this account, against too great a reliance upon Dow. His letter runs thus: "I was acquainted with Dow; he understood Hindostanee, but knew little of Persian, and his translation of Ferishta is said to have been made through the medium of his Moonshee." The Moonshee, however, doubtless understood the original; and, if Dow reported

In the first year of the reign of Shah Jehan a strong body of Uzbek Tartars made an irruption into Cabul, of which province, during the distractions immediately consequent on the death of Jehanguire, they had meditated the entire conquest; but the speedy restoration of tranquillity enabled him to send a superior army into that quarter, by which they were repelled and routed.* To obliterate the memory of his sanguinary cruelties to those of his own house, he the same year opened the gates of the state-prison, GUALIOR, to all the criminals in that fortress, many of whom had languished in confinement there during the whole of the former reign. The Persian monarch, Shah Abbas, soon after sent a splendid embassy to Agra to congratulate the new monarch on his accession to the throne; but scarcely had the ambassador made his public entrance, when intelligence arrived of the death of that powerful prince, who in the last reign, had wrested Candahar from the Mogul. He was succeeded by Shah SEFI; a monster of cruelty, skilled to use the dagger and the bowl, but not formidable in the field. Shah Jehan, now sedulously applied himself to rectify the numerous abuses which, during the indolent reign of his father, had pervaded every department of the government. With inflexible severity he punished all well-founded complaints against his officers whether civil or military; and established an active and vigorous police throughout his vast dominions. By great rewards he encouraged agriculture, and by great immunities he promoted commerce. Midnight robbery † and assassination, before so

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faithfully, the work must be considered as valuable. Notwithstanding, in consequence of that caution, I have throughout this work, when citing that author, always endeavoured to obtain collateral authorities.

* De Laet, India Vera, p. 288.

† In proof of this we are told by Bernier that the warehouses of the Dutch factory at Surat having been broken open by night and plundered of goods to a great amount,

frequent, were no longer heard of; and the Viceroys in their respective provinces being compelled to refund, out of their private fortunes, the money extorted by depredators on the public roads, took such vigorous measures for the extermination of those banditti, that the traveller, in pursuit of business or pleasure, journeyed in safety through the most inhospitable and unfrequented districts.

From these pacific and laudable pursuits the attention of Shah Jehan was suddenly diverted by the necessity of taking up arms to crush a formidable insurrection brooding in the south. Previous to his assumption of the crown, and while yet his success was doubtful, he had received a gross insult from Lodi, the general of the imperial troops in Deccan, who, gained over by Nourmahal, had not only openly espoused the cause of Shehriar, but had opposed his march through that province to Agra. Lodi was an Omrah of the highest distinction, and boasted his descent from the dynasty of that name which governed India, prior to the Moguls. Shah Jehan, aware of his power and great military talents, when, established on the throne, he sent an army to reduce him, sent also by his general terms on which pardon and reconciliation might be obtained. In those terms Lodi prudently acquiesced, consented to resign his station in Deccan, and was made governor of Malva. On the emperor's solicitation, he afterwards repaired to Court, where a series of indignities convinced him that the reconciliation of Shah Jehan was not sincere. In daily dread of assassination, he fled with his two sons towards Malva, and in their flight, being pursued by the imperial troops, the eldest was slain bravely fighting in his father's defence. Having reached Malva, he endeavoured to collect an army

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on complaint to the emperor he obliged the governor from his salary to remunerate them for their loss. Bernier's Mogul Empire, tom. ii. p. 168.

sufficient to oppose the imperialists, but the pursuit was so warm and vigorous, that he could make no effectual stand against them, and therefore he continued his flight with his few valiant comrades in arms to Bundela, in the mountainous defiles and almost impregnable fortresses of which country he defended himself with such resolute bravery, that the army was at length wearied out by incessant fatigue, and gave over the pursuit. To Lodi, also, some repose was necessary; and after remaining a short time in Bundela, he traversed the provinces of Berar and Oudipore, in his way to Golconda, nor relaxed his speed till he reached Dowlatabad, where his friend, the Nizam, received the exhausted fugitive with open arms. His relation of the unmerited insults which he had met with at the court of Agra, and the sufferings he had since undergone, excited alike the compassion and the resentment of the Nizam, and he promised him protection, at the risque of his kingdom.

In the mean time the emperor, to whom the darling project of conquering the Deccan, had descended from his predecessors, Akber and Jehanguire, determined to make this friendly reception of a rebel to his authority an excuse for renewing those efforts for its complete subjugation which had hitherto been only crowned with partial success. Its princes were tributaries indeed to the empire; but were far from being wholly subdued. The principal of them were Adil, sovereign of Beejapour, or Visiapour, Cuttub, king of Hydrabad and Tellingana, and the Nizam, king of Deccan proper. At the courts of each of these princes Lodi was hospitably received, and his cause espoused with ardour. The crisis seemed favourable to their views of bursting those shackles which the Delhian sovereigns during two reigns, had attempted to impose on the princes of the Deccan! Lodi, equally brave and eloquent, in a strain of glowing oratory, inflamed their hopes;

and promised, if they would unite their forces, to lead them to certain victory. Combating singly they would, as before, fall an easy prey to the Mogul; united they would be invincible. After some hesitation, the effect of mutual jealousies, they complied with his advice. Under so consummate a general they thought they had nothing to fear, and preparations for the worst that might happen were accordingly commenced with the utmost promptitude and vigour. Shah Jehan, to the rage of disappointed vengeance adding that of ambition and conquest, lost no time in executing the resolutions he had formed. His project of conquering the Deccan forms one grand feature of his reign; and as it is only those grand features of the reigns of the Mogul dynasty, that this history attempts to display, we shall dwell more largely upon it than usual.

Early in the year 1631 he moved southward at the head of 100,000 horse, and arriving at Brampour, the capital of Candeish, fixed his encampment in the vicinity of that city. Thence he dispatched messengers to the confederated princes, commanding them to appear personally before him; to disband their armies, and to deliver up Lodi, his rebellious subject: otherwise he would pour destruction upon them, and make their country a desert. The princes returned an evasive answer; and, with increased vigour, continued the preparations for war.

Thinking it beneath his dignity in person to lead his troops against a rebel in arms, Shah Jehan dispatched Eradit Khan, the governor of Candeish, with 25,000 horse, assisted by two other Omrahs, with 14,000 each, making in the whole a body of 53,000 men, to ravage the territories of the Nizam, who having first received Lodi under his protection, became the first object of his resentment. Lodi with an inferior army, but with superior military abilities, immediately advanced to oppose these forces, and, taking possession of the difficult passes of the mountains on the frontier, so completely obstructed their line of march, and so harrassed them with partial attacks, without risking a general engagement, that Eradit with all his exertions was unable to penetrate into Golconda. The Emperor, who knew the abilities of Lodi, and by no means expected an easy conquest, yet after some months was stung with disappointment that no farther progress was made, and distrusting Eradit's ability to cope with Lodi, immediately sent his Vizier Asoph, with ten thousand additional horse, to supersede that Omrah. The very name of Asoph, a man equally illustrious in the field and in the cabinet, carried terror with it. The war assumed a new aspect, the confederates were panic-struck, and in spite of the most heroic bravery displayed on the part of Lodi, were defeated. They were compelled to sue for peace, but the Emperor would listen to no terms that did not include the surrender of Lodi. That brave man, however, suspecting treachery, had fled beyound the bounds of Golconda, but not beyond the vengeance of the Emperor. Numerous parties were sent every way in pursuit of him, and, at length, with about thirty of his faithful adherents, he was overtaken, surrounded, and cut to pieces; after having made dreadful havoc among his assailants.

The confederates had lost their general, and had suffered a defeat: they had even solicited peace in hopes that the conditions would be reasonable at least, if not favourable. The demands of Shah Jehan however being too exorbitant to be complied with, the negociations were broken off. The Vizier's presence being necessary at court for the transaction of public business, Eradit was again intrusted with the command of the army. The confederates had after their defeat retired from the field into their strong holds, and the war was converted into a succession of sieges. The fortresses were strong, the garrisons determined, and the imperialists not over skilful; still the Emperor would not relax from the severity of his demands; great numbers of his troops perished by famine, disease, and the sword, but little progress was made in the subjugation of Deccan. Thus matters continued for a great length of time; all the open country was ravaged with fire and sword; whole cities were depopulated, and fertile provinces converted into deserts. Armies were sent on armies in fruitless and destructive expeditions; and a succession of great generals was employed with no other ultimate success than the capture of a few insignificant forts. At length in 1633, the fortress of Dowlatabad, deemed impregnable, in which the Nizam had shut himself up, was taken by the most experienced of those generals, Mohabet; who after all owed his success to a large bribe bestowed on the governor. During the protracted siege the aged Nizam had died, but the young Nizam, his grandson, was delivered up; sent prisoner to Gualior, and his dominions were annexed to the empire. Beejapour and Tellingana still remained to be subdued; but the Emperor, gratified with this partial success of his arms, leaving Mohabit in the command of the country which he had conquered, returned to Agra. It was his fixed determination however at no distant period to return with all the forces of the empire, and undertake in person the accomplishment of his favourite object.

Engaged in detailing the more important events of the Portugueze government in Malabar, and at their presidency of Goa, I neglected to notice the misfortune that befel them in the present year (1633) at their factory at Hoogley, where from their imprudent conduct having drawn down upon them the displeasure of the Emperor, they were by his command attacked by Casim, the Soubah, at the head of the provincial troops, their property plundered, and many of them put to death. Shah Jehan is said, in Dow's life of him, to have harboured resentment against this nation for refusing to assist him in his distresses, when, after the battle of the Nerbudda in the former reign, he took refuge in Bengal; and it is there added that these were the first hostilities against Europeans, recorded in the histories of the East.*

The revolt of the Rajah of Bundela (Bundelcund), which also happened this year, would, from its inferior importance, have remained unnoticed in these pages, had it not proved the means of introducing, for the first time, on the theatre of Indian warfare, the young prince, AURUNGZEB, to whom, under the tuition of Nuserit, governor of Malva, the reduction of that rebel was intrusted. Though then only thirteen years old, he on all occasions manifested the most undaunted intrepidity; was foremost in every assault of danger and difficulty; and eminently displayed those talents for military command which afterwards distinguished the conqueror of the peninsula. After a long and obstinate contest the Rajah was subdued, slain, and his head carried to Agra, where, soon after, Aurungzeb also appeared the welcome bearer of about three millions in silver coin, gold, and jewels, found in the vaults of his palace, which he laid at the feet of his transported father, as the first fruits of his victories.†

Shah Jehan had from his early youth a taste for splendour and magnificence. The sumptuous throne which he caused to be built in the former reign, when contending for the empire, out of the spoils of plundered provinces, ornamented with a profusion of the richest jewels, evinced that to be one of his ruling passions.‡ He now began a more superb one, the famous TUKT TAÔUS, or *peacock throne*, of which the body was formed of solid gold, incrusted over with diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and emeralds. This throne, in finishing, and the expence of the jewels alone, amounted to twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling! It was called the peacock throne, from having the figure of *two peacocks* standing behind it, with their tails expanded, which were studded with various jewels to represent the life. Between the peacocks stood a parrot of the ordinary size, cut out of one emerald. The finest jewel was a RUBY, which had fallen into the hands of Timur when he plundered Delhi in the year 1398.* This is Dow's account, and it is corroborated, with some little variety of description, by Tavernier, a merchant in diamonds, who travelled in India, in Shah Jehan's reign, and who declares that monarch to have been the most skilful in jewels of any man in his own dominions. After such lengthened and disgusting details of blood and slaughter, I am not afraid of offending the reader by inserting Tavernier's more circumstantial account of the peacock throne; it is evident, from the variation in the accounts,† that some alteration must have taken place in this splendid pageant, between the period when it was first exhibited (1635) and about twenty years after, when Tavernier surveyed it at Delhi.

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* Dow, vol. iii. p. 145. † Ibid, p. 147. ‡ See of this volume, p. 203.

" The Great Mogul has seven thrones, some set all over with diamonds; others, with rubies, emeralds, and pearls. This (the peacock) is the largest throne, and is set up in the hall of the first court of the palace; it is, in form, like one of our field-beds, six foot long and four broad. The cushion, at the back, is round like a bolster; the cushions on the sides are flat. I counted about a hundred and eight pale rubies in collets about this throne, the least whereof weighed a hundred carats; but there are some that weigh two hundred. Emeralds, I counted about a hundred and forty, that weighed some threescore, some thirty, carats.

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* Ibid, p. 155.

† I had it engraved for the Indian Antiquities from a drawing by a Venetian artist who visited India in the suite of Manouchi, chief physician to Aurungzebe during forty years. It forms the frontispiece of the final volume of that work. It answers to the first of these descriptions, and has *two peacocks*.

"The under part of the canopy is all embroidered with pearls and diamonds, with a fringe of pearls round about. Upon the top of the canopy, which is made like an arch with four panes, stands a peacock, with his tail spread, consisting entirely of sapphirs and other proper coloured stones: the body is of beaten gold enchased with several jewels; and a great RUBY upon his breast, to which hangs a pearl that weighs fifty carats. On each side of the peacock stand two nosegays, as high as the bird, consisting of various sorts of flowers, all of beaten gold enamelled. When the king seats himself upon the throne, there is a transparent jewel, with a diamond appendant of eighty or ninety carats weight, encompassed with rubies and emeralds, so hung that it is always in his eye. The twelve pillars also, that uphold the canopy, are set with rows of fair pearl, round, and of an excellent water, that weigh from six to ten carats apiece. At the distance of four feet, upon each side of the throne, are placed two umbrellas, the handles of which are about eight feet high, covered with diamonds; the umbrellas themselves being of crimson velvet, embroidered and fringed with pearl. This is the famous throne (he adds) which Tamerlane began and Shah Jehan finished; and is really reported to have cost a hundred and sixty millions and five hundred thousand livres of our money. Besides this stately and magnificent throne, there is another less, of an oval form, seven foot long and five broad. The outside of it shines all over with diamonds and pearls, but there is no canopy over it.

The five other thrones are erected in another magnificent hall, in a different court, entirely covered with diamonds without any coloured stone."*

As another instance of that ostentatious magnificence in which the soul of Jehan delighted, the same traveller mentions the sumptuous gallery built by that monarch, which he had purposed to cover entirely over with a kind of lattice-work of emeralds and rubies, that should have represented to the life grapes when they are green, and when they begin to grow red. But this design, which made such a noise in the world, and required more riches than all the world could afford to perfect, still remains unfinished, there being only three stocks of a vine in gold, with their leaves, as the rest ought to have been, enamelled according to their natural colours, with emeralds, rubies, and other precious stones, wrought into the fashion of grapes.† To this account Manouchi, also an eye witness, adds, that the opposite side of the gallery, in which are the windows, is adorned with looking-glasses of considerable magnitude whose borders are set with the largest oriental pearl. The clusters of precious stones, multiplied in the looking-glasses, reflect an inconceivable splendor, which dazzles by day, and enlightens the whole gallery by night.‡

This costly pageant of Jehan, was not wholly without parallel amidst the magnificence of Eastern courts; for we are told by Herodotus, that Pithius, the wealthy Bythinian, made Darius a present of a plane-tree and a vine of gold. This vine, according to Athenæus,‖ was adorned with jewels hanging in clusters, in form and colour resembling grapes, and spread like a rich canopy over the golden bed of that monarch. But, without going to Persia, we find in Curtius,* amidst that luxuriant description, in his eighth book, of the state and pageantry of an Indian monarch, particular mention made of the golden vines that twined round those ornamented columns of the same metal which supported his palace, amidst whose branches artificial birds of silver, in imitation of those most esteemed in India, were disposed with the nicest art by the curious designer.†

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* See Tavernier's Indian Travels, part 2. book ii. chap viii.

† Tavernier's Indian Travels, book I. chap. vii.

‡ Manouchi's Mogul History, p. 218. edit. oct. 1709.

‖ See Herodot. Lib. VII. and also Athenæus, Lib. XII.

Independently of the innate love of regal pomp, Shah Jehan thought that a public display of magnificence raised awe in his subjects, and gave weight to his authority. With this view he selected a hundred youths from among the sons of the nobility who were of the most distinguished merit, and made them omrahs in one day. He gave to each a golden mace, and they always attended the presence. They were all uniformly dressed in clothes richly embroidered, with golden helmets, swords inlaid with precious stones, and shields studded with gold. When the Emperor went abroad these constantly attended him with drawn sabres, all mounted on the fleetest Arabian horses, and from these he chose his officers of state. His vanity, however, was principally gratified in the splendour of his Haram. Early in his reign he had the misfortune to lose, in child-bed, his favourite Sultana, the daughter of the Vizier, and mother of all his surviving children. For a time he was inconsolable, and raised at Agra a magnificent tomb to her memory, which cost, in building, no less a sum than 750,000l. sterling. While she survived he was very constant to her; but, after her decease, he indulged his licentious passions to great excess, and his seraglio was crowded with the finest women of Asia. Most of our Eastern travellers who have attempted to describe the œconomy of the seraglio, have doubtless, from the sacredness of that recess, imposed upon their readers a heap of gross falsehoods. Manouchi, so long physician at the court of Agra, may be supposed to write from better information than most of them, and his account of what concerns the external decoration of the fair incarcerated inhabitants is in substance as follows.

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* Quintus Curtius, Lib. VIII. cap. ix.

† Indian Antiquities, vol. i. p. 213.

Their hair, perfumed with the finest essences, and braided with pearls, falls down in graceful tresses. Some, on the crown of the head, wear turbans adorned with plumes of feathers, glittering with precious stones, while long scarves of gold tissue fastened to them behind, hang down, and reach to the very ground. Others wear a kind of diadem, formed of pearl, on the front part of the head, in the centre of which is fixed a glorious jewel resembling in its figure the sun, a crescent, a star, or some beautiful flower. Their necklaces, too, are of the finest oriental pearl, intermixed with diamonds, rubies, and sapphires. The climate obliging them to wear only the slightest covering, there is, he tells us, a silk made on purpose for them, so very fine that a whole suit of it does not weigh above an ounce. These dresses are never worn a second time, but every returning day supplies a new suit of a different colour from the former. While, however, these delicate females shrink from this slight incumbrance of clothing, they wear, he adds, so many jewels that they are in a manner burdened with them. The neck and bosom are covered with interwoven pearl and diamonds, suspended crosswise in brilliant rows. Their pendants and bracelets are of a surprising magnificence. Their fingers and their toes, which are always uncovered, as they only wear sandals, are alike adorned with the richest rings. On the right thumb they wear a small looking-glass, in the form of a signet, set round with pearl, in which they are for ever admiring themselves. The ornament most becoming these princesses (for we must suppose Manouchi only speaking of the highest order of females in the seraglio) is a gold girdle of about two fingers breadth garnished with variegated stones. Labels of the same metal hang down from it with clusters of orient pearl at the extremities. What is most astonishing is that each Sultana has, at least, six or eight changes of these jewels. The reader will doubtless here fancy that he has been travelling in *fairy land*, where all is pearl and diamonds; but the description just given falls very far short of the truth.

Here I should finish this gaudy picture; but what our author has remarked concerning the *sources* of this vast accumulation of precious stones at the Mogul court is too deserving of notice to be omitted, and I hope to render it more so by additional remarks of my own.

The court of the Mogul, he observes, is richer in jewels than can well be conceived in Europe. Timur, the founder of the empire, had enriched himself with the plunder of the palaces of the greatest part of the sovereigns of Asia. In the Indian Antiquities the reader will find an account of the great feast which that conqueror made after his conquest of Asia, on the plain of CANAGHA, in which all his immense treasures in gold and jewels were displayed; treasures compared with which, as I have there truly observed, the riches of Xerxes and Darius were trifling.* The delight of the Tartar monarchs who succeeded was to hoard up inconceivable masses of precious stones. Baber carried with him from Samarcand to the Indies a great part of the treasures of Gengis and Timur. The long reigns of Akber and Jehanguire, enriched with the plunder of the Rajapouts and the Deccan, gave time for the imperial treasures to accumulate. To the latter no present was so acceptable as a rare and costly jewel, of which the vanquished Rajahs, among whom remained the ancient stores in that way of the ancient Hindoo empire, were aware, and availed themselves.* Aurungzeb, by his conquest of the kingdom of Golcondah, became master of the diamond mines; and every year, besides the tribute paid him out of Golconda in precious stones, bought up the fairest and most perfect for the use of his wives and daughters. These jewels are never alienated, for at the death of the Sultanas, the emperor being their only heir, they revert to the crown. It may be farther observed, that the jewels of the seraglio are rendered unfit for sale by being perforated. In proof of this it is observed that Akber, being in want of money to carry on the war in Guzzurat, sent some rubies to be sold at

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* Indian Antiquities, vol. vii. p. 98. in an express dissertation on the wealth of the ancient world, which for the most part centred in India in the purchase of her rare and valuable commodities.

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* See in Gladwin's Life of Jehanguire a great variety of instances. Thus, when the Ranna of Oudipour, after his defeat, was first introduced to the prince, his victor, he made him a present of a "RUBY, a valuable family jewel," p. 30. When the prince and his captive the Ranna had their audience of Jehanguire, his nuzzir among other things was "*a chrystal casket full of jewels*, and the RUBY which had been presented to him by the Ranna, valued at 60,000 rupees," p. 31. "Rajah Bickermajeet laid out two lacks of rupees (24,000l.) at Goa in the purchase of a RUBY, which he presented to Shah Jehan," p. 39. - The *peishcush*, or present, at one time offered by Shah Jehan to his father was as follows: "the above RUBY, weighing 17 miskals; an AMETHYST, valued at a lack of rupees (12,000l.); a DIAMOND, valued at 40,000 rupees; another, of the same value; another, valued at 30,000 rupees; a pearl worth 25,000 rupees; two other pearls of the same price," p. 40. When the Emperor was last at Agra, Shah Abbass sent him a RUBY which had descended from Ulug Beg to the Seffi family. The name of Ulug Beg was engraved upon it, and Jehanguire ordered his own name to be added to it," p. 52. This is the great ruby, before mentioned, as being the noblest ornament of the peacock throne. Rubies, therefore, seem to have been the jewel most valued by these princes; the finest are found in Pegu.

Goa. They were very beautiful to the eye, but their being perforated spoiled the sale of them. With respect to that superior class of precious stones which adorn the person of the emperor, they are the master-pieces of nature, and are all distinguished by peculiar high-sounding names. One is called the Sun, another the Moon, a third Aldebaran, a fourth Sirius, and a fifth the Bear-star. By these names the Mogul distinguishes them, and calls for them when he wants them on days of national festivity.*

About this time the marriages of Sultans Dara and Sujah were celebrated with extraordinary magnificence at Agra: no less a sum than 875,000l. was expended by the emperor on this occasion; and the nobles vied with each other in the most expensive entertainments and shews. Aurungzeb, now in his fifteenth year, became so expert in his martial exercises, and evinced such a superior understanding, as greatly to increase in favour with his father. His fortitude at those years was such as amazed the Emperor and the whole court, before whom he publicly fought on horse-back against an elephant, and by his dexterity killed that enormous animal. On this occasion appeared the first symptoms of that unhappy jealousy, which afterwards broke out among the princes; the two elder burned with envy at the preference given to Aurungzeb, and ever after bore the young prince a secret enmity. To prevent any ill effects from this rising spirit of animosity, Sujah was sent into Deccan to govern that province, assisted by the councils of the sage Mohabet, whose control, however, his lofty spirit could not brook. He was, therefore, recalled, and shortly after made viceroy of Bengal, which province he governed nearly all the remainder of Shah Jehan's reign. With respect to Sultan Dara, the eldest, being the imperial prince, his father kept him near himself at court, much against the Sultan's consent, who murmured greatly at the distinguished honours conferred on Sujah, while he himself had neither province nor command. His father endeavoured to pacify him by representing to him, that it arose solely from his tender affection towards the heir of the throne that he did not permit him to take the field; and that, in the palace, there was no need of the parade of a military command. With these representations, however, Sujah was by no means satisfied; and the emperor, to appease him, appointed him to the command of six thousand horse. Jehan, for this guarded conduct towards Dara, had doubtless other motives besides affection: he had marked the young scyon of ambition shooting up and expanding in his mind, and viewed him with the same jealous eye with which the prince himself regarded his brother Sujah.

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* Manouchi's Mogul History, p. 331.

The vast preparations making for the Emperor's intended conquest of Deccan were, in the mean time, advancing towards completion. The greater part of the year 1634 was spent in visiting the northern provinces of the empire. He moved but slowly; a considerable army, and the whole court attending his progress. Being an excellent sportsman, he hunted in all the forests on the way, and is said with his own hand to have shot *forty deer* before he reached Delhi. After staying some time at Delhi, he proceeded to Lahore, and with great pomp and affected piety went to visit the tomb of that father whose life he had so much embittered. He made magnificent presents to some learned men of that city, and to the fakeers who kept up the perpetual lamp burning in the tomb of his father; he then hastened on to Cashmere, where he arrived about the middle of June. There, during the tropical heats, he relaxed from the fatigues of public business, and amused himself with viewing the curious springs, the cascades, the hanging woods, and the ample lakes which diversify the face of that romantic and beautiful region.

Shah Jehan, during his stay at Delhi, had formed the resolution of rebuilding that ancient capital after a magnificent manner. The two kings, his predecessors, had set him an example in this respect, Akber having rebuilt Agra, and Jehanguire having repaired and beautified Lahore. On the Emperor's return southward, this important undertaking was ordered to be immediately carried into execution, and the most skilful architects and masons were procured from the greatest distances to forward its accomplishment. He drew the outlines of his new city on a large plain on the western banks of the Jumna, and, in constructing it, made use of the same sort of red stone, of the hardness and colour of jasper, brought from the quarries of Fettipore, which Akber employed in building the castle of Agra. The city was fortified with twelve lofty towers, and had as many magnificent gates; the principal, that fronting the palace, of uncommon magnitude and grandeur. The palace itself surpassed every thing of the kind in India, the walls of the principal apartments being lined with marble, and the cielings of many of them overlaid with plates of silver.. The grand mosque, or JAMA MUSJED, was also without its rival, being incrusted within and without with marble of various colours. The great Omrahs, too, of Shah Jehan's court, to gain their master's applause, vied with each other in raising splendid palaces within the limits of his new city, and besides the JAMA MUSJED, there were many other mosques inferior in magnitude, but of exquisite beauty. The bazars, or public market places, were surrounded by arches, which at the same time that they gave a perpetual shade below, supported noble terraces above, while the shops themselves were stored with the richest merchandize of Asia, encouraged by high immunities to centre in this new and beautiful metropolis. The city was about seven miles in circumference, and was surrounded on three sides by a wall of brick and stone, the Jumna itself forming its defence on the fourth, while Shah Jehan's principal care was to make two gardens of inconceivable magnificence, called the gardens of Shalimar, which alone cost him a million sterling. Here were grottos of great extent and depth, where the beams of the sun never penetrated, canals of the fairest water filled with gold and silver fishes, fountains that for ever playing diffused a refreshing coolness around, while the choicest flowers and fruits of Asia, by their fragrance and flavour, on every side administered to the gratification of the delighted senses.

Lest the reader, not accustomed to the extravagance of Eastern magnificence, should think the above account exaggerated, I shall conclude this chapter with inserting Mr. Franklin's description of a part of this palace, as it was seen by him in its ruined state, on his visit to Delhi in 1793, from which some judgment may be formed of what it was in the meridian glory of the empire, when adorned with the peacock throne, and the other sumptuous regalia of Mogul splendour. This description, it will be observed, only concerns the great and lesser hall of audience, and the royal baths.

" The PALACE of the royal family of *Timur*, was erected by the Emperor SHAH JEHAN at the time he finished the new city. It is situated on the western bank of the *Jumna*, and is surrounded on three sides by a wall of red stone. I suppose the circumference of the whole to be about a mile. The first object that attracts attention after entering the palace, is the *Dewaun Aum*, or public hall of audience, for all descriptions of people. It is situated at the upper end of a spacious square, and is a noble building, but at present much in decay. On each side of the *Dewaun Aum*,

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and all round this square, are apartments of two stories high, the walls and front of which in the times of the splendour of the empire, were adorned with a profusion of the richest tapestry, velvets, and silks ; the nobles vying with each other in rendering them the most magnificent, especially on festivals, and days of public rejoicings, when they presented a grand sight. These decorations have however been long since laid aside, and nothing but the bare walls remain. From the *Dewaun Aum*, we proceeded through another handsome gateway to the *Dewaun Khass* beforementioned. This building is also situated at the upper end of a spacious square, and elevated upon a marble terrace about four feet high. The *Dewaun Khass* in former times has been adorned with excessive magnificence,* and though stripped and plundered by various invaders, still retains sufficient beauty to render it admired. I judge the building to be a hundred and fifty feet in length by forty in breadth. The roof is flat, supported by a great many columns of fine white marble, which have been richly adorned with inlaid flower-work of beautiful stones : the cornices and borders have been decorated with a great quantity of frieze and sculptured work. The cieling was formerly incrusted with a work of rich foliage of silver throughout the whole extent, which has been long since taken off and carried away. The delicacy of the inlaying in the compartments of the walls is much to be admired, and it is matter of heartfelt regret to see the barbarous ravages that have been made in picking out the different cornelians, and breaking the marble by violence. Around the interior of the *Dewaun Khass*, in the cornice, are the following lines in Persian engraved in letters of gold, upon a white marble ground.

"If there be a paradise upon earth, this is it—'tis this, 'tis this."

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* Within this the peacock imperial throne was erected.

The terrace on which the *Dewaun Khanah* is built is composed of large beautiful slabs of white marble, and the building is crowned at top with four pavilions or cupolas of the same materials.

" The ROYAL BATHS built by SHAH JEHAN, are situated a little to the northward of the *Dewaun Khass*, and consist of three very large apartments surmounted by white marble domes. The inside of the baths is lined, about two thirds of the way up, with marble, having a beautiful border of flower-worked cornelians and other precious stones, executed with taste. The floors are paved throughout with marble in large slabs, and there is a fountain in the centre of each with many pipes: large reservoirs of marble, about four feet deep, are placed in different parts of the walls; the light is admitted from the roof by windows of particoloured glasses; and capacious stones with iron gratings are placed underneath each separate apartment. There is a noble mosque adjoining, entirely of white marble, and made after the fashion described above. A great part of this noble palace has suffered very much by the destructive ravages of the late invaders. The *Rohillas* in particular, who were introduced by GHOLAUM KAUDER, have stripped many of the rooms of their marble ornaments and pavements, and have even picked out the stones from the borders of many of the floorings."*

* Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. p. 431.

CHAPTER II.

Third Expedition of the Emperor to Deccan, the Result of Ambition and Avarice united.—Conquest of the Kings of Bejapour, and Tellingana.—Aurungzeb made Governor of Deccan.—His Marriage.—Candahar restored to the Moguls.—Incursions of the Uzbek Tartars; defeated by Aurungzeb.—Candahar retaken by the Persians.—The Emperor grows jealous of his Sons, and they of each other.—Consequent dreadful Distractions of the Empire.—Their Contests for the Sovereign Power.—Aurungzeb finally prevails, imprisons his Father, and ascends the Throne.

IT was near the close of the year 1636 before Shah Jehan commenced his long-meditated expedition for the purpose of reducing the Mahommedan governments of the Deccan, not yet conquered. Mohabet, the greatest of his generals, was dead; and from that event the progressive march of his armies in that quarter had ceased. The kings of Bejapour and Tellingana, in modern geography Visiapour and Golconda, having retreated into the strong fortresses in which those kingdoms abounded, defied the utmost efforts of his generals to bring them under the Mogul yoke. They had laid waste, but had not subdued, the country; and the task of their complete subjugation was left to the emperor, and his son Aurungzeb.

Ambition had doubtless a very decided influence over the emperor's mind in making this attack, but the vast sums which Shah Jehan was at this moment expending in rebuilding Delhi, and improving Agra, and in the unequalled splendour of a most luxurious court, render the supposition of his eastern biographer extremely probable, viz. that AVARICE had also no small share in exciting him to this undertaking. In the different assaults already made on that devoted country, much of its hoarded treasure in coined money, and very considerable quantities of the finest jewels of Golconda, had found their way to Agra. For this species of wealth we have seen the insatiable avidity of this monarch, as well as the mode of its application. That kingdom was a mine of jewels, rich in itself, and rich in the wealth of its dependent kingdom of Bisnagar, as yet only partially plundered. Both Tavernier and Thevenot were at Golconda in this reign; and the latter, a traveller of great veracity, gives the following account of the king's splendid personal appearance, from which an idea may be formed of the riches and magnificence of his court and kingdom. I cite it verbatim from the English edition of 1687. " This prince wears on the crown of his head a jewel almost a foot long, which is said to be of inestimable value. It is a rose of great diamonds, three or four inches in diameter. On the top of that rose there is a little crown out of which issues a branch resembling that of a palm tree, but it is round; and that palm tree branch is a good inch in diameter, and about half a foot long. It is made up of several sprigs which are (as it were) the leaves of it, each of them having at their extremities a lovely long pearl, in shape like a pear. At the foot of this posie there are two bands of gold in the fashion of table bracelets, in which are enchased large diamonds, set round with rubies, which with great pearls that hang dangling on all sides make an exceeding rare shew: these bands are fastened to the head with clasps of diamonds. In short, this king doubtless surpasses all the kings of the Indies in precious stones," &c. &c.* Tavernier's account of the wealth of Golconda is still more particular and surprising;

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* Thevenot's Indian Travels, book 2d. chap. 7. p. 102. folio edit. 1687.

but the above specimen is fully sufficient to support the conjecture that it was not *ambition alone* that led this ostentatious monarch to invade the Deccan.*

From political motives the march of the army was slow and circuitous. He had given orders to the governors of the provinces to join him with their forces, as he advanced, and many of them, being at a considerable distance from the intended scene of action, required time for the junction. Aurungzeb, now in high favour, and ardent to distinguish himself, accompanied the emperor. At his request the army passed through Bundelcund, which was the scene of the first campaign of that prince, and where he pointed out to his delighted father the spots on which he had encountered the greatest difficulties, and the forts that had longest held out in that protracted contest. By premeditated delays, and by excursions of hunting, in which exercise the emperor greatly delighted, nearly a year was consumed before he entered the borders of the Deccan. When, at length, he reached Dowlatabad,† and had been joined by all the troops, his force was so prodigious, as almost to exceed calculation, while it promised to annihilate resistance on the part of the enemy.

Twelve different armies were immediately formed, and dispatched, under as many experienced generals, by different routs, into the kingdoms of Bejapour and Tellingana. The amazed inhabitants were attacked at once and from so many different quarters that they knew not whither to retreat, and no quarter was given to any that resisted. "Towns and cities," says the Persian historian, "were seen in flames on every side; the hills were shaken with the continual roar of artillery, and the tigers of the desert fled from the more ferocious fury of man." One hundred and fifteen towns and castles were taken and destroyed in the course of a year, while from the lofty citadel of Dowlatabad the relentless emperor looked down with savage pleasure on a country in flames, and an expiring people. Shut up in their strong fortresses, and unable to assist their suffering subjects, the kings of Bejapour and Tellingana at length became convinced that universal ruin and depopulation must be the consequence of longer resistance in this war of dreadful devastation. In supplicating terms they therefore solicited peace; and Shah Jehan took advantage of their necessities, to impose such severe terms upon them as virtually amounted to the loss of their kingdoms. Though their crowns were forfeited, however, they were established hereditary governors of their own dominions, on condition of acknowledging the emperor, and his successors, to be LORDS PARAMOUNT of the Deccan, and of paying a large annual tribute, of which the first payment was to take place immediately. Although no particular sum is specified, and the task of completely ransacking Golconda was left to Aurungzeb at a future period, yet we may depend upon it that the ransom and tribute paid by these princes in gold and jewels were of no inferior kind; but sufficient at once to re-imburse Shah Jehan the expense of the expedition, and greatly to augment the lustre of his inestimable THRONE.

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* In his chapter on Golconda Tavernier informs us that the two largest diamonds in the world, that is, *cut diamonds*, belong, the one to the Great Mogul, weighing 279 carats; and the other, weighing 139 carats, to the Duke of Tuscany.

† The names of Eastern capitals and provinces are perpetually varying, which causes much inevitable confusion. Thus to the province called Ahmednagar, in Ferishta's History of Deccan, a later age has given the name of Dowlatabad, in that writer's time its capital; at a still later period, Aurungabad, built by Aurungzeb, became its capital; at present the Nizam's capital is Hydrabad.

His grand project being now fully accomplished, the emperor commenced his march for Ajmere, leaving Aurungzeb with a large force, under the tuition of Khan Zeman to govern the conquered provinces. For some time past a treaty of marriage had been negociated between that prince, now in his twentieth year, and a grand daughter of the famous Asoph Khan, the Visier, which the present cessation from hostilities gave leisure to complete. The most splendid preparations were accordingly made, and in the course of a few months the marriage was celebrated with the utmost pomp at Ajmere; the venerable Visier himself coming from Agra to attend the ceremony. Shortly after Khan Zeman died, when he had the sole command of the imperial army, and the undivided government of the Deccan intrusted to his charge; an important charge to so young a prince. He had however given proofs of wisdom and experience adequate to it, and had already formed in his mind the plan of his distinguished triumphs on this wide theatre of his future glory.

Candahar, to which the Persian sovereigns had long laid claim, and which had been taken from the Moguls by Shah Abbas, during the distractions that prevailed in the reign of Jehanguire, was, about this time, restored to Shah Jehan by its Persian governor, Ali Murdan, who, disgusted at the innumerable cruelties practised in Persia without bound and without remorse by the tyrant SHAH SEFI, from the highest Omrah to the lowest peasant, and fully aware of his own precarious existence, resolved to change masters; and only stipulating for his personal safety, delivered up that citadel to the governor of Cabul. Nothing could exceed the joy of the emperor at the recovery of this important fortress, the source of perpetual contentions between the two kingdoms; and he not only immediately conferred the most ample pecuniary rewards on Ali Murdan, but, finding him worthy of his esteem and confidence, afterwards exalted him to offices of very high trust and dignity in the empire. On the other hand enraged equally at the treachery of his governor, and the loss of the fortress, the Persian Shah ordered an army of 7000 horse to advance from Chorasan to retake it. The Indian commander, however, marched out with an inferior force, and totally defeated those troops, who possibly fought with no great ardour in the cause of their sanguinary master.

The Emperor continued his rout from Ajmeer to Lahore, in his progress correcting abuses, hearing complaints, and removing cruel or venal governors. His sons, Sultans Dara and Sujah, were about this time dignified with higher rank in the army, the former being made an Omrah of 10,000 horse and as many foot, and the latter of 7000 horse and an equal number of foot. Sultan Murad too, the fourth son of the Emperor, now in his seventeenth year, having in a late instance, in the province of Marwar, given decisive proofs of his martial fire and talents, had a considerable command given him, and was, shortly after, under proper tuition, made governor of Multan. It is, in this place, necessary to observe that Shah Jehan, having frequently declared his intention of leaving the throne to Dara, he always appointed him to the first place in dignity and power, and wished to habituate his sons to regard him as their future sovereign; although he is said by Bernier* to have ever harboured a latent jealousy of this prince, and secretly to have encouraged the ambition of Aurungzeb, whose abilities for governing he thought superior. This writer also informs us that on this account, while the other sons had distant and affluent governments assigned them, he retained Dara at court, where he had a throne placed for him, in the hall of audience, a little lower than his own, and whereon he sate as a second emperor, forgetting an old eastern adage, that *two suns never yet shone in one hemisphere*. This imprudent, irresolute conduct in Shah Jehan, who had acted so summary a part by his own brothers, and who might have crushed the evil in time, by sending all the suspected to Gualior, is rather astonishing, and certainly *was* the cause of all his succeeding calamities.

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* Bernier's Mogul Empire, p. 29, et seq.

Amidst events of more important consideration in an empire, the death of a great and good man, who, when acting from himself, was the model of upright ministers, may surely be enumerated. Such was Asoph Jah, brother of NOURMAHAL, and father of the favourite Sultana, the mother of so many princes and princesses, who died this year, 1641, in the 72d year of her age. Although he left several sons and daughters, yet for political reasons he constituted his grandson, Dara, heir to his immense fortune, amounting in coined money, jewels, and plate, to four millions sterling. He bequeathed his children to that empire which he had more than once, together with its sovereign, preserved from destruction. The beautiful TAJEMAHAL, his daughter, had died in child-bed in 1631, and was honoured with a marble mausoleum at Agra, now called by her name, that had scarcely its rival in India, and cost Shah Jehan no less a sum than 750,000l. sterling. His sister, NOURMAHAL, died in 1645, in her palace at Lahore, in dignified seclusion from that world in which she had, by her beauty, borne so unbounded a sway. Such was the concluding scene of the three most distinguished personages of their day!

One method which Shah Jehan, in his strict administration of justice, took to prevent that undue influence which the Soubahs were too apt to acquire in their governments, was to remove them every third year. Tirbiet Khan was in this year complained of for his unrelenting severity in exacting the revenues from the poor oppressed inhabitants of Cabul. He was superseded, deprived of his honours, and confined; for during this reign, even of the once sanguinary Jehan, the punishment of death was seldom inflicted, and justice and clemency seemed to go hand in hand.

Ali Murdan was appointed in his room Soubah of Cabul. Even Aurungzeb himself, when complaints were once made against him for mal-administration in Deccan, was ordered to the presence to answer to the charge. That prince readily obeyed the summons, completely exculpated himself, and was re-instated in his government.

In laudable occupations of this kind, occasionally intermixed with the pleasures of the chase and the delights of an overflowing haram, sometimes at one capital and sometimes at another, as either caprice or the varying season dictated, elapsed several years of Shah Jehan's reign. Nothing was now wanting to fill up the measure of his greatness, or the plenitude of his power. Excepting the occasional insurrection of a discontented Rajah, and an accidental irruption on the frontier of some daring Patan, or Tartar chief easily crushed by neighbouring Soubahs, the empire remained in profound tranquillity. Rebellion suppressed in the provinces, and order and subordination happily established among all classes of his subjects, the will of the Emperor was received as law through all its vast extent. An immense revenue, the result of commerce duly encouraged, and property effectually protected, under the code of the great Akber, poured from every quarter into the royal coffers. The new capital honoured with his name, and by which that name was to descend to latest ages, as well as himself to be considered as the patron of architecture and every nobler science, was now nearly finished, and about to open its gates to admit the most splendid court of Asia. The domestic irresolution of a monarch, whose conduct in every other respect was marked by the utmost vigour and decision, ruined this fair prospect of dawning felicity, and cast a dreadful gloom over his closing life.

In 1642 Shah Sefi who had inundated Persia with the blood of his subjects, having quelled those intestine commotions which his cruelties excited, directed his arms towards Candahar, with a determination to recover that city and fortress. As this was a favourite acquisition of Shah Jehan, he made the most formidable preparations for resisting the attack, and Sultan Dara at the head of an army of 50,000 men, to be joined at Cabul by 30,000 more, was soon on his march for that citadel. Sultan Murad, too, whose character was now become eminent for invincible bravery, was dispatched with twenty thousand horse, with orders to take post behind the Nilab, and re-inforce his brother if requisite. All these mighty preparations, however, proved in the end unnecessary. Shah Sefi, breathing war and vengeance, had not advanced far in his march towards Candahar, before he was suddenly taken ill, and died, it was thought by poison, amidst the execrations of his remaining subjects. His army was disbanded, and as Abbas the Second manifested at that time no inclination to follow up the military projects of his predecessor, the two princes returned with their forces to their father at Lahore.

Awed by the reputation of Shah Jehan and his valiant sons, the Uzbek Tartars had long refrained from committing depredations on the Indian frontier; but in 1643 they recommenced their barbarous incursions. Ali Murdan, however, the governor of Cabul, repulsed them with great slaughter, and, in return, ravaged their country as far as Balkh. In the following year he renewed the attack upon those northern hordes, the descendants of the ancient Massagetæ, and took several towns and forts in Badakshan. His daring courage hurrying him on too far into that inhospitable region, the enemy were enabled to cut off his supplies and his communication with Hindostan; they had also retaken several forts which had fallen into his hands when he advanced. A retreat, therefore, was deemed prudent by that commander, who extricated himself with great ability from the difficulties that surrounded him; reconquered the captured forts; and having established a chain of posts along the skirts of Badakshan, returned with honour to Cabul. This however did not satisfy Shah Jehan; any thing short of the absolute subjugation of so presumptuous a foe his soul disdained, and, therefore, on a renewal of their incursions, more vigorous and decisive measures were taken for that purpose, during which the military talents of both Aurungzeb and Murad were successively called forth. Their complete reduction was at length accomplished in 1647, but not without several obstinate battles, and a very great expenditure of blood and treasure.*

It was not until the commencement of the year 1648, according to his Persian biographer, that his new city of Jehanabad, was completely fitted for the reception of his numerous court, and the immense population that, encouraged by the promises held out to the new settlers, flocked to it from every quarter of India. From Agra alone were exported thither by his order and at his expence, no less than 500,000 of its inhabitants, and that great city was left almost a desert. On this occasion no bounds were placed to the generosity and hospitality of the Emperor, and when in all his glory he mounted the throne in that city on the festival of the NAURUZ, or *new year's day*, which in India falls at the vernal equinox, no end to the presents that were offered by the high nobility to himself, and by their ladies to the Sultanas. That festival, ever magnificent, was sumptuous beyond all conception, and continued *nine* days, a favourite number of the Moguls, during which period the whole city as well as the court was treated at the public expence, and all classes dissolved in boundless dissipation.

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* Compare Abulghazi's History of the Uzbek Khans with what occurs in Dow, vol. iii. p. 190, and in Bernier, tom. ii. p. 1. who met the Uzbek ambassadors at Delhi, A. D. 1656.

In the life of Jehanguire I have given Sir Thomas Roe's description of the celebration of this great Persian and Tartar feast at Agra. Bernier was at this new capital, of which he has favoured us with an elaborate description, in 1663, about fifteen years after this first ascension of its throne by Shah Jehan, when its lustre was probably rather increased than abated by fresh importations from Golconda, and saw Aurungzeb, (Shah Jehan still living) sitting upon it, and celebrating the same great annual festivity. The eastern narratives may appear extravagant and inflated to our cold northern conceptions, but credit ought surely to be given to so authentic a writer as Bernier. I may add, that Mr. Franklin's and his account of the palace will be found mutually illustrative of each other, due allowance being made for the great distance of time, at which they respectively saw it, the one in its full splendor, the other in ruins. With respect to the grand pageant, the THRONE itself, he agrees in most points with Tavernier, and he is very particular in enumerating the *sources* of the wealth of the Mogul. He computes the actual treasures of Shah Jehan at six crore of rupees, about seven millions and an half sterling; but he adds, "In this sum I by no means comprehend that great abundance of goldsmith's work, so variously wrought in gold and silver, nor that vast store of precious stones and pearls in his possession, of a very high value. The throne alone covered with them is valued, at the least, at three crore. It is however, to be considered that they are the spoils of those ancient princes, the Patans and Rajahs, accumulated from immemorial times, and still increasing from one king to another by the presents which the Omrahs are obliged yearly on certain festivals to make him, especially on his *birthday*. These are esteemed the jewels of the crown, which it would be criminal to touch, and upon which a king of India, in case of necessity, would find it very difficult to raise the least sum."*

After introducing us through those great gates, where the stone elephants *were* at that time standing, and through the two outer courts, full of guards and living elephants, he leads us to the Am-kass, or hall of audience, where "The king appeared sitting upon his throne, in the bottom of the great hall of audience, splendidly apparelled. His vest was of white satin flowered, and raised with a very fine embroidery of gold and silk. His turban was of cloth of gold, having a bird wrought upon it like an heron, whose foot was covered with diamonds of an extraordinary bigness and price, with a great oriental topaz, which may be said to be matchless, shining like a little sun. A collar of big pearls hung about his neck down to his stomach, after the manner that some heathens wear their great beads. His throne was supported by six high pillars, said to be of massy gold, and set with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. I am not able to tell you aright, neither the number nor the price of this heap of precious stones, because it is not permitted to come near enough to count them, and to judge of their water and purity. Only this I can say, that the great diamonds are there in profusion, and that the throne is estimated to be worth four crores of rupees. Shah Jehan, the father of Aurungzeb, is the prince who caused it to be made, to shew so many precious stones as successively had been amassed in the treasury, of the spoils of those ancient *Patans* and *Rajahs*, and of the presents which the *Omrahs* are obliged to make yearly upon certain festival days. The art and workmanship of this throne is not answerable to the matter: that which I find upon it best devised, are two peacocks covered with precious stones and pearls, which are the work of a Frenchman, that was an admirable workman. Beneath this throne there appeared all the *Omrahs* in splendid apparel, upon a raised ground covered with a great canopy of purfled gold with great golden fringes, and inclosed by a silver balustrade. The pillars of the hall were hung with tapestries of purfled gold, having the ground of gold; and for the roof of the hall, there was nothing but great canopies of flowered satin, fastened with red silken cords, that had big tufts of silk mixt with threads of gold hanging on them. Below there was nothing to be seen but great silken tapestries very rich, of an extraordinary length and breadth. In the court there was set abroad a certain tent they call the *Aspex*, as long and large as the hall and more. It was joined to the hall by the upper part, and reached almost as far as to the middle of the court; mean time it was all inclosed by a great balustrade covered with plates of silver. It was supported by three pillars, being of the thickness and height of a barge-mast, and by some lesser ones, and they all were covered with plates of silver. It was red from without, and lined within with those fine *Chittes*, or cloth painted by a pencil of *Masulipatan*, purposely wrought and contrived with such vivid colours, and flowers so natural drawn of an hundred several fashions and shapes, that one would have said, it were an hanging parterre. Thus was the great hall of the *Am-kass* adorned and set out.

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* See Bernier's Mogul Empire, vol. i. p. 165. English 12mo. edit. 1676.

As to those *arched galleries*, which I have spoken of, that surround the court; each *Omrah* had received order to dress one of them at his own charges. And they now striving who should make his own most stately, there was seen nothing but purfled gold above and beneath, and rich tapestries under foot.

The third day of the feast, the king caused himself to be weighed with great ceremony, and after him divers *Omrahs*, in great scales, and with weights said to be of massy gold. I remember that all the Omrahs expressed great joy, that the king weighed two pounds more than the year preceding.

Every year there are held such kinds of festivals, but never any was celebrated with so much splendour and charge. It is said, that what induced Aurungzeb to celebrate this splendid feast, was nothing else but to make the merchants of purfled gold recover themselves, who had whole magazines full of it, much spoiled in these four or five years of war, wherein they could not sell them. These expenses of the Omrahs were great; but the simple cavaliers paid their share of it, because that the Omrahs after the feast made them take off that commodity to make vests thereof.

There is an ancient custom accompanying these feasts, which little pleaseth the Omrahs: and it is this, that then they are by respect obliged to make some fair presents to the king in proportion of their pay. There are some, that to appear generous, or for fear of being searched for the rapines by them committed in their offices and governments; or to purchase the favour of the king, in the hopes of having their pensions augmented, make him presents that are extraordinary. Some present fine vessels of gold set with precious stones; others present fair pearls, diamonds, emeralds, or rubies; others give him, without other ceremony, a quantity of those pieces of gold, that are worth about a pistole and an half. I remember, that Aurungzeb, having gone to visit (during this great festival) his Visier Jafer-kan, not as Visier, but as a kinsman, and under the pretence of desiring to see a piece of building, which he had caused to be raised anew, Jafer-kan presented him in these pieces of gold, with the value of an hundred thousand crowns, some good pearls, and one ruby valued at forty thousand crowns.*

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* Ibid, vol. iii. p. 57.

From the bower of indolence, and the banquet of intemperance, the emperor was roused before the close of the year, by intelligence that Shah Abbas, at the head of a great army was rapidly advancing to besiege Candahar. He immediately commenced his march for Lahore, and the Visier Sadulla and Aurungzeb were dispatched with 50,000 men, to cover that fortress. Before their arrival, however, in the spring of 1639, it had surrendered by capitulation, and the Persian sovereign, leaving ten thousand men to garrison the place, had retreated with the remainder of his army. The great strength of the citadel enabled the besieged for a long time to resist all the efforts of this formidable force to retake it, and the valour of the garrison, when a practicable breach was made, to repel the assailants, with great loss. On the presumption that the place could not hold out till winter against such an army, commanded by such leaders, neither provisions nor warlike stores had been provided in sufficient abundance for their support. The intenseness of the cold, also, in that high and mountainous region, began to be severely felt by troops accustomed to milder latitudes. In consequence of this, but determined under more auspicious circumstances to renew the attack, Shah Jehan ordered the siege to be raised, and Aurungzeb for the first time was on his return to his father, unadorned with the laurels of victory. But that disgrace was prevented by the guardian genius which seemed to preside over all the actions of his fortunate life.

The imperialists had not advanced far on their retrogressive march, when Ali, governor of Candahar, aided by the army of observation that guarded the Persian frontier, fell furiously upon the rear of the retreating army. Aurungzeb, who was at the head of the cavalry in the van, immediately and with rapidity wheeling round, attacked the assailing army in flank, threw them into confusion, and then following up the blow, completely routed them. Having however been reinforced by a strong detachment from Candahar, the enemy shortly after renewed the contest against an army thinned by famine, and exhausted by fatigue. The imperialists turned upon them with the heroic courage of men determined to conquer, or die; and now the contest and the carnage became alike dreadful. The shock was along the whole line from wing to wing; every Indian soldier was strenuously engaged in warfare with his Persian antagonist. Victory seemed inclined to favour the unimpaired vigour of the Persians, and to be already within their grasp, when, Rustam, one of Aurungzeb's generals, who commanded the reserve, consisting of 2000 horse, undauntedly leading up his battalions, charged the Persians with such irresistible impetuosity, as greatly contributed to turn the fortune of the day. Aurungzeb, both by his voice and his actions, animated his troops; the combat was renewed with redoubled fury, and the enemy were not only a second time routed, but pursued twenty miles beyond the field of battle. Crowned with unexpected but well-earned glory, the prince returned to his father at Lahore, was received with rapturous gratulation, and loaded with distinguished honours.

In the mean time Shah Abbas, undiscouraged by this defeat of his army, greatly increased the number of the garrison in Candahar, and so strengthened the works as to render that fortress almost impregnable. In vain therefore, did Aurungzeb, after immense preparations, and with a still greater army, in 1642, again appear before that fatal obstacle to the repose of two great empires. To retake it baffled his utmost efforts, as well as those of his brother Dara, and Candahar, till its seizure by Abdollah, remained an appendage to the Persian empire.

The smothered flame of rancour and jealousy that had long secretly burned in the bosoms of these rival brothers was now on the point of breaking out, not a little increased, in that of Aurungzeb, by the Emperor's solemn public appointment about this period, of Dara to the succession. He went even farther than this; he permitted him to enjoy a large portion of the imperial power, gave him a signet of equal authority with his own, and settled upon him an annual allowance of nearly two millions sterling, for the expences of his household. The passions of Shah Jehan had by no means diminished with his advancing years, but having devolved on Dara and the Visier the burthen of public business, he passed the greatest part of his time in the pleasures of the haram, and the varied delights of the gardens of Shahlimar. There, forgetting the martial exercises of his youth, he gave himself up to enjoyments unworthy of so great a monarch. Music, dancing, and comic entertainments engrossed, in succession, the hours of his voluptuous day. He was not content with that multitude of women which the Mahommedan law allows to the gratification of a grovelling passion, but ranged among his courtiers for forbidden beauty, and stained the hallowed purity of the nuptial bed. To his favourite women he was generous and magnificent beyond conception, but sometimes not very nice in his choice of them. The gallery adorned with jewels is said by Manouchi to have been made to gratify a female dancer of the very lowest class; and to the wife of Calil Khan, one of his principal officers, he presented a pair of slippers of inestimable value.

By a transition not very unusual, the passions of this prince, in his old age, became greatly altered, and boundless prodigality was exchanged for insatiable avarice. He grew intolerably severe in exacting the tribute from the governors; and those were highest in honours and most in favour who remitted the largest sums to court. For the better security of the immense treasures which he had thus accumulated, we are told by Manouchi that he caused two deep and capacious vaults to be excavated under the palace of Delhi, supported by marble pillars, in one of which, in mighty heaps, was piled up his gold, in the other his silver. He tells us farther, that to prevent these precious metals from being carried away, he had the precaution to form them into vast ingots, unfit to be used in commerce, and that these vaults were the favourite resort of the emperor, who under the pretence of enjoying the cool of that subterraneous gloom, spent a great part of the day in these caverns, feasting his eyes on the enormous wealth contained in them.*

No very important national occurrence arose to interrupt the domestic repose of Shah Jehan till 1656, when new disturbances broke out in Deccan, owing, as was alleged by Aurungzeb, in his representations to his father, to the dilatoriness of Cuttub Shah, in remitting the annual tribute due to the empire. On this account he professed to have put the troops under his command in motion, and requested farther assistance from the Emperor to enable him to compel the obedience of its refractory sovereign. His request was granted, though in direct opposition to the advice of Dara, who beheld with indignation the growing power of his brother in that quarter, and dreaded its increase, if an army adequate to the conquest of so wealthy a kingdom as Golconda were sent him from Agra. Aurungzeb, however, had taken the precaution to dispatch a messenger, armed with irresistable arguments, to convince Shah Jehan of the necessity of this new war; it was his friend and comrade in arms, Emir Jemla, a most important personage in the dreadful drama about to be acted, and whom we must therefore, in a particular manner, introduce to the notice of the reader.

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* Manouchi, p. 233, et seq.

Emir Jemla was born near Ispahan in Persia, of parents in an inferior rank in life; but able to give their son a tolerable education. His abilities recommended him to the employ of a merchant who traded to Golconda for diamonds, whither he usually accompanied him, and where, finally settling, and by commerce growing affluent, he purchased a considerable place about the court. In this situation, the same abilities rendering him conspicuous, he attracted the notice of the reigning sovereign **Cuttub** Shah (a name common to the kings of this dynasty, as **Adil** is to that of Visiapour) who assigned him a military post of consequence, and gradually advanced him to the chief command of the army of Tellingana. He carried on the war in Karnāta, or the Carnatic, for that prince; and brought it to a successful termination. His conquests in that rich country enabled him to transmit immense treasures to the court, but he likewise retained incalculable wealth for himself, which, when called upon, he refused to divide with his sovereign. In consequence, being compelled to fly from Golconda, he sought and found a ready asylum with Aurungzeb, who promised to revenge his cause and to procure the restoration of his family, and treasures, on a great part of which Cuttub had seized. Aurungzeb, who dived deep into the human heart, exulted in his good fortune in having found, as he thought, in Emir Jemla, a proper instrument to promote his ambitious projects, and exerted all his interest for his promotion at the court of his father. Of these projects at various conferences he gradually unfolded to him the depth and extent, and in these consultations were laid the first solid foundations of his future sovereignty.

Fully acquainted with all his views, and fully resolved to support him in them, no more proper ambassador could have been selected than Emir Jemla to impress on Shah Jehan the necessity of renewing the war with the king of Golconda, nor any argument more powerful than a bulse of the finest diamonds, recently delved from its mines, one absolutely unparalleled for its lustre and magnitude, which he now displayed to his delighted view. The doom of its monarch was instantly sealed, and an army of twenty thousand horse, which, to avoid increasing the envy of Dara, Aurungzeb deputed his eldest son Mahommed to command, was in a short time before the gates of its capital, Hydrabad. Cuttub, wholly unprepared to resist so formidable a force, prepared by submission to ward off the blow; he offered immediately to pay down the arrears of the tribute, he released the son and family of Emir Jemla from their confinement, and endeavoured to soothe Mahommed by presents of great value; but that prince, stern, haughty, intractable, refused every overture of accommodation till the treasures of Emir Jemla should be returned. A few chests of money, and some caskets of jewels were now sent to the camp, as the property of Emir Jemla, but his son, then with Mahommed, declaring *that* to be but a small portion of the immense treasures of his father, and, in fact, the object being conquest and plunder rather than restitution, the dreadful work of desolation and slaughter immediately commenced.

Than the sack of this rich city, according to various writers before me, Thevenot, Tavernier, Dow, De Faria, nothing can be conceived more terrible from the united rage and avarice of the assailants. The pavement of the principal street and square is said to have been died with the blood of the miserable inhabitants, and the spoil taken was beyond all calculation; there being in it whole streets full of shops of jewellers and bankers, in which the finest diamonds were wrought, and disposed of. It was not only in diamonds that this superb city abounded; it was crowded with merchandize brought to the shores of Coromandel from the farthest parts of Asia in exchange for those valued articles, but much of this was consumed by the flames which their fury had kindled in different parts. What was incombustible, the gold, the silver, and the jewels alone, remained uninjured to the conquerors, but of that the amount was enormous, for Thevenot in particular informs us that the very floors of the state-apartments in the palace were covered with plates of gold.* In the mean time the king had escaped out of a private gate, and fled to the castle of Golconda, two leagues distant, a castle which in the usual style of the Indian writers was called impregnable. The hill on which it stands, like that of Dowlatabad, rises like a sugar-loaf to a vast height, fortified with walls and bastions, mounted with cannons of a great size, to its very summit.. At its base, and round its sides, stand the palace and the town. Mahommed invested this formidable retreat; Cuttub drawing courage from despair marched out at the head of 6000 horse and 12,000 foot, and gave battle to the imperial troops. He was defeated with great slaughter, and together with his recreant troops those of Mahommed rushed into the castle. Cuttub now threw himself at the victor's feet, imploring mercy and peace. Mahommed was relentless, till Rizia, his beautiful daughter appeared in a supplicating posture. Electrified, vanquished by her charms, he sheathed his sword. A treaty favourable to Cuttub was concluded, by which half of his wealth became the conqueror's. He granted him, also, his daughter in marriage, with a kingdom in reversion for a dowry. The shouts of mirth and the shrieks of sorrow were heard rising together on this memorable occcasion; and the palms of victory were seen blended with the funereal cypress.

Aurungzeb received with transport his son doubly triumphant in the field of war and love. He sent a pompous account of his exploits to the Emperor, who raised him to the rank of eleven thousand horse. Emir Jemla was charged with these dispatches to Shah Jehan, and so ingratiated himself with that monarch that, contrary to all the remonstrances of Dara, he conferred on him the high office of Visier, vacant by the recent death of Sadulla. The Emperor is said to have been not wholly uninterested on this occasion, but, relinquishing the more rigid maxims of his early government, to have received from Jemla a *peishcush* of six lacks of rupees. While Jemla remained at Agra information was received of the death of Adil, king of Visiapour, with the additional intelligence that the principal officers of his court had, without asking permission of the Emperor, raised his son to the sovereignty. Shah Jehan, who considered the dominions of Visiapour, after the last compact, as an appendage to the empire, took fire at this neglect. The new Visier was immediately ordered with 20,000 men into that kingdom, to depose the son of Adil, at least till he should make his submission at the court of his lord paramount, the Emperor. On his arrival at Brampour he was joined by Aurungzeb with all his forces, and the march was continued with all the expedition possible for so numerous an army. In the mean time, Ali, the Visier of the deceased and the existing sovereign, had foreseen the impending storm, and had in some degree guarded against its fury by levying troops, and fortifying again the dismantled castles and towns on the frontier. His army, however, consisting for the most part of raw recruits, were unable to stand the shock of veteran troops, and though numerous, were every where routed. Bider, one of the strongest fortresses in the country, and indeed deemed impregnable, was taken by storm after a siege of twenty-seven days, and the garrison put to the sword. In Bider, Ali had deposited all the wealth of the young sovereign, which consequently became the spoil of the captor. Kilburga, with a more numerous garrison, held out longer, but was at length taken in a similar manner on the 11th of June, 1657. Callian, near the coast, was next invested, and met with the same fate. At length, utterly discomfited both in the open field, and the fortified redoubt, Adil, led by his minister Ali, threw himself at the feet of the conqueror, and was pardoned on condition of paying down a great sum, the amount of the expence of the war, of putting his strongest forts into the hands of Aurungzeb, and of remitting to court, as the future tribute of Visiapour, what in our money would be equal to one million, eight hundred, and seventy-five thousand pounds.*

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* Thevenot's Indian Travels, part 3, chap. vii. p. 101.

The strict bonds of friendship that subsisted between Aurungzeb and the Visier were still more closely cemented by these splendid successes in the field, while their projects of ambition were greatly promoted by the additional force which had attended the latter into Deccan. The hour was now arrived when those projects were to be carried into execution, for in September of the same year Shah Jehan was seized with that dangerous illness, the result of intemperance in his seraglio, which was the signal for his four sons to rush to war, and desolate the empire with their sanguinary contests. The better to conceal those views of ambition which were only known, in their full extent, to Jemla, and extinguish the jealousy of his brothers, Aurungzeb on all occasions, whether in the palace or the field, affected the rigid austerity of a Fakeer, or Mahommedan devotee. Being only the third son, and Dara having been not only publicly proclaimed heir to the throne, but already invested with a great share of the imperial authority, he saw in deep dissimulation alone the secure means of attaining his ends. Absorbed in the rigid routine practice of the prescribed duties of the Koran, in fasting, prayer, and ablutions, he avowed an utter contempt for the magnificence of courts, and in the lofty pride of spiritual elevation, looked down on the pageantry of thrones. The wars in which he had engaged were by no means contrary to the spirit of a religion that delights in blood ; those wars were waged with infidel Hindoos, or those who were equally detestable to a true Islamite, against the Deccan kings, who were from Persia and of the sect of Ali, and termed in contempt Schiites, heretics ; but even amid the rage of war enthusiastic devotion prevailed, and on *Friday*, the Mahommedan sabbath, the operations of the field were constantly suspended. By nature of a severe, reserved, saturnine disposition, he was well adapted for the character which he assumed. His exterior was through life accommodated to his professions ; for, even when a monarch, except on high festival days, he seldom appeared arrayed in cloth of gold, or decorated with jewels, nor was his table loaded with Eastern delicacies and profusion. His affectation of religion, however, had never the effect to veil his real views from his father, or his elder brothers, but they deceived, as they were principally intended to deceive, his younger brother Morad, whose open, generous, unsuspecting nature rendered him an easy dupe to his designs.

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* The reader will find the substance of the above in Manouchi's History, p. 249, in Bernier, Thevenot, and Tavernier, at the places before cited ; in Dow, vol. iii. from p. 116 to p. 205, and all for the most part confirmed in the account of the Nizam, Cuttub, and Adil Shah dynasties in Scott's valuable but summary history of the Deccan. In Fryer's Travels, and in the Portugueze Historians, De Faria and Maffæus many allusions are also made to these facts ; the above is the result of all. From this period to the end of the chapter we shall principally be obliged to the entertaining Bernier.

The artful and deep policy of Aurungzeb in thus appearing the zealous champion of religion is farther evinced by the circumstance that Dara was known to be a great latitudinarian in religious principles, or rather that he was, as Aurungzeb frequently called him, an absolute KAFIR, an infidel; while Sujah was known, for interested purposes, to favour the heretic sect of ALI, of which sect were most of the great Persian lords about the court, and to be very partial also to the Hindoo Rajahs and their religion. This conduct in the two brothers, and in general the laxity of the descendants of Timur in those religious maxims which they brought into Hindostan, had given great offence to all true Mussulmen, of which our pretended *Fakeer* knew well how to take the proper advantage. This summary sketch of the leading feature in the character of Aurungzeb was thought necessary to the full developement of that character; the current of history now leads us back to events at Delhi.

The disease of the emperor was at first thought mortal, and he remained for several days in a state of utter insensibility. By copious bleeding, however, after some time, he recovered his senses, but was wholly unable to attend to public business, and it was thought would ever remain so. Dara of his own accord instantly mounted that throne in the splendour of which he had before so largely participated. The violence with which he acted, on seizing the imperial sceptre, betrayed, at once, his hatred and his suspicions of his brothers, and hurried on that catastrophe to which, otherwise, affairs were unhappily, but only gradually, advancing. He forbade all persons on pain of death, from holding any correspondence of a political kind with his brothers. Their known agents in the capital, together with their papers, were seized and imprisoned, and all the money in their hands confiscated. In a public assembly of the nobles he expatiated on the insatiable ambition of his brothers, from intercepted letters unfolded their designs, and deprecated the horrors of a civil war. He declared his firm resolution not to abandon a throne which heaven and his father had assigned him. He called upon his own friends for their active support; from the friends of his brothers, those who had received favours from them, or had estates in the provinces commanded by them, he disdained to ask aid, but he commanded the strictest neutrality. An army proportionate to the emergency was immediately assembled, and he seemed anxious to risque the fate of a great empire on a single battle.

Under the plea of improving his father's health, but doubtless with a political view, that he might be more in the centre of the empire, and nearer the threatened field of war, Dara caused the infirm monarch to be conveyed in a barge down the Jumna from Delhi to Agra. The army and court accompanied him, moving slowly along the bank of the river, under his immediate command. Most part of the day was spent with his father; but his night was invariably passed on shore. As the recovery of the king's health was exceedingly slow, and his relapses were frequent, various and even contradictory reports were circulated on that subject, which were eagerly carried, by their partizans, to the princes in the provinces. Some of these affirmed him to be actually dead of his disorder; others, that he was only confined to the palace by Dara; others that he was poisoned by him. Sultan Sujah, who had accumulated vast wealth in Bengal, during his long government of that rich province, was the first who appeared in the field, and he justified his conduct by the violence of Dara. He had attached to himself most of the great Omrahs about the court; his resources were vast, and his army was formidable. He issued a manifesto, declaring that he was marching to revenge the death of his father, and to dethrone the parricide. It was in vain that letters were dispatched to Sujah, even by the

Emperor himself, announcing his gradual recovery, and commanding his return to his capital. He professed to treat them as a daring forgery of the usurper; and advanced with his army to Benares. He had gone too far to retreat; his object was a diadem, and that the richest of Asia. At Benares for the present we must leave him, and return to observe the motions of the politic Aurungzeb,

From the immense preparations making on all sides, the war was likely to prove of the most obstinate and sanguinary complexion. It may here be remarked that the conflicts of the younger princes of Asia are in general of this cast. The contest between them is not only for victory, but for life. A throne, perpetual imprisonment, or a grave, are the dreadful alternatives. The unsettled succession to the crown, especially among the Moguls, where primogeniture confers no absolute right to the empire, is the cause of this sanguinary warfare. That magnificent boon by the Tartar code depends solely on the will of the reigning Emperor; but even that will is not always implicitly obeyed, of which Dara in the present case is a glaring proof. Each brother is, in consequence, to the other equally the object of terror and envy, till success or the scymeter shall have decided his fate. On this principle, which has led to the extermination of so many illustrious Asiatic dynasties, are the inextinguishable hatred and jealousy that raged between the sons, and we may add the grandsons, of Shah Jehan to be accounted for. Inflamed with no inconsiderable portion of those passions, Aurungzeb determined to oppose the claims to the empire on the part of Sultans Dara and Sujah on the embattled plain; of Sultan Morad he hoped to unite the army, the valour, and the resources with his own. In consequence he immediately dispatched to that young prince, in Guzzurat, letters at once the most importunate and affectionate, informing him that as he himself from religious motives declined being a candidate for imperial honours, and as he wholly disapproved of the accession of either of their elder brothers to the throne of India—of the first, from his incapacity for government and his utter indifference about all religion; of the second, from his being little superior in ability to Dara, and from his being a heretic—he was resolved to throw all the weight of his influence and authority into the scale of Morad, who from his bravery, ability, and principles, was alone worthy to sit on the throne of their great ancestor, Timur. That with respect to himself, the utmost he solicited of him was, when, by their mutual exertions, the crown should be secured to Morad, that he would grant him in some corner of the empire a secure and quiet retreat, where he might pass in acts of piety the remainder of his days. He conjured him to lose not a moment in urging those just claims, but, joining the forces of Guzzurat with those commanded by himself in Deccan, immediately to commence the march for Agra. He accompanied his letters with a present of 100,000 rupees, apologizing for the smallness of the sum, but advised him, without delay, to seize on the castle of Surat, where he knew the imperial treasure was deposited, to employ that treasure in raising troops to reinforce his army, and to meet him, with the whole force he might thus be able to raise, at Ujein, in their way to the capital.

Morad, blinded by ambition, and the splendour of a crown, neither perceived nor suspected the artifices of the writer. On the contrary he was transported with joy at the proposal, seized Surat and the imperial treasure, levied a great army, and having caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor of Hindostan, hastened to meet his brother at the appointed place. On the junction of the two armies, which took place on the banks of the Nerbudda, the troops sent by Dara to oppose his march having taken possession of Ujein, Aurungzeb's solemn renunciation of all pretensions to the crown, and his determination to live and die a *Fakeer* were renewed; at the same time he never addressed the deluded prince without the title of *majesty*. During these transactions, Emir Jemla, whose family were at Agra, in the power of Dara, did not dare openly to appear in the field against the court. He continued extending his conquests in the south, but his heart, and the flower of his army, were with Aurungzeb. One of the first acts of Dara's assumed power had been to discard him from the Visirat, as the sworn friend of Aurungzeb; and the destruction of his whole family he had reason to think would be the immediate consequence of his openly espousing the cause of his patron. The confederated princes, however, had too often triumphed in the bannered field to fear the result of a contest with the troops of Dara, even without the counsels of that experienced warrior.

The imperial army, for thus we must denominate that of Dara, was commanded by Kassim Khan, a general of distinguished reputation, and Jesswunt Sing, who had married a daughter of the famous Rajah Ranna, and succeeded him as well in the title of Maha Rajah, as in the command of the Rajapouts of Marwar, of which province Ujein is the capital. Previous to hostilities, these commanders had obeyed the injunctions of Shah Jehan, anxious to preserve the lives of his children, by announcing to them that monarch's recovery, and his positive orders contained in letters from the Emperor himself for their return to their Soubahs. The messengers were detained, and the letters treated only as a forgery of Dara. The result was a battle, into the particulars of which, as well as of many inferior ones in this contest I cannot enter, fought on the banks of the Nerbudda, in which the princes were completely victorious over their antagonists, although they fought with heroic bravery, in particular Jesswunt and his Rajapouts, of whom after the engagement, out of 8000 only five or six hundred remained alive. Aurungzeb and Morad, after this signal victory, entered Ujein in triumph, whence the latter, in the pride of his exultation, insisted on immediately proceeding to Agra. Aurungzeb, however, convinced him of the absolute necessity of staying there some days, both to refresh the army, exhausted by a long march and a battle, and to obtain intelligence from their friends of affairs at Agra.

In Bengal the imperial army had been more fortunate. On the first intelligence of the taking up arms by Sujah, Soliman Shekoh, the eldest son of Dara, was dispatched into that province with a large body of horse under the control of Rajah Jessing, a venerable and cautious general, who had secret orders from Shah Jehan to avoid coming to an engagement with his rebellious son till the last necessity. These orders Jessing would gladly have carried into execution, but Soliman being full of the fire of youth, and that ardour for glory, which distinguished his family, and Sujah being impatient to become master of the capital before his competitors from Deccan should arrive there, he found it impossible to prevent an engagement. The two armies appeared in battle-array on the two opposite banks of the Ganges, and Sujah was preparing a bridge of boats to cross the river with all possible expedition, and make that assault which he too vainly confided would secure him the empire. Till that bridge should be completed he imagined himself safe from attack, and considered the Ganges as an insuperable barrier. The discipline of his army was in consequence rather relaxed, and his camp less strictly guarded than it ought. The active enterprising spirit of Soliman could not brook this delay. He changed his ground; he had the river explored; and some miles higher up, owing to a remarkable drought which occurred that year, it was found fordable for cavalry. He passed it with all his horse at the dead of night; and the instant day-light appeared rushed furiously on the enemy, buried in profound slumber, and totally unprepared for resistance. Sujah himself, roused by the clashing of swords, and the cries of the wounded, started from his bed in wild surprise. He was soon armed, and on horseback, at the head of the few guards whom the universal consternation had not driven to precipitate flight; but it was too late to rally the dispersed and terrified battalions, who, in the utmost confusion, were flying on every side before the impetuous assault of Soliman's cavalry, or lay trampled beneath their feet.

At length having succeeded in collecting together a small but resolute body of men, principally officers, he charged the enemy with retorted fury; but their courage was unavailing: they were defeated with great slaughter, and driven into the river, and the prince himself with difficulty made his escape in a canoe, nor stopped till he reached the strong fortress of Mongeer. Soliman continued for some time in Bengal, and, after pursuing to destruction the routed army, closely invested the fugitive prince in Mongeer. The critical situation, however, of his father and grandfather at Agra imperiously commanding his presence and that of his troops there, he was compelled suddenly to raise the siege, and making the best terms which the urgency of the times would admit of with Sujah, among which was an express stipulation that he should no longer oppose the claim of Dara to the throne, he returned by forced marches to that capital.

When the intelligence of the defeat at the Nerbudda reached Agra, the whole court was thrown into the greatest consternation. Dara was filled with rage at the perfidious or cowardly conduct of the Moguls, who, if they had fought like the brave

Rajapouts, must inevitably have secured the victory. Shah Jehan, now perfectly recovered, with apparent liberty, but in reality a prisoner at the disposal of his son, viewed the distractions in his family with the agonizing feelings of a dethroned king, and a neglected father. To whomsoever victory inclined, he was convinced that no benefit would result to himself; he was a prisoner for life, and his sceptre was gone for ever. Still, however, as Dara treated him with great external respect, and consulted him in all public transactions; as he had fanned his ambition and had prematurely exalted him to that throne of which he was now so tenacious; he submitted with the best grace possible to his altered condition. Too justly suspecting, also, that a change of masters might be for the worse, he exerted in favour of Dara all his remaining authority, summoned his oldest generals, unlocked his buried treasures, and even intimated his resolution to take the field with him against that prince's rebellious brothers. From his resolution he was imprudently dissuaded by Dara, who, elated with the success of the army in Bengal, panted for a day of victory, in the glory of which none should participate. For this reason it probably was that he refused to follow Shah Jehan's earnest recommendation to wait the junction of the army under his son Soliman, though composed of the best troops in the army, in the same vain confidence telling his more experienced sire that in three days he would bring both Aurungzeb and Morad, bound hand and foot, before him to suffer for their nefarious conduct what his justice should determine. The old emperor, whose ideas and whose practice of carrying on war were widely different from his son's, heard him with a dejected aspect, again cautioned him not to be precipitate, and by no means to hazard a battle till reinforced by the troops of Soliman. With the farewell embrace he gave him his blessing, and said, " Go, my son; but beware of returning to my presence unadorned with the laurels of victory!" Vehement by nature, and inflamed with all the ardour of hope, Dara passed like lightning through the capital, and was soon at the head of an army more formidable than any that had issued out of its gates since Shah Jehan marched to conquer the Deccan: it consisted of 100,000 horse, and 1000 pieces of ordnance. He advanced rapidly to the banks of the river Chambul, distant about twenty miles from Agra, and there occupying a position, strong by nature, but made doubly strong by art, he awaited with impatience the approach of the enemy.

In the mean time the confederate princes, after some days repose at Ujein, and having obtained all the information desired from their spies about the court, commenced their march towards Agra, and gained the banks of the Chambul on the 1st of June. They encamped on an eminence directly opposite to the principal army, whence the extent and the strength of their lines could with ease be discerned, and they appeared to Aurungzeb, who the following morning more closely reconnoitred them, too formidable to be forced by an army of such inferior magnitude as theirs, scarcely amounting to 40,000 men. The depth of the river too at that place was an additional obstacle; and though Morad was for trampling on every difficulty, the prudence of his brother again restrained his impetuosity. A momentary gloom overcast the aspect of both, but genius is fertile of expedients, and perfidy accomplished what force could not. Prevailed on by large bribes, a neighbouring Rajah undertook to conduct his army by secret paths over the mountains that stretch between that spot and Agra. Leaving, therefore, their tents, baggage, and part of their artillery, under a strong guard, to amuse the enemy, that very night the army decamped, performed with rapidity a fatiguing journey of thirty miles, and the next day were discovered by the scouts of Dara in full march towards the capital. Dara, equally confounded and astonished, with precipitation broke up his camp, and leaving, also, part of his cannon behind him, by forced marches pushed between the enemy and the capital. On the fourth he presented himself in front of the confederates, and on the fifth ordered his army to be formed in battle array.

His artillery was placed in the front, joined together with chains, to prevent the passage of the cavalry of the enemy. Behind the artillery were ranged light camels, mounted with a small swivel, with a man behind to manage it. In the rear were drawn up the musqueteers in three lines, and the two wings were formed of the cavalry, armed with bows and arrows, together with sabres, in the use of which the Indian cavalry are expert. Dara, mounted on a lofty elephant of Ceylon, whence he could command a view of the field, was in the centre, surrounded by his body-guard. Shaista, son of Asoph Jah, had the command of the right wing; that of the left was entrusted to Rustam, a Persian Omrah, and the greatest general of his time. Of the confederate army Morad was requested by Aurungzeb to take the command of the centre; as the post of honour due to the sovereign. The artillery was ranged in the front, opposite to that of the enemy, and, among the engineers who served it, were several Portugueze and other Europeans, lured into his service by high rewards. He took upon himself the command of the right wing, and appointed his son Mahommed to that of the left. According to a recent fashion introduced with effect by Emir Jemla, some concealed field pieces were intermixed among the troops of the Omrahs, a sort of masqued battery; and here and there were stationed persons armed with *Bannes*, a sort of grenado fastened to a stick, which may be hurled among cavalry to a great distance, while the explosion greatly terrifies the horses, and often kills them.

The firing of Dara's artillery along the whole line announced the battle commenced. It was answered by vollies of shot, and a shower of arrows from the confederates. At this moment a sudden storm of rain poured down, and checked the fury of the combatants. The tempest subsiding, the artillery again began to play, and now was seen Dara aloft on his elephant, resolutely advancing in the centre of the cavalry, and in the very face of the enemy's cannon. Aurungzeb's artillery being much better served than that prince's, did infinite execution among the great bodies of horse that attended his banners, and they were soon thrown into confusion. However Dara, undaunted, continued to advance, animating his troops both by his voice and his actions. Repulsed by repeated vollies they again and again rallied, and at length rushing forward in one vast phalanx, they forced the enemy's artillery, broke the chains that linked them together, and coming up with the central cavalry, commanded by Morad, a mutual and dreadful slaughter commenced. Morad, from his elephant, dealt the arrows of death thick around him, and his troops, though out-numbered three to one, for a long time fought like lions by his side. At length overpowered by multitudes, they were broken, and compelled to retreat. The prince himself, though covered with wounds, disdained to retreat, and ordered his elephant to be urged forward among the thickest of the foe, in hopes of animating his troops to renew the combat, and rally around the standard of their chief. This bold measure had the desired effect. His squadron seeing the enemy surrounding their prince, were ashamed of their terror, and collecting around him, fought with renovated vigour. A daring Indian chief, unable from the height of the elephant to reach Morad with his sword, cut the pillars that supported the roof of the *Amari*, or castle, in which he sate, and that falling upon him encumbered him in such a manner as for a time to prevent his exertions. He soon, however, disengaged himself, pierced with an arrow the bold assailant, and the dreadful work of death was renewed. At this instant Mahommed, sent to his assistance by Aurungzeb, though himself severely pressed, coming up with fresh troops, the battle was renewed with redoubled fury, and the imperial squadrons were in their turn repulsed.

Dara himself in the ardour of heated valour had advanced into the heart of the enemy, and was eager to terminate the contest by a personal combat with Aurungzeb. On hearing however of the retreat of his troops before the united exertions of the two princes, he returned, accompanied by a strong body of cavalry, to the support of his repulsed battalions, and re-conducted them against the enemy with such decided success as appeared eventually to promise certain victory. Aurungzeb, in the mean time, attacked on one side by the Moguls, and on the other by the dauntless bands of Rajapouts, who were ever his implacable enemies, from his hostility to their religion, could scarcely keep his troops together by the example of actions the most heroic, and of words the most animating. Seeing them gradually decreasing in number, he called aloud—“ Courage, my friends, advance ; what hope can there be in flight ?” To shew that he himself was determined to perish on the spot rather than fly, called for chains to be fastened to the feet of his elephant : his troops, abashed at these words, once more rallied around his standard, swore to live and die with him, and the contest and the carnage were renewed.

In the field of Indian warfare it has before been observed that every eye is fixed on the general, who, seated conspicuous on his elephant, from that lofty station beholds and directs the motions of his army. The retreat of that elephant, or the disappearance of that general, is the signal of flight to his troops. While Dara was engaged in thus directing his troops, Shaista the general of his right wing, who having received a grievous outrage from Dara, secretly favoured the cause of Aurungzeb, and had remained inactive during the whole fight, rode rapidly up to the former prince; congratulated him upon his success, assured him that the contest was decided, that the day was his, and advised him to descend from the *Amari*, and mount a horse in pursuit of the routed foe. Dara not suspecting treachery incautiously followed this advice. His troops, no longer seeing him on his elephant, but that animal retreating—supposing he was slain, and that in fact the object for which they were fighting no longer existed, were struck with a sudden panic, and fled tumultuously from the scene of action. Aurungzeb having routed his assailants in another part of the field, now coming up, and joining his forces to those of Morad, fell with fury on the astonished foe, and a complete victory was unexpectedly obtained over an enemy on the very verge of being triumphant. By that fatal step was a great empire lost to Dara, and his military renown for ever tarnished.

Shaista Khan, called Khalil Khan in Bernier, by whose artful manoeuvre the battle had been gained, after its termination, received the warmest acknowledgments from the confederate princes, to whose banners their own dispersed army immediately returned, and, soon after, the greatest part of the enemy's crowded with their commanders at their head. No pursuit was attempted beyond the field of battle: near that field they encamped: and Dara, continuing his flight towards Agra, sixteen miles distant, reached that capital in safety. He was overwhelmed with too much confusion and shame to visit his father; and, fearful of being taken prisoner, at the head of a small party, about midnight, commenced his march for Delhi. The Emperor on hearing of his defeat and flight was penetrated with the deepest affliction, and finding that he had departed without his treasure, sent after him fifty-seven mules laden with gold coin, with an order for all the money in the treasury of Delhi, together with all the horses and elephants in the royal stables. The money sent by the mules was seized, on its way, by banditti. With the help of the treasures collected at Delhi a tolerable army was raised, with which it was the Emperor's recommendation that he should advance along the northern banks of the Ganges, and form a junction with the prince Soliman his son; for to that prince he had dispatched the earliest intelligence of the calamity, with orders for him for that purpose to enter the *Douab*, or interamnian country, watered by the Ganges, and the Jumna.

Soliman, however, was too near and too formidable an object of jealousy to be neglected by Aurungzeb, and, in consequence, soon after the engagement he had dispatched confidential messengers to the two generals of that prince, Rajah Jessing, and Delil Khan, with the information that Dara was utterly defeated; that most of the great Omrahs had deserted his cause and joined the victorious army; that, to say the truth, Shah Jehan from age and infirmities was no longer fit to govern a great empire; that a successor should be appointed, and that Morad was the most proper person; that to prolong the contest would be a fruitless waste of blood; and he concluded by adding, that if they would seize on Soliman and join him with their army, they should not only keep their commands, but be rewarded with the highest honours of the empire. The two generals on consultation were not averse to joining the confederate princes; but the measure of seizing Soliman seemed to them too bold and dangerous. They, however, went together and represented to him the desperate state of his affairs ; displayed the great power which their recent victory had necessarily given to his uncles ; that opposition would, under the present circumstances, prove fruitless ; and they recommended him to retire to Serinagur, the Rajah of which country was his friend, and among the mountains of which he would be safe, till an opportunity should occur for descending those mountains, and commencing hostilities with better hopes of success. The prince, absorbed by anxiety for the fate of his father, earnestly solicited them to march to Delhi, and make, at least, one effort for his deliverance ; but this they positively refused. Seeing himself surrounded with foes and traitors, he followed the advice of his generals, and ordering his baggage to be packed up, with a few chosen troops commenced his march for the mountains. Those faithless generals had the baseness afterwards to send a considerable body of troops to plunder the baggage of this unfortunate prince. The robbers also brought back an elephant loaded with gold rupees, by which he was driven to the greatest distress in his long and toilsome march. At length he reached the mountains, and found in that desert region a safe asylum from the perfidy and ingratitude of man.

Fully informed by his spies, who were among the first lords of the court, for every body now looked upon Aurungzeb as the sovereign of India, of all the transactions at Agra, on the fourth day after the battle the confederate princes commenced the march for Agra. The capital was in no condition to sustain a siege, and the gates were left open ; those of the citadel, which was a place of great strength, were ordered to be kept shut. Aurungzeb, affecting respect for Shah Jehan, declined entering the city, but with Morad encamped in a garden without the walls. The latter lay ill of his wounds, and the political field was, therefore, not inopportunely left open for his more artful and enterprizing brother. His father was now as perfectly restored to health as his advanced years would admit of. Still considered, therefore, by all but rebels as the only lawful emperor, it might be dangerous, as it was indecent, to force open the gates of the citadel: he determined, therefore, to make use of fraud, where he thought force might fail. His hoary sire, however, was no inapt scholar in that science of stratagem which his son practised so extensively, and was prepared to repel art by art.

In conformity with this plan of deception, when, soon after his arrival, Aurungzeb dispatched to Shah Jehan a confidential messenger to make his respectful submission, he was desired to touch the ground, in his name, with his forehead, and in the strongest terms possible to assure him both of his affection as a son, and his duty as a subject. He was ordered farther to express his extreme sorrow for what had past, which was solely imputable to the ambition of Dara, whose violent and imperious character had forced both Morad and himself into those extremities; finally, that he rejoiced exceedingly at his recovery, and respectfully waited without the city the commands of his father and his sovereign. To this strain of affected attachment and loyalty Shah Jehan with equal sincerity, replied by his favourite daughter, Jehanara Begum, whom he sent on purpose to give weight and veracity to his answer, that he was fully convinced of his zeal and loyalty, as a son and a subject; that he supposed him to have been misled by designing villains, and as he doubted not the contrition he had expressed was sincere, he freely pardoned him. He added, that he could not think thus favourably of Morad, who was an obstinate determined rebel, and had actually proclaimed himself emperor in Guzzurat; but that if he would desert Morad, he should not only be received with open arms, but whatever he could desire in the empire beneath the throne of his father should be at his command. The artful Fakeer affected to be won over by these words. For himself he declared he had no other ambition than to continue to live as a derveish, retired from man, and devoted to God; that in taking Morad's part against Dara he acted from principle, and under the conviction that the generous and open nature of the former, who was also a good Mussulman, rendered him better calculated for governing a kingdom than the licentious and arbitrary disposition of the latter; that if the Emperor was determined not to revoke his decision in favour of Dara, nobody had a right to control him; and he solemnly promised within two days to wait upon him in person, in order to discuss that important question.

Jehanara, deceived by her brother's vows and his tears, which he could shed at will, hastened to the Emperor with the joyful intelligence, that his gray hairs were not to descend in sorrow to the grave; that Aurungzeb would come in two days and make his submissions; and that their beloved Dara might yet enjoy the throne decreed to him by heaven and his father. But the Emperor had too long and too well known the Fakeer to be himself deceived. Never indeed was a deeper game of duplicity ever before played, or by more experienced masters in the art; for while Aurungzeb was determined that neither Dara nor Morad should sway the imperial sceptre, Shah Jehan was as fully resolved that Aurungzeb, if he entered the gates of the palace, should never go out of them alive. Aurungzeb, in fact, had no real intention of visiting his father. He had ever an active spy in the palace, Roxanara Begum, who was as devoted to his interests as Jehanara was to those of Dara, and she had secretly warned him to beware of treachery, for that as soon as he should enter the more secluded apartments he would be seized upon by a number of robust Tartar women usually employed in the seraglio, whom he had armed with daggers, and who from the spirit of their country were fit for any desperate measure. After the two days had elapsed, message after message arrived soliciting the promised interview, and stating that his aged sire wished only to embrace his repentant son, and restore him to favour and distinction. That aged sire, however, had at the same time dispatched letters to Dara of a very different stamp, which were intercepted and brought to Aurungzeb. Those letters evinced the unrelenting disposition of his father towards Aurungzeb, and pointed out the necessity of the most active and immediate exertions. At length a day for his coming to the palace was appointed, and Aurungzeb sent his eldest son Mahommed to announce his approach, but confessed, as reports hostile to his safety were in circulation, that unless a small guard were allowed for the protection of his person he could not enter the palace. The request seemed too reasonable to be denied: while a refusal might excite suspicion. A guard, therefore, consisting of a limited number of men, and commanded by his son in person, was permitted previously to enter the gates. The prince, on entering, examined all the avenues with caution, and finding in one of the courts a body of men concealed, complained to the Emperor of an intention to seize his father's person, and declared that unless those men were sent away he would dispatch a messenger to prevent that father from entering the citadel. Shah Jehan, depending probably upon his armed Tartar women, consented to dismiss them. The royal Fakeer had actually set out, and his near approach was announced; when on a sudden, as if seized with a fit of devotion, he ordered the cavalcade to change their course, and move towards the tomb of Akber, where he professed his intention of offering up his prayers to heaven. This was the signal for action. The prince's party was composed of picked men, inured to danger, whom nothing dismayed. They rushed furiously on the imperial troops that guarded the gates, and overpowered them, though infinitely superior in number. They then opened them to a far greater number of their armed comrades, who were stationed for the purpose without; and these bursting into the fortress soon made themselves masters of the walls and ramparts, while Mahommed with his chosen band took possession of the whole interior of the palace. The Emperor finding himself a prisoner, and fallen into the very snare which he had spread for another, immediately began to vent his rage against Aurungzeb and his perfidious grandson in a torrent of bitter invective. The prince replied not, but, making the usual obeisance, respectfully retired.

Not long after, when the rage of passion had subsided, Shah Jehan sent again for his grandson. The prince obeyed the summons, and found the venerable king sitting in a desponding attitude, with his hand resting on the Koran, and his eye raised upward to the imperial crown, suspended over his head. Pointing to the crown, and firmly grasping the Mahommedan code, he exclaimed, "Mahommed, by these sacred objects I swear, that if, taking compassion on my age and sufferings, you will release me from this prison, I will make you Emperor of Hindostan." The prince, by nature sufficiently ambitious, yet either doubting the emperor's *sincerity*, or his *power* to accomplish what he proposed, or rather, perhaps, fearing the vengeance of an incensed father, remained silent. With many urgent expostulations, he repeated the proposal; and Mahommed appeared agitated by contending passions; at length suddenly starting, as from a reverie, he rushed out of the apartment without uttering a word.

He presently however in his father's name dispatched a messenger to the Emperor desiring him to deliver up the keys of all the gates of the fortress. Shah Jehan, at first, refused compliance; but, after two days delay, surrendered them: at the same time, bidding him acquaint Aurungzeb that he might now, in full security, visit his imprisoned father and sovereign. Aurungzeb, whose insatiable ambition had rendered him callous to the ties of nature, sent an apology, accompanied with hints relative to the recent duplicity which had marked his father's conduct, but added that when he had annihilated the power of his rival Dara, he would himself come and open to him the gates of his prison. He appointed Etbar Khan governor of the fortress; who shut up the emperor together with Begum Saheb and all his women, causing several gates through which there was a possibility of escape to be walled up. Day and night a vigilant guard was placed over him, that he might neither write, nor speak to any body, nor, without permission, quit his apartment.

While Aurungzeb thus audaciously trampled upon the fallen Emperor, he behaved to Morad with that servile adulation which every person but the prince himself perceived to be affected. The better to delude him, and cover his nefarious purposes, he pretended a vehement desire to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, and was with difficulty persuaded to delay that meritorious journey, till Morad should be firmly seated on the throne by the conquest of Dara. On all occasions he addressed him as the actual Emperor, and the great Omrahs, too obedient to his commands, addressed him in a similar manner; although there were not wanting some among them who cautioned Morad against placing too firm a reliance on his specious pretensions to superior sanctity, the usual mask of the blackest designs. Blinded by ambition and vanity, Morad rejected every friendly hint of this kind, and being now fully recovered of his wounds prepared to set out with him in pursuit of Dara. Aurungzeb having appointed his uncle Shah Hest Khan, governor of Agra, and taken out of the royal treasury what sums he wanted, the confederate princes proceeded on their march to Delhi. On their arrival at Muttra a grand banquet was provided by Aurungzeb, to which Morad was pressingly invited; and though earnestly solicited by Shabas, master of his household, and other Omrahs, who had now certain proofs of his brother's designs against his life, to refrain from going, the magnanimous prince again rejected the council of his faithful friends, and repaired about the close of eve to his brother's tent. Morad was a voluptuous prince, and whatever could provoke, or gratify, appetite was provided in abundance. After the entertainment some Shiraz wine, of delicious flavour was introduced, and Morad invited to indulge freely in the sparkling beverage, though the rigid Fakeer refused to pollute his lips with the forbidden draught. Ample portions of the same generous and potent liquor were also allowed to the Omrahs his attendants, who were no better Mussulmen than their master. On pretence of business Aurungzeb left the apartment, and the prince soon sunk into a profound sleep. In this situation his sabre and poniard were taken from him. Every previous precaution had been used for the success of the enterprize. Confidential guards had been appointed, and a band of sturdy ruffians waited without. At this moment of slumbering ambition and disarmed fortitude, entered in haste the MAN in whose breast those qualities abounded, mixed with the basest cruelties, and the blackest ingratitude. He spurned with his foot the inebriated prince, and aloud exclaimed, " Is this a conduct becoming a great Emperor? What will the nation think of those who having dethroned one prince for imbecility, suffer their intellects to be thus wholly overpowered by wine. Morad, thy throne, thy claim to imperial distinction is for ever forfeited. Take this infamous besotted man away; bind him hand and foot, and throw him into that room, there to sleep out his wine." The prince searched in vain for his sword and poniard; five or six persons immediately rushed in, and in spite of all his outcries and opposition, fettered his hands and feet. An escort and an elephant were ready at hand. He was shut up in a covered amari, or castle, and before morning was far advanced on his way to Agra; thence to be conveyed to Gualior, the fatal receptacle of the unfortunate princes of the house of Timur.* This memorable event took place on the 6th of July, 1658.

A considerable body of men under arms, previously stationed near the tent of Aurungzeb, kept, during these transactions, every thing quiet in that quarter. At a distance, diligent emissaries represented matters in so favourable a point of view, as greatly tended to pacify the rising resentment of the soldiers, not a little aided by the promise of the immediate payment of the arrears due to them. Among the officers in general very large presents were distributed, the plunder of the treasury of Agra; and great promotions were made; so that in a short time all irritations were allayed, and Morad with all his good qualities forgotten. Aurungzeb, now at the head of both his own and his brother's army, commenced his march with great rapidity for Delhi, but hearing that Dara had proceeded to Lahore, and determined not to leave another rival in the field, he continued his pursuit beneath the fervour of a vertical sun, with such eagerness that he often advanced almost alone several leagues before the body of his army, drinking unwholesome water, eating the coarsest food, and sleeping on the bare ground, like the meanest soldier. Dara, dreading to be overtaken by his inveterate enemy, quitted Lahore, and turned his course towards Multan, which circumstance gave Aurungzeb great pleasure, since, if he had marched on to Cabul, he would have there found a potent army, designed to guard the frontiers, and commanded by Mohabet, an ancient enemy of his own, who, probably, would have vigorously espoused the cause of his brother. Relaxing now in his impetuous career, and thinking his presence might be necessary at Agra, he dispatched after him Khan Jehan, his favourite and first-made Omrah, with 8000 horse, and returned leisurely to Delhi. Here contemplating the proud success of his ambitious career, he determined to reap the fruits of his crimes by circling his head with the diadem; but this act being so directly contrary to all his professions as a religious devotee, required some management. His most intimate friends, however, who were well acquainted with the secret wishes of his heart, convened an assembly of nobles, and from motives of public necessity proposed that he should be solicited to wear that crown, to the burthen of which no one else was equal, and the glory of which none could so well maintain. As all were alike interested in the event, the proposal was received with acclamation, and they went in a body to the palace to intreat him to be reconciled to imperial honours. For a long time the crafty hypocrite hesitated, and even appeared offended at the request. But when they urged it upon him as a matter of duty, and that the deity might be served as faithfully amid the splendour of a throne, as in the gloom of a cell, he with apparent reluctance consented. In consequence, without any of the pompous ceremonies usual on such occasions, which he affected to despise, and probably *did* in his heart, his object being *power*, not *grandeur*,

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* The Persian Author translated by Dow differs in many smaller points from Bernier, but in all the main circumstances they agree very exactly. I have endeavoured to give the blended outline of both writers, corrected by the dates of Fraser.

Aurungzeb, the humble Fakeer, on the second of August, 1658,* in a full assembly of the nobility, at the town of Azabad, near Delhi, publicly ascended the imperial throne, and as it is usual, on these occasions, to take some pompous title, he assumed that of AULUM-GEER, or CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD, and by that title he was the same day proclaimed Emperor of Hindostan.

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* Fraser says he mounted the throne on the 26th of July of this year; but if the seizure of Morad only took place on the 6th of July, sufficient time is not in that case allowed for the intervening events. In this instance therefore I adopt the date of the Persian historian.

CHAPTER III.

The Account of Aurungzeb's Wars with his Brothers continued.—Defeat and Death of Sultan Dara.—Defeat and Death of Sultan Sujah.—Capture of Soliman Shekoh.—Death of Shah Jehan.—Wars in the Deccan, and with Sevajee.—Desperate Illness and Recovery of Aurungzeb.—War with the Patans beyond the Indus.—War with the Rajapouts, and taking of Cheitore.—Renewed Hostilities with Sevajee and the Mahrattas.—Farther Conquests in the Peninsula.—Death and Character of Aurungzeb.

WHEN the intelligence of Aurungzeb's having mounted the throne reached Agra, the governor filled every quarter of the city with public demonstrations of joy. The roll of the drums, the thunder of the artillery which announced that event reached the ear of the Emperor, who, apprehensive that it proclaimed some victory terminated by the death or capture of Dara, anxiously enquired the cause. When informed of the real circumstance, the old man's eyes flashed with rage and resentment. He stood for some time absorbed in profound astonishment. At length he said to his daughter Jehanara, the new Emperor has prematurely mounted his throne. He should have first added to his other crimes the last, the greatest; the murder of a father! After all, however, it must be acknowledged that the means by which Shah Jehan obtained the empire were not more justifiable than those which he so much blamed in Aurungzeb. He waged against his father an unprovoked rebellion, and ascended the throne while its footsteps were yet reeking with the blood of his nearest relatives.

Dara, supposing his indefatigable brother to be still personally in pursuit of him, directed his course towards Sindi, and taking possession of the strong fortress of Bhakor (Bicker) augmented its already numerous garrison with a considerable detachment of hardy Patans from his army. Having, also, by the promise of high rewards engaged in his service a numerous body of Portugueze, Dutch, and French cannoneers to manage the artillery of that place, he thought it sufficiently secure to deposit his treasures there, which, as he had every where in his progress collected the revenues due to the crown, were now become very considerable. The prince then crossed the Indus on a bridge of boats, and took possession of Sicar, another strong fortress on the opposite bank, whose garrison he also greatly increased. Khan Jehan, in the mean time, was greatly retarded in his pursuit by the annual rains, but still unabatingly persevered, and crossed the Indus after him. Dara stayed only a few days at Sicar, and then descended along the western shore of the Indus to Tatta. That city also, being warmly pursued, in a few days he evacuated, recrossed the river with his harassed troops, and armed with resolution, undaunted amid all difficulties, immediately commenced the dreadful march across the inhospitable deserts of burning sand that stretch between that country and Ahmedabad, the capital of Guzzurat. At the gates of that city he arrived with an army nearly famished with hunger, and quite exhausted with fatigue. Shanavaz, the governor, was the father-in-law of Aurungzeb as well as of Morad, and received him in that wretched condition with at least apparent respect and hospitality. This visit of Dara to the father of his bitterest enemy is unaccountable, except as the result of urgent necessity; especially when we are informed that the latter made him considerable presents, and permitted him to recruit his army in Guzzurat. In the event, however, he betrayed him, and probably, in secret, acted all along in concert with Aurungzeb. At Ahmedabad we must for the present leave him, as a new rival has started up in the East, and Sultan Sujah has advanced with a great army as far as Allahabad, on his march to dethrone the imperial usurper at Agra.

This prince had in the rich and fertile province of Bengal, which he had so long governed, and with the applause of the inhabitants, soon recovered the loss which he sustained in his contest with Soliman. If he had opposed, with vigour, the claims, the sanctioned claims of an elder brother to the imperial diadem, with what indignant disdain did he behold the bolder pretensions of a younger branch of his house to the same honours? His hypocritical religious fervour excited his contempt, while his multiplied crimes struck him with horror! With activity and vigour proportioned to the emergency, he immediately raised an army formidable for its numbers, if not perfect in discipline, and set out once more with the plea at least of rescuing an aged father from disgrace and captivity. He knew that his brother's faithless treatment of Morad, not less than his cruel conduct to Shah Jehan, had excited against him numerous though silent enemies, and by appearing publicly in arms against the base betrayer, he hoped to secure their decided support. He was also urged on to this early rupture by the conviction that a storm was brooding, which would sooner or later explode over Bengal: it was better to meet its fury at once, than to let it burst upon him unprepared.

Aurungzeb was fully awake to all the dangers of his situation. In the south, Dara was rapidly increasing his army, and extending his influence. Soliman was at Sirinagur, and, protected by its Rajah, was enlisting under his banners the hardy inhabitants of the northern mountains. The Rajapouts, with Jesswunt at their head, paid him only external reluctant obedience: in their hearts they detested, and with their swords they burned to exterminate, the whole house of Timur. A decisive proof of this their disposition was given in the ensuing engagement. Undismayed by these surrounding perils the EMPEROR, as we must now denominate him, immediately prepared to take the field. He sent orders to his son, Mahommed, at Multan, to join him with all the forces under his command, and to Emir Jemla, on whose military abilities he placed the utmost reliance, to hasten towards Bengal with the veteran troops from Deccan. After strongly reinforcing the garrison of Agra under Shaista, he began to move leisurely down the Jumna to meet the enemy.

Sujah, in the mean time, had advanced from Allahahad, and was encamped in a strong position at a place called KIDGWA, about thirty miles from that station, and near a large tank, or reservoir of water. There, mistrustful of troops, far inferior in discipline and warlike manœuvre to the imperial bands, and wishing on that account to give them every possible advantage, he intrenched himself, and waited the attack of the army, which he learned from his scouts had commenced its march from Agra. The approach of the emperor, however, was designedly slow, to give time for the expected reinforcements to join him. When that junction had taken place, he pressed on to action with rapidity; his son Mahommed commanding the van, which consisted of 5000 horse. The army of Aurungzeb encamped about a mile and an half from that of his brother, and between them lay an extensive plain very proper for a battle. Sujah, however, having a fine train of artillery which defended the front of his camp, and on which he placed great dependence, came not out of his lines. By day-break on the following morning, the imperial army advanced to the attack, but so strongly was Sujah intrenched it was found impossible to force the lines, while the artillery, well served, did severe execution on the assailing foe. The attack was repeated several times with no better success; and Aurungzeb, repulsed, discomfited, was plunged in the deepest perplexity.

At this important crisis intelligence was brought him that Rajah Jesswunt, who with a large body of Rajapouts had attended him to the field, and even to the attack, had suddenly retreated, and fallen on the baggage in the rear, which he had seized, and was carrying off. A general alarm and tumult pervaded the field; all were anxious to save or recover their property; and whole squadrons gradually disappeared. The army of Sujah now rushed by thousands from their encampment, and, headed by their prince, attacked the enemy with such vigour as compelled them to recede on every side. The carnage was horrible, and the rout of the imperialists seemed inevitable. Aurungzeb, on this occasion, evinced that intrepid firmness in danger which entitles its possessor to empire. He urged on his elephant, bearing the imperial standard, amid the thickest battalions of the enemy, and, excited by his example, the retreating Moguls rallied around their prince. Sujah, exalted on an enormous elephant, espied him at a distance, and was on fire to meet his brother in combat; but the immense throng of elephants and cavalry between them prevented the concussion. In the mean time the driver of the elephant of Aurungzeb is shot through the heart, and he endeavours to guide the animal himself as well as he is able till another can be found to take the station of the deceased. A storm of arrows rains upon him from every quarter; but being in complete armour he heeds them not, and his nervous arm retorts destruction upon the assailants. The animal at length became unmanageable, and began in spite of every exertion of Aurungzeb to retreat. He was just on the point of descending, and one foot was already out of the amari, when his faithful Jemla, who near at hand, and bravely doing all that could be effected by mortal valour, exclaimed aloud, "Hold, Sir; what are you doing? you descend from a throne, the instant you alight from that elephant." The Emperor, who only meant to descend for the purpose of mounting another elephant, recollecting himself, immediately ordered the chains which are always ready to bind the elephant, when untractable, to be locked round his feet. He now remained immoveable amidst a host of foes; with an undaunted aspect he stood upright in the amari; every eye was upon him and every arm of the enemy was raised against him; a thousand shot rattled around him, but his armour rendered him impervious to their points.

In this extremity, if we are to credit Bernier, himself and his army were snatched from total destruction by the very same stratagem which had lost Dara the field in the moment of victory. It seems scarcely credible that the same error should be committed by two great generals, with the crown of India at stake, and one might suspect that the accounts were confounded. It will be recollected, however, that he was in India soon after, and being in the household of Aurungzeb, enjoyed the best means of ascertaining the truth. But thus it stands recorded in his generally authentic page.

One of Sujah's chief captains, Allaverdi Khan, bribed it is thought by Aurungzeb, observing the general disorder of the field, rode in haste up to that prince, and told him that his remaining longer on his elephant was useless, and only exposing his person to unnecessary danger. "Come down," said he, "in the name of God: the Moguls are flying on all sides; God has made you sovereign of Hindostan; let us pursue these fugitives; let not even Aurungzeb escape us." Sujah in that distracted moment not more considerate than Dara, commits the same fatal error;

he descends and mounts his horse for pursuit. The troops look around for their leader in vain, are struck with terror, and believing him either to be taken prisoner, or slain, disband in great multitudes. So great and general was tho defeat, that it was with the utmost difficulty he escaped with life from the field, whence, with all the troops he could collect, he pressed on to the strong fortress of Allahabad.

Aurungzeb was in no condition to pursue the enemy. That night he lay on the field of battle under arms; and the next morning commenced his return to Agra. He was extremely anxious to get back to that capital, where a report of his entire discomfiture had been circulated by Rajah Jesswunt, on his return to his own country with the plunder of the imperial camp, which had thrown every thing there into confusion. His presence soon restored order to the distracted city, and as he was informed that Sujah was fortifying himself at Allahabad, as soon as a sufficient force could be prepared, he dispatched Emir Jemla, together with his son Mahommed, to carry on the war in that quarter; the better to stimulate the exertions of Jemla, appointing him governor for life of that populous and flourishing Soubah. Aurungzeb now wrote a respectful letter to his father, mentioning in general terms his victory, but declined visiting him on account of the pressure of public business. Shah Jehan refused to read the letter, and gave it back to the messenger with the silent disdain of an injured father, and an insulted monarch.

The force and influence which Dara had acquired in Guzzurat, with whom the Maha Rajah Jesswunt, enriched by imperial spoils, and many other neighbouring Rajapout princes had made a common cause, had by this time become so formidable to Aurungzeb as to require the utmost exertions of his genius and great military talents to make an effectual resistance. Against Jesswunt, in particular, for his repeated perfidies, he meditated a deep and exemplary vengeance. At present, however, he had so many enemies to contend with, that it seemed more adviseable, if practicable, to subdue him by that stratagem in which he was so deep a proficient, than to attempt his reduction in the field. He knew his rooted antipathy to the race of Timur, and that in reality, he was no more attached, by principle, to Dara than to himself; but laboured to foment the discords in the royal family, and studied only to add fuel to that *flame* which, he hoped, would eventually extinguish their dynasty in India. He immediately dispatched letters to that chief of the Rajahs, in which as well by the promise of entire forgiveness of what had passed, as the most splendid offers of future reward, he endeavoured to detach him from the cause of his brother. The offence of Jesswunt was of so deep a die, and the chance of Dara's success so uncertain, that he was not long in hesitating to pursue that line which prudence and interest dictated. What, however, made the deepest impression on his mind, was the promise of the Soubahship of Guzzurat, if he would immediately relinquish the rebel banners, and act only a neutral part in this great contest. In consequence, when Dara, in full march for Agra, arrived on the frontiers of Jesswunt's country, expecting to be joined by that Rajah according to his promise with a powerful army, he received only unmeaning compliments, and cold apologies. Unable to conjecture the meaning of this altered conduct in the Rajah, he sent his son to his court, who was treated with distinction and hospitality, but could obtain no satisfactory explanation. Filled equally with grief and indignation, yet above despondence in any calamity, the prince resolutely persevered in his march towards Agra, and in a few days reached Ajmere, about eight days journey from that capital.

Near Ajmere he encamped; and, in a situation remarkably favourable for the purpose, threw up intrenchments of a very formidable kind, the work of European engineers! At this place he expected to be joined by many Omrahs, his former friends, and others who might yet feel some compassion for the miserable fate of his imprisoned father. The fond hopes of Dara, in this, as in other cases, were wholly disappointed; and as the army of Aurungzeb was only at a short distance, he prepared with vigour, but with very inadequate forces, for that battle which was for ever to decide his fate. The circumstances of this engagement are variously related. I adhere to Bernier's account, as the most authentic, and free from oriental parade. He informs us that the perfidious Shanavas being still with Dara, and high in his confidence, secretly betrayed all his designs to Aurungzeb, who was thus enabled effectually to circumvent them; in particular, he contrived, when the battle commenced, that the artillery, on which he most depended, should be ineffectual. Judiciously placed on an eminence that commanded the field, his cannon were excellently served, and the roar was tremendous, but they did little execution, for the greater part of the pieces were uncharged with ball. An easy entrance was, in consequence, soon obtained by the imperial squadrons into the very heart of his intrenchments, where, astonished and overwhelmed, the troops of Dara were almost unresistingly cut to pieces. The prince himself mounted his elephant, and at the head of a few select bands endeavoured to rally the flying, and inspirit the dismayed. He was himself in the greatest danger of being taken prisoner, when Rajah Jessing, who still retained some respect for the individuals of the royal family, privately sent him intelligence that he was *betrayed*, and desired him to fly for his life. Before, however, he quitted the fatal field, he sought out the false Shahnavas, and sacrificed that lord to his just revenge; at least in this battle he perished, and Bernier was told by many in India that it was by the hand of Dara himself.*

The plunder of the immense spoil found in his camp so fully occupied the victorious army, that Dara without interruption, at the head of about 2000 men, retraced his steps over the dreary deserts that stretch from Ajmere to Ahmedabad. But though unmolested by the imperial troops, he had to contend, without tents or baggage, which they were compelled to leave behind, with the sultry blast, and the dusty whirlwind, at the hottest season of the year, and with a still more ferocious enemy, the savage race of Coolies, who inhabit those deserts, and are more keen for blood and plunder than the banditti of Arabia. These robbers night and day hang on the rear of his harassed army and rifle and massacre his straggling soldiers without mercy. At length he reaches Ahmedabad, at which place, a new governor having been appointed by Aurungzeb, the gates are shut against him. About this period of his misfortunes he was met by our author Bernier, then travelling to Ahmedabad, whom he saved from assassination by the barbarous Coolies, and who draws an affecting picture of his situation. At length, with about four or five hundred cavaliers he arrives in the territories of Rajah Cutch, deriving his name from the district which he governed, who at first receives him with compassionate kindness, but being afterwards gained over by the emissaries of Aurungzeb, treats him with such marked coldness as induces him to think his person in danger, and he quits his suspected host to encounter new and still greater perils.

The faithful governor whom he had appointed at Bhakor still held out for him against the Mogul general, who could make no impression either by arms, by bribes, or menaces. With a larger army he might have raised the siege, but with his handful of men, the attempt would only be rushing on certain ruin: captivity or death must be his instant doom. He, therefore, turned his eye towards Persia, where the illustrious Shah Abbas would doubtless receive the unfortunate heir of a great empire; and happy would it have been for Dara, if, notwithstanding the horrors of the Carmanian deserts which he would have had to brave, he had tried the generosity of Abbas. His favourite high-spirited Sultana, who had heroically attended him in all his difficulties, and shortly after died the victim of them, dissuaded him from that measure as unworthy of Dara. In this deep perplexity he happened to recollect that in those parts there lived a certain Patan chief named Jihon Khan, whose life he had twice saved, when doomed by Shah Jehan to be trodden under the feet of an elephant for various rebellions. To this man, notwithstanding the intreaties of his family, to whom his infamous character was well known, he determined to fly, in the confident hope that, induced by gratitude, if not by compassion, he would furnish him with troops sufficient to raise the siege of Bhakor, where his treasures were deposited, by means of which new armies might soon be levied among the hardy race of Cabul and Candahar, and the sceptre of India be yet torn from the grasp of an usurper.

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* Bernier's Mogul Empire, tom. i. p. 141, ubi supra.

The scorching sands and whirlwinds of the desert, and the savage ferocity of a professed robber appeared to Dara more safely to be trusted than an obdurate monster, thirsting for fraternal blood! To the residence of Jihon he obstinately resorted, and that chief received him with every appearance of heart-felt gratitude and respect. In the hospitable domain of Jihon, who even gave up his palace for the accommodation of himself and his attendants, the prince for some time reposed from toil, and a gleam of hope seemed to break in upon the settled gloom of his mind. Aurungzeb, however, was well informed, by his scouts, of the route which he had pursued, and had taken his measures accordingly. In a few days intelligence arrived that Khan Jehan was advancing rapidly with an army from Multan, and soon after his van was actually in the neighbourhood. His toilsome march must now be renewed, and, taking leave of his host, under whose roof the Sultana had died, he resolved finally to make his escape into Persia. He had scarcely proceeded one coss on his disconsolate journey before he perceived Jihon coming after him at the head of a thousand horse at full speed. The prince, surprised but not mistrustful, rode back to meet him, and was about to address him, when he was suddenly surrounded and disarmed. His attendants, by death and desertion, were by this time reduced to too small a number to make any successful resistance, and the prince was seized and bound without a sabre being lifted in his defence. The prince, resigned to his fate, maintained an indignant silence. The perfidious chief was also silent from conscious guilt. Having enriched himself with the plunder of all that remained valuable to his benefactor, he hurried him away to Khan Jehan, who immediately sent both the prince and his betrayer, under a strong escort to Delhi, where Aurungzeb at this time kept his court.

Though that subtile parricide had already, in his own mind, determined on his fate, he thought proper on this occasion to assemble his nobles; and consult them concerning the destiny of his distinguished captive. Some were for his immediate transportation to Gwalior, others were for death, as a matter of state necessity; but all agreed in the expediency of a public exposure of his person in bonds, as a prince fallen from the imperial height, like that Darius, from whom his name was derived, never to rise again. Accordingly, on a day appointed for the purpose, on a lean elephant meanly apparelled, with his son seated by his side, he was led in melancholy procession through that great and populous city, amidst an immense concourse of its inhabitants, who with tears bewailed his fate, while the conscious skies bore witness to their secret, but cordial execrations poured forth against his tyrannical brother.

After this cruel exhibition, the unfortunate prince, together with his son, was committed a close prisoner to a strong fort in the neighbourhood of Delhi. The traitor Jihon was rewarded with a title and considerable presents, but on his return home fell a sacrifice to the just indignation of the people. That indignation, indeed, soon became so violent and general, that Aurungzeb, alarmed lest a rescue should be attempted, issued orders for completing the dreadful tragedy by the immediate execution of Dara. The charge of the bloody deed was assigned to an Afghan chief, named Nazir, who was known to bear a rooted hatred to Dara. This ruffian, with three others, entering by night the prince's apartment, quickly dispatched him, and bore the head reeking with blood to Aurungzeb, who anxiously waited its arrival. It was so disfigured with clotted blood that he ordered it to be thrown into a charger of water and cleansed. When, freed from the filth, he gazed for some time on the features, and exclaiming " ah, unfortunate man !" burst into tears. He then ordered it to be taken away from his sight, and buried with the body in the tomb of Homaion. The youthful companion of his sorrows was on the following morning conveyed under a strong guard to Gwalior.

As Dara had in some degree shared imperial honours, this lengthened detail of his sufferings was thought proper; in the history of Sujah, and of Soliman Shekoh the son of Dara, the only remaining obstacles to Aurungzeb's undisturbed possession of the throne, it is necessary to be more concise.

We left the former of those princes with the remains of his routed army, encamped at Allahabad, and Emir Jemla, now governor of Bengal, with Mahommed, at the head of the imperial troops, in full pursuit of him. Apprized of their near approach, and fearful that his retreat to his capital Rajamal, might be cut off by the enemy's passage of the river, either above or below Allahabad, the prince broke up his camp, and retired to Mongeer, an important station, which commands the pass into Bengal. From this station, however, the superior military skill of Jemla contrived to expel without bloodshed the fugitive prince. By a secret road over the mountains adjoining to Mongeer, Jemla entered the province below that post, and was heard of by Sujah in his rear, when he expected to be attacked by him in the front. Sujah decamped with precipitation, and arrived some days before him in the environs of Rajamal, where he again intrenched himself, being still unwilling, with the enervate soldiers of Bengal, to contend in the open field against the more experienced and hardy veterans of the north. Sujah, during his long residence in Bengal, by high rewards had gained over a considerable body of Portugueze, and other engineers, who defended with such vigour the intrenchments which, of old materials, they had so skillfully thrown up, that for six days together Jemla attacked them without success. On the seventh, the fortifications being reduced to ruins, and the post being no longer tenable, he decamped under cover of the night, and, crossing the Ganges with all his army, took the route of Tanda. The annual rains, setting in about this time, put an end for the present to all farther operations.

The proud spirit of the prince Mahommed, who, by the seizure of Shah Jehan, vaunted to have obtained the empire for his father, ill brooked either the control assumed by Jemla over his actions, or the stern occasional reproofs of that father himself. He was passionately attached to a daughter of Sujah, to whom, before the rupture of the imperial brothers, he had been betrothed. At this great distance from the capital, and at a moment when Jemla was absent from the camp on affairs of importance, the prince took the opportunity to put in practice the scheme he had long meditated, and with a considerable body of friends went over to Sujah, not without very confident hopes that the whole army, when they heard of his recess, would join his standard. In that respect however he was disappointed, and the confusion and dismay to which his flight gave birth, were soon allayed by the speedy return of Jemla, who though filled with extreme astonishment and regret, acted with that decision and vigour which in so desperate an extremity were required. In the mean time, Sujah with rapture received the royal deserter, consented to his immediate nuptials with his beautiful daughter, which were celebrated with the utmost magnificence, and constituted him general in chief of his now recruited army.

When the season for military operations arrived, Jemla, determined if possible to bring the enemy to action, and finish the protracted campaign, crossed the Ganges on a bridge of boats, previously prepared, and marched with all his force against Tanda. Mahommed, in the ardour of a mind accustomed to victory, urged his father-in-law to renounce the system of entrenchment, and prepare to risque every thing in a general engagement. Sujah consented, and the prince still fondly expecting to be joined on the day of battle by the greater part of his father's troops, erected his standard in the front of the army, and marched in the centre of the first line. In this hope, however, he was dreadfully disappointed. A large column of horse bearing down upon him, by Jemla's express order, convinced him, by the warmth and vigour of their assault, how little, except his own valour, he had to depend upon. It availed him greatly in this arduous contest, but he could not infuse any portion of it into the spiritless troops whom he now led to battle. They were of a very different cast from those at the head of which he had been used to fight. The squadrons too sent against him were picked men, and the attack was such as might strike terror into soldiers more valiant and robust than those produced in the enervating climate of Bengal. They were dispersed, and fled at the first onset; and his repeated efforts to rally them were wholly ineffectual. Nor did the daring fortitude of Sujah at all more avail to keep together the battalions which he personally commanded. They were routed and flying in every direction; and it was with the utmost difficulty those two princes escaped being surrounded, and taken prisoners. They urged their flight together to Dacca; the last town of eminence in Bengal, towards that ocean which seemed now to offer the only asylum to the ruined fortunes of Sujah. The conqueror entered Tanda in triumph, and remained there some time to settle the distracted affairs of the province.

Aurungzeb, in the mean time, though greatly enraged at the defection of his son, concealed his resentment, and made use of all that fraudful stratagem of which he was so complete a master, to induce his return to duty and allegiance. In this respect, by means which it would be tedious to specify, he eventually succeeded, and Mahommed, arriving at Agra full of contrition for his offence, was by his unrelenting father immediately sent prisoner for life to Gualior. His unfortunate father-in-law, perpetually harassed by Jemla, was compelled at length to fly, with a few followers still faithful to him, over barren mountains and trackless deserts, into Arracan, where he was at first well received by the prince of the country, but either intimidated by the menaces of Aurungzeb, or tempted by the great wealth which his guest had brought with him, after some time he withdrew from him his protection, and either effected or connived at the destruction of himself and all his family. The detail of his varied sufferings as given in eastern writers, is long and affecting, and the circumstances of his death are variously related; but we have already dwelt too long on tales of woe, and must return to contemplate the fate of the last of this ill-starred family, Soliman, the son of Dara, whom we left shut up in the mountains of Sirinagur, meditating the delivery of his country, and vengeance for a murdered father.

Having nothing more to fear from Sujah and his rebellious son, yet not thinking his throne secure while that prince survived, Aurungzeb, first by menaces and then by bribes, endeavoured to prevail upon the Rajah of Sirinagur to deliver up that sole remaining obstacle to his complete felicity. His avarice being thus assailed on the one hand, and his fears wrought upon on the other, the Rajah, to avoid the opprobrium of direct treachery, connived at an invasion of his country by the imperial troops, who carried to that mercenary chief the price set upon the head of the prince. Soliman, secretly informed of the perfidy of his host, fled precipitately from his capital; and traversed the vast deserts of that country of rock and storm, till he reached the borders of Great Thibet. His flight however was unavailing before a foe instructed to pursue him, if necessary, to the bounds of Asia itself: he was seized and conveyed to Delhi, bound in fetters of gold. It was necessary that his person should be identified, as the real son of Dara, lest, at some future period, the empire should be convulsed by the appearance of an impostor. When for this purpose, on an appointed day, he was publicly brought into the Hall of Audience, to hear his destiny pronounced, the whole court was struck with astonishment at the majesty and gracefulness of his person. The great Omrahs lamented his unhappy fate, and the ladies of the haram, who were permitted to view him from behind the screens, could not refrain from shedding tears. Even the iron heart of Aurungzeb seemed for a moment to relent; yet the cruel order for his perpetual imprisonment was issued, and he was that very night, under a strong guard, sent off to pass the remainder of his life with the other princes, at Gualior.

On the throne thus iniquitously obtained by the murder or incarceration of the whole royal family, Aurungzeb sate during a period of nearly 50 years, of which were I to enter minutely into the transactions, this whole volume, already swelling to a great magnitude, would scarcely contain the details. All I can pretend to in this and the following lives of the Mogul Emperors, is to give the leading facts in each reign, and to refer the reader desirous of more extensive information, to the authorities cited in the preceding pages, or those of an equally authentic kind noticed below.*

The fame of the valour and the wisdom of Aurungzeb was by this time spread widely through Asia, and ambassadors from Tartary, from Persia, from Arabia, and even from Ethiopia arrived successively at Delhi, bearing the rarest and richest productions of their respective countries to be laid at the feet of the new emperor. They were received with unusual pomp, and magnificent presents were in return sent to their respective sovereigns. Jemla was for his great and important services elevated to the rank of Visier of the empire, and his son was appointed Bukshi, or commander in chief. In Deccan during the civil convulsions under Mahommed Mauzim, the second son of Aurungzeb, every thing had remained quiet, and Jesswunt Sing still remained viceroy of Guzzurat, the reward of his perfidy to Sultan Dara. Amidst this profound tranquillity Aurungzeb was seized with a dangerous illness, which he bore with heroic fortitude, and to prevent any contention about the succession, should it prove fatal, he had the precaution to have Mauzim proclaimed heir of the empire by the sounding title of Shah Aulum, or king of the world. Notwithstanding this, as a rumour of his death for some time prevailed, several armies were put in motion in different parts of the empire; some to release Shah Jehan, and others in the cause of different individuals of the royal family. Aurungzeb, however, after a desperate struggle at length recovered; and the profound policy by which his life was regulated induced him for the present to refrain from noticing those rebellious movements, though the authors of them at a proper time were not forgotten.

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* Orme's Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire; Eradut Khan's History of Aurungzeb's Successors; the Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem; Scott's Dekkan; the History of Gholam Hussain, and other native accounts translated of recent years by our ingenious countrymen in India.

Among those, on more close investigation, was unfortunately numbered the prince himself, who had manifested strong symptoms of a desire to be invested with the imperial regalia at an earlier period than his father and nature designed. In the breast of so jealous a parent as Aurungzeb, in consequence, the affection for Mauzim rapidly declined, and his youngest son, Akber, succeeded to that partial fondness which Mauzim had lost. In short, he resolved in his mind that Akber should be his successor; and as Dara had left a daughter who resided with Shah Jehan at Agra, he sent to solicit her in marriage for his son, with a request that his father would send him some of the crown jewels and the regalia which the old emperor still resolutely detained. A refusal from both was returned. The princess declared she would die a thousand deaths rather than marry the son of the murderer of her father; and Shah Jehan declared that if he troubled him again respecting the jewels, the hammers were ready that should pound them to dust. At a later period, however, and perhaps on a more submissive application, he sent him a present of jewels and part of the imperial regalia to the value of about 250,000*l.* sterling. The severe illness of Aurungzeb was attended with great debility, increased by his meagre diet, as a Fakeer, from which he never varied, and his physicians recommending the soft and salubrious air of Cashmire for his complete restoration, about the close of the year 1664, he commenced his march, (for the journey of an Indian emperor is always at the head of an army,) for that terrestrial paradise, accompanied by his favourite sister Roxanara Begum. She had ever as faithfully attached herself to him and his fortunes as her sister Jehanara had to Dara and his, and Aurungzeb sensible of what he owed to her penetration and talents for intrigue, when resident at the court of her father, ever treated her in the most affectionate and grateful manner.

The empire remaining in profound peace, Aurungzeb continued to enjoy his delightful retreat at Cashmire during the greater part of the year 1665; but the public business was by no means obstructed by his absence from the capital. Vigour and dispatch marked all his measures. The great Omrahs attended the Presence daily, as at Delhi; and petitions were heard, and causes decided, as usual, by the emperor, sitting on his throne. The officers of every department of the state were constantly employed, and messengers mounted on the fleetest horses were in readiness, at every post, to bear the imperial mandates, to the remotest corners of the empire. Stern in his manners, inflexible in his justice, and with every passion but ambition completely subdued in his own breast, Aurungzeb made few allowances for the passions and frailties of others. The distant governors trembled at his frown; and the least deviation from his orders was punished with degradation, or with chains.

About this time perished, at Gualior, Mahommed, the son of Dara, who, together with Morad, was thought to have been dispatched by means of the *poust*, which Bernier describes as a sort of slow poison, made of an infusion of poppies in water, of which the princes confined in that state-prison are compelled to drink each morning, fasting, a copious draught. By this stupifying potion they soon become emaciated, gradually lose their strength and their intellects, and at last, die insensibly. Not long after, that is, in February 1666, Shah Jehan, after an imprisonment of seven years, expired at the Castle of Agra. The severe confinement which he had undergone, together with the concomitant galling reflections on his altered state, had long plunged him into a profound melancholy, which all the fond attentions of his beloved daughter Jehanara availed not to dissipate. This atrabilious disease, combined with the massacre of so many of his family, by the monster who had usurped his throne, at length totally overwhelmed the faculties, and probably ruptured the heart of the once high-minded and magnificent Shah Jehan.

On receiving intelligence of this long-wished for event, Aurungzeb, only recently returned from Cashmire to Delhi, immediately proceeded to Agra, but refrained from entering the castle till he had written a letter to his sister, expressing affected grief for the event, and requesting her permission to visit the castle. Jehanara received her brother with great magnificence, and on his entrance presented him with a large golden bason which contained all the jewels of their deceased father. All due honours were paid to the royal remains, which were solemnly interred in the famous marble mausoleum erected by himself for his beautiful and favourite wife Taje Mahel. Jehanara was henceforth received, at least apparently, into high favour with her brother, and accompanied him back to Delhi; but died shortly after, and Tavernier, who staid later in India than Bernier, whose narrative concludes in 1666, informs us that every body suspected she was taken off by poison.*

In a preceding portion of this volume,† when giving a summary history of the Mahratta nation, I had occasion to notice the early transactions of Aurungzeb, with the famous Sevajee, the founder of that singular nation; that able and intrepid chieftain, who though at once contending with three potent sovereigns, with Aurungzeb, on the one hand, and the kings of Visiapour and Golconda on the other, had contrived in a few years to found a kingdom extending 340 miles from north to south, and 200 from east to west, in the finest climate of India. The detail of his victories and defeats in this important struggle for empire, and while fighting with those monarchs, would make a large though perhaps not a very entertaining volume, as it must principally consist of accounts of the siege and capture of forts, for, crafty as Aurungzeb himself, he always avoided engagements on the plain, and clung to the hills and rocks among which his daring and congenial spirit was nurtured. On this account, and because the transactions of the Mahratta nation have already prematurely engaged, and will, hereafter, occupy many pages of this work, I shall enter less at large than might be expected into the particulars of their early history. Let it suffice in this place generally to state, that the Mogal Viceroys, numerous and brave as they were, successively detached against this extraordinary man from the neighbouring Soubahs of Guzzurat and the Deccan, though sometimes crowned with partial victory, were utterly unsuccessful in their attempts wholly to subjugate him, and Aurungzeb in person, at a later period of his protracted reign, found all his high military talents, and deep political intrigues baffled by the more subtle Sevajee. When death, at length, released him of his rival, he could not conceal his joy at that event, but paid a just tribute to his memory by exclaiming, "That man was indeed a great general, and the only one who has had the magnanimity to raise a new kingdom, while I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India. My armies have been employed against him for nineteen years, and nevertheless his state has been always increasing."*

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* Tavernier's Indian Travels, p. 114.

† See chapter iv. of the last book, at page 322.

At this time, Rajah Jessing, the former general, being dead, the brave Dellere Khan was at the head of the army of the Deccan, acting alone under the orders of Sultan Mauzim, the governor, and serving as a check upon that ambition which his father, through all his subterfuges, perceived to be the predominant passion of his mind. The king of Visiapour, though so often vanquished, was constantly seeking every opportunity of shaking off the Mogul yoke, and never paid, except when compelled, the stipulated tribute to the throne of Delhi. The situation of his country, amid high and almost inaccessible mountains, abounding in difficult passes, overgrown with lofty woods, and full of fortresses, many of which were in those days deemed impregnable, encouraged his frequent attempts at rebellion, and often screened him from punishment when the Mogul armies were engaged in crushing rebellion on the northern and eastern frontier. The king of Golconda, his firm and constant ally, was in the same predicament, and found money, while the former found men and arms to carry on the war. A few years of peace always recruited the deficiency of riches, and the waste of population induced by the barbarous devastations of these fierce invaders. This will account to the reader for the frequent mention of the alternate revolt and reduction of these refractory tributaries; nor can they be said to be finally subjugated till Aurungzeb, as we shall find, in 1686, marching into the south with the whole power of the empire, put a final period to their dynasties. Attacked by the Mogul generals on the one side, and by Sevajee on the other, who had plundered from him the whole Concan, or western regions of Visiapour, Adil Shah was compelled once more to submit, and pay up his arrears with valuable offerings; as were many other refractory Omrahs and Rajahs bordering on Guzzurat and the Deccan; and Dellere is said this year to have remitted, in jewels and money, nearly two millions sterling to the royal treasury.*

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* Orme's Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire. p. 95. ubi supra.

Faithful to the mandate of the Emperor, to watch and report the motions of his ambitious son, that loyal general was shortly afterwards, under false pretences, driven by Mauzim from the Deccan; but was received with open arms by the Emperor, who well knew both his worth, and the weight of his obligations to him. Having not wholly neglected himself while replenishing the treasury of his master, he was affluent, and to his affluence the grateful Aurungzeb added the highest honours of nobility. On the submission also of his son who, in his recent conduct, appeared to have acted rather from avowed hatred to Dellere, than from any determined spirit of disaffection to his father, he was reconciled to him, and continued him in the government of Deccan.

That Deccan, of which so much has been recently said, was, as we have seen, the theatre of Aurungzeb's first exercises in

* Dow, vol. iii. p. 388.

the science of war, the country whence he had led the imperial armies into Visiapour and Golconda, and to occasional conquest amid the mountainous recesses of Sevajee. He had long meditated the conquest of the whole peninsula, and had fully resolved that the sea alone should be the boundary of his dominions in that quarter. An apprehended rupture with the king of Persia, and the hostile movements of the numerous and hardy tribes of Patans who inhabit the mountains beyond the Indus, kept him for the present constantly at Delhi. The origin of the quarrel with Shah Abbas was twofold. Candahar, the perpetual source of contention between the two empires was one; and insults offered to his ambassador at the court of Ispahan constituted the other. With respect to the latter cause of offence, it arose from the mere inadvertence of one of his secretaries, who, in the letter which accompanied the credentials of the ambassador, while he had ostentatiously displayed his own sovereign's assumed title of AULUM-GEER, OR CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD, had addressed the king of Persia by a title far inferior to that of the great Shah-in-Shah, or king of kings, at which the soul of the haughty Abbas took fire. "What," exclaimed that prince, "does THE CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD dare to rank me among his vassals? Haste back to that vile murderer of his family, and be to him the herald of my contempt, my detestation, and my defiance." At the same time he ordered the beard of that lord to be shaved off, (the greatest indignity that can be offered in that country) and dismissed. An apology for the error of the scribe was submitted to by Aurungzeb, but the invective and the defiance were returned. He had long resolved to retake Candahar, and the most vigorous preparations had been made accordingly. Sultan Mauzim was immediately ordered with 20,000 horse to march from Deccan, to the frontiers of Persia, and he himself prepared to take the field at the head of the whole army of the north. On the other hand Shah Abbas, who would listen to no apologies, as possibly thinking none sincere, had commenced his march for Chorasan at the head of 80,000 horse, and an immense train of artillery, and every thing seemed to forebode a most obstinate and sanguinary contest.

At this crisis of affairs Aurungzeb was alarmed by an imagined conspiracy among the Persian nobles of his court, who were very numerous, wealthy, and powerful, and certainly had not much relish for a Persian war. He was on the point of proceeding to a general massacre of that class of his subjects, and the sword was already brandished over their heads. Fortunately the intercepted letter which gave birth to the suspicion, a letter written to the Visier himself, a *Persian,* by the hand of the Persian monarch, was demonstrated in due time to be one of those state stratagems which Aurungzeb himself had so often used with the same delusive intent to his suspected sons and generals, and a dreadful execution which might have shaken his throne to the foundation was prevented. Aurungzeb had already taken the field, and was far advanced on his march towards Lahore, when intelligence arrived that Abbas, who, though in mind active and vigorous, had been for some time declining in bodily health, had suddenly expired in his camp. This intelligence was followed, after a few days, by an express message from the uncle of that prince, who had taken the command of the army, formally announcing the death of his nephew, leaving solely to Aurungzeb the choice of PEACE, or WAR. Aurungzeb, whose ardour for the Persian war was perhaps a little cooled by what had recently occurred, after due reflection replied, " that he had prepared for war only to repel invasion, and avenge insult; that his own dominions were already sufficiently ample; and that, with the life of Shah Abbas, his offence was extinguished. If the regent consented, the sword might be sheathed." The proposal was accepted, and the armies of the two powers returned to the capitals of their respective empires. Aurungzeb, however, with his usual foresight, greatly strengthened the garrisons on his western frontiers, and left a considerable force to overawe the discontented Afghan or Patan tribes.

These Patans are the descendants of that valiant race who once conquered Hindostan, and gave a dynasty of kings to Delhi. They are, in all probability, the *Aborigines* of the northern mountainous regions, Gazna, Cabul, and Candahar, which they still inhabit. They hold the Moguls, who under Timur and Baber expelled them from India, in the greatest detestation. Their chiefs are valiant and robust, and have for ages sold their mercenary services to the best bidder. The expectation of a war between Persia and India had put many of their predatory bands on the Indian frontier in motion, and they continued in arms, when the differences that had subsisted between the two empires were adjusted. At length, headed by one Mahommed, who boasted his descent from Alexander the Great and the queen of Transoxiana, they rushed down from the sources of the Attock and Nilab in a body of thirty thousand men, and like the torrents that roll from their native Caucasus bore down all before them. The fertile plains of the Panjab were entirely devastated by these merciless barbarians, who vaunted that they would march to Delhi and dethrone the descendant of Timur.

It was beneath the dignity of an Aurungzeb to advance in person against rebels commanded even by a representative of the king of Macedon. But the squadrons of the imperial army were in readiness, and the march was instantly commenced. Before their arrival, however, Camil the Mogul governor of

Panjab had collected a force sufficient, at least, to check the progress of the insurgents. He drew up his disciplined battalions on the eastern banks of the Nilab; which river Mahommed crossed, at the ferry of Haran, at the head of ten thousand of his best troops, and rushed upon his antagonist with the most daring impetuosity, but with little military skill. The imperial troops bore the rude assault of barbarous valour with calm intrepidity, but repelled it with tenfold effect. It was repeated, and repelled with increased success; the rebel bands being broken by the charge, and thrown into great confusion. Still, however, they disdained to fly, but returning again and again to the attack, with Mahommed at their head, who fought like no fictitious Alexander, made a dreadful slaughter of the imperial troops. Disciplined fortitude, however, at length prevailed. Their strength was exhausted, they were routed, and driven headlong into the river, in whose rapid current the greater part of them were drowned. In the mean time the governor of Cabul with the forces of that Soubah had advanced, and, attacking the enemy in the rear, a complete victory was obtained over the barbarous hordes.

Notwithstanding this signal defeat, when returned to their native mountains, whither they were pursued by the imperial legions that now arrived in great force from Delhi, under the conduct of Mahommed Amin, these resolute banditti again rallied in increasing multitudes, and the banners of no less than three hundred chieftains, the heads of separate clans, dispersed among those mountains, were seen to wave in the air, and bid defiance to invasion. The imperialists, however, with undaunted resolution, clambered up the steep ascents, and stormed the fortresses situated on the most rugged acclivities. Driven back from their strong holds into the subjacent valleys, the insurgents formed again under their intrepid leader, and another general action, more severe and sanguinary than the last, took place, owing to the increased numbers and desperation of the foe. So immense were their numbers, and so determined their resistance, that the imperialists themselves were at one time on the point of giving way; when a report, not founded in error, that the prince Mahommed was slain, being spread among the Patans, their impetuous courage began to abate. Perceiving this, the Moguls rushed forward, and, charging them with redoubled vigour, drove them a second time from the field, and by a prodigious carnage avenged upon them the deaths of their numerous countrymen, who lay slaughtered around them. Prisoners were made in immense multitudes; the whole of that part of the country which they inhabited was ravaged with fire and sword; and every thing levelled with the ground, but the rocks to which the miserable remainder fled for shelter from the swords of their destroyers.

Such is the account given by the Persian writer in all probability for the reasons alleged in the note below,* extremely exaggerated in favour of the Moguls, for according to Mr. Orme's authorities, Aurungzeb himself was afterwards, in 1673, at the head of his whole army compelled to take the field against these discomfited Patans, on an occasion that seemed to threaten the very foundations of his throne. The destruction of Sultan Sujah and all his family in Arracan through the treachery of the prince, has been already stated from authentic documents. The fact of his death however was at the time very much disputed in Hindostan, and he was asserted by many who believed it true, to have made his escape from Arracan, to be still living, and resident in Persia. Whatever was the real fact, the Patan chiefs now produced, as a competitor for the imperial diadem, a person in all respects greatly resembling Sujah, and who they declared was that identical prince, marching towards Delhi to assert his rights, and revenge the murder of his family. The whole nation is affirmed by Mr. Orme to be able to bring into the field 150,000 fighting men, and, if united, from their personal valour and strength, could never have been conquered by the Moguls. A very large proportion of this number, inflamed with the remembrance of ancient wrongs, and the recent massacre, accompanied the fictitious Sujah on his daring expedition. The successes obtained over detached parties, in the preceding campaign, had filled the governor of Peishore with confident hopes of victory, and he crossed the Indus with all his army, intending to force their strong holds in the mountains; but this more numerous and formidable army of Patans inclosed his army among the defiles, and destroyed the whole with their commander. They now marched on unopposed towards Delhi, and publicly proclaimed their adopted champion, Emperor of Hindostan.

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* Dow, vol. iii. p. 391. At this period (1669) terminates Mirza Casim's Persian History of Aurungzeb, translated by Dow. Aurungzeb forbad his life to be written, except under his own inspection, and hence the ALLUMGEERNAMA, the work above alluded to, containing the first ten years of his life only, is, as Mr. Orme justly stigmatizes it, a shameless apology for the deposal and imprisonment of his father, and the destruction of his three brothers, with *six* of their sons. Corrected however, throughout by Bernier's impartial history of those events, I trust these pages are not infected by the gross adulation of the ALLUMGEERNAMA. Orme himself collected many historical facts concerning him which are given in his Historical Fragments, and many respecting his wars in Deccan are detailed in Scott's History of that country. To those writers, and the traveller Fryer, we shall principally be indebted for the facts recorded in the succeeding pages of the life of Aurungzeb.

Aurungzeb, justly alarmed at the rapid advance of so powerful an enemy, supporting a pretender to his throne, immediately marched out of Delhi, displayed the standard of the empire, and summoned around it all his banners. To that standard all who dreaded a return of the sanguinary scenes that had recently convulsed the empire quickly resorted, and at length the whole concentrated army, to an amount almost incalculable, arrived at the banks of the Indus towards the close of the year 1674. The vanguard of this mighty host which first crossed the river, was unable to withstand the impetuous attack of the Patan army, and was defeated. The victors with that peculiar inhumanity which distinguishes their nation, put the prisoners, taken on this occasion, to death. That barbarous conduct fired the whole imperial army with indignation, and when their numerous and formidable columns had all passed the stream, that indignation impelled them to the assault with such resistless fury as quickly decided the fortune of the day. Than the contest of that day, though of short duration, no battle more sanguinary had of late years been fought; but the Patans had no leader competent to cope with an Aurungzeb, exerting the full vigour of his talents, and fighting for the crown that trembled on his head. After a desperate struggle for victory, the enemy, broken and dispersed in every direction, again retreated to their strong holds in the mountains, along the whole line of the Paropamisan range, whence issuing in large bodies by night, they made frequent assaults on the enemy's camp, plundering their baggage and cutting off their supplies, by which desultory mode of attack the war was protracted for fifteen months. Numbers, however, in the end prevailed, for the Mogul army was sufficient to *people* the country they attacked; their principal fortresses were taken, their bravest generals slain. The fictitious Emperor at the head of a few chosen followers fled over the mountains into Persia; and the real one, Aurungzeb, having established a chain of posts, and leaving a sufficient force to defend the conquered country, under the command of a general especially selected, returned in triumph to Delhi, after an absence of two years and three months from that capital.*

After a short repose from the toils of the field, a new campaign of a very different nature, or rather a kind of religious crusade was undertaken by Aurungzeb. Not content with exterminating the Afghan savages of the mountains, he now began with a fury equally implacable to make war upon the superstitions of the Hindoos. Acting in a manner widely different from the indulgent Akber, and his immediate predecessors, in his rage to convert the Hindoos to Mahommedism, the frantic project formed by this sanguinary bigot! he everywhere persecuted the priests, tore down the images, and demolished or violated the temples. At Muttra and at Benares in particular, the two most venerated places of Hindoo devotion, he pulled down the ancient temples, and on their ruins erected mosques of the same height and dimensions: he even proceeded to an atrocity beyond this—indeed beyond all precedent in the annals of sacrilegious barbarity. According to Thevenot there was at Ahmedabad a pagoda of singular beauty, adorned with many statues and other symbols of Hindoo worship. Not content with defacing those offensive sculptures, Aurungzeb well knowing the reverence of the Hindoos for the Cow, (with them a sacred animal,) as well as their abhorrence of shedding blood, caused one of those animals to be introduced within its walls, and ordered its throat to be cut in the very sanctuary.† Goaded to vengeance by these unheard of profanations, as well as by the heavy exactions universally imposed upon them throughout the empire—upon *them*, while his

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* Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 67, ubi supra.

† Thevenot's Indian Travels, part iii. p. 8.

Mahommedan subjects were but slightly assessed—the whole body of Rajapouts, with the three great Rajahs of Chitore, of Abmir, and of Joudpour, at their head, rushed to arms, breathing war and vengeance. These potent native sovereigns, whose dominions were situated in the very centre of Hindostan, were able, when united, to bring into the field little less than 200,000 fighting men, and against these Aurungzeb, having first summoned to his aid the troops in the distant provinces, marched from Delhi towards the close of the year 1678, at the head of two armies, one commanded by himself in person, the other by his sons, Azem and Akber. He himself, with his division, entered the Rana's country with intent to invest the great and ancient city of Chitore, which had been taken and plundered by Akber a century before,* but had again erected its venerable head among surrounding ruins, and been decorated with many new and sumptuous buildings. In this arduous attempt, having advanced too far, and without proper intelligence, among the defiles. of that mountainous region, he got hemmed in with all his army, insuperable precipices obstructing his progress in front, while behind him great trees, felled by the Rajapouts who harassed his rear, blocked up his retreat. In another quarter too Udeperri, the favourite Circassian wife of Aurungzeb, who had accompanied him in this dangerous war, with her whole retinue and escort, was inclosed. By the generosity of the Rana, for which he was afterwards but ill repaid, by the plunder and destruction of his noble capital, both were liberated when wholly in his power; and the Hindoo only requested, in return, that the emperor would refrain from destroying the sacred animals of their religion that might still be left in the plains. Aurungzeb, however, imputing his forbearance to the fear of future vengeance, continued the war with increased acrimony, burning and plundering wherever he came; and, in his merciless bigotry, seemed determined to extirpate both the Hindoos and their gods.

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* See of this vol. p. 9.

In this merciless career of blood, however, he was at length compelled to pause, for, having got a second time into a similar dilemma from which he with the utmost difficulty extricated himself, he then determined no longer personally to expose himself to difficulties beyond his age and constitution, but committing the war to his sons took up his residence with his whole court at Ajmere, whence he could with ease direct their operations against the objects of his vengeance. They continued the campaign in the true spirit of their father, each in a different part of the country, but neither, at the end of the year 1679, had forced the ultimate passes of the mountains.*

In the spring of the following year died the renowned Sevajee, that perpetual thorn in the side of Aurungzeb, with whom either in person or by his lieutenants, he had been at war during his whole life, and to curb whom he had been obliged to keep a regular army constantly in the field. He was succeeded by his son Sambajee, equally invulnerable in the field, and in death itself invincible! The spring of the same year, also, saw the imperial standard exalted on the ramparts of the vast and ruined city of Chitore, which the troops of Azem had taken by surprize, and who, in return for the preservation of the life of his father and the Sultana, again consigned her palaces to plunder, and her temples, and idols to the devouring flames. The city that in western India had continued the sanctuary of the Hindoo religion and government for above a thousand years was indeed taken and despoiled, but the Rana and the Rajapouts were unsubdued. The former had retreated to Joudpour, and the latter in immense bodies still kept the field, hardy as their rocks, and immoveable as their mountains. At this instant Aurungzeb was doomed to feel a portion of those pangs which his conduct had inflicted on Shah Jehan. His favourite son, Akber, raised the standard of rebellion; and was immediately joined by 30,000 Rajapouts. He proceeded farther; he sent his general, a resolute Patan, to assassinate his father, at midnight, in his camp. The villain had nearly accomplished his purpose, for he had reached the tent wherein Aurungzeb reposed, when he was discovered, and cut to pieces by the guard. The other sons, Sultan Mauzim and Azem, whom Akber equally detested with his father, as alike obstacles to his mounting the throne, immediately hastened to the aid of the Emperor; who had already contrived, by one of those deep-laid stratagems which he so frequently put in practice, to detach from him the great body of the Rajapout army, in consequence of which he retired towards Guzzurat. Sultan Mauzim had orders, with the army under his command, to follow the fugitive prince, whithersoever he fled, and not to quit the pursuit; till he was taken. Akber, however, with 500 faithful attendants, eluded the pursuit, and contrived to reach the dominions of Sambajee, by whom he was kindly received, and with whom, being afterwards reinforced by vast numbers of deserters from the other armies, he united his forces to annoy his father. Thus united, they became indeed formidable, and Sambajee publicly announced his intention of marching with 50,000 horse to Brampore, and there proclaiming him Emperor of the Moguls.

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* Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 86.

This bold declaration, added to the undaunted character of the chief who made it, inspired Aurungzeb with alarms similar to those which he had experienced on the march towards Delhi of the Patans with the fictitious Sujah at their head. The war with the Rajapouts and idolatry was now become of inferior consideration, and he readily consented to proposals for an accommodation with the chiefs of that nation. This was effected without the *capitation* tax, which he had laid on the Hindoo devotees being either rescinded, or insisted upon; but not without the surrender of many invaluable districts conquered from the Rana, and the Rajah of Joudpour, by Shah Jehan, and his successor. The three grand imperial armies being now at liberty, commenced their march, and arrived at their places of destination nearly at the same time. Sultan Azem's at Ahmednagar, Mauzim's at Aurungabad, and Aurungzeb's himself at that very capital, Brampore, where his rebellious son was threatened to be proclaimed. The concentrated force of these armies was for nearly three years with various success directed on the land-side against Sambajee, while the Mogul fleets, under the Siddees, furiously but ineffectually attacked his coast. Akber, however, perceiving the utter inability of his protector to place him on the throne of the Moguls, prudently withdrew from the operations of the field, and shortly after retired into Persia, where he married the sister of the reigning monarch, and whence neither the threats nor the promises of Aurungzeb could ever draw him.

During these contests with Sambajee, in 1683 the king of Visiapore died, and Aurungzeb immediately sent Sultan Azem with a great army to seize upon that kingdom, which, together with Golconda and the whole peninsula, he resolved before his return northward should be incorporated with the empire. Though greatly reduced in the extent of his dominions by the inroads of the Moguls and Sambajee, the prince of that country was still formidable; for both MYSORE, *then divided among several Rajahs*, of whom the chief and most considerable was he of Seringapatam, and many other countries to the south and west, were tributaries to that monarch, and the king of Golconda convinced that the fall of Visiapore would infallibly bring on his own, was ever ready with an overflowing treasury to supply his pecuniary necessities. Azem, in consequence, before the end of June 1684, was, according to Mr. Orme's authorities,* defeated in two pitched battles, by Ballal Khan, the protector of the kingdom during the young king's minority, in the last of which he was dangerously wounded; and his military operations in that quarter were for the present suspended. Great disturbances in the mean time, had arisen in the neighbourhood of Agra and Guzzurat, which were infested by bands of robbers, owing to the Emperor's long residence in the Deccan; and the Rajapouts were again in motion, burning with unsatiated revenge for the unatoned grievances they had endured. No consideration, however, could induce Aurungzeb to drop the project of conquering the remainder of Deccan. He sent detachments sufficient to exterminate the banditti, and keep in check the rebels; but he himself, collecting all his forces, in the following year, marched into Visiapore at the head of an army three times larger than that country could produce, and encamped at no great distance from the capital. Mighty as was his force, yet according to the usual plan of this wonderful man, of preferring, where practicable, stratagem to compulsion, he was lavish of his promises and his treasures among the chief officers of both the government and army of Visiapore, to procure their defection; and by this means in a short time his confidence of ultimate success was so strong, that he detached Sultan Mauzim with a large proportion of the army to attack the king of Golconda, of whose secretly acting in concert with Visiapore and Sambajee he had received authentic intelligence

The reigning sovereign of Golconda, a weak and voluptuous prince, was entirely governed by two insolent and avaricious Brahmins, hated and despised by the principal nobles, who were Mahommedans, and the particular objects of detestation to Ibrahim Khan, the Captain General. Acquainted with these circumstances, and formed of the same subtle cast of mind with his father, though more generous in his disposition, Sultan Mauzim tried the same experiment on this chief, and many of the discontented Omrahs as Aurungzeb had tried in Visiapore, and speedily procured their defection. Rustum Roy, his general, who succeeded Ibrahim, was neither of such personal valour, nor so expert in arms, as his predecessor, and retreated towards the capital, Hyderabad, of which Mauzim took unresisted possession. The pusillanimous king had long before shut himself up in the fortress of Golconda, which Mauzim immediately invested, and dreading to add a crown to his own reputation, which his father had once attempted, but failed to seize, listened to the overtures of the king, who to preserve his diadem, proffered the humblest submission, with a great quantity of gold, and the most precious diamonds of his mines. Although this was not a *conquest*; but a *compromise*; yet on the terms being referred to Aurungzeb, who was at this time fully occupied in Visiapore, he permitted the prince to conclude them.

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* Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 141.

By the gradual but certain operation of magnificent largesses, distributed by Aurungzeb among the chiefs of Visiapore, the king of that country found his army so reduced in number, that, selecting that portion of it on which he could place the firmest dependence, he retired into his capital, but not thinking himself safe within its walls, which, however, were capable of resistance, and contained a still stronger citadel, he retreated to a neighbouring fort, situated on an inexpugnable rock, and left his more experienced generals to defend the city. After two or three vigorous assaults that city surrendered, about the middle of June 1686, and Secunder, the unfortunate young monarch himself, being severely pressed, and seeing no chance of escape, capitulated for the preservation of his life, and the possession of his women and children. He appeared before Aurungzeb in *silver chains*, and humbled himself to the dust in the presence of his haughty victor.

Notwithstanding the terms granted by Aurungzeb to the King of Golconda, terms intended, on the part of the former, at the time, not to be adhered to, he now commenced the march for that capital, against the repeated remonstrances of Sultan Mauzim, who declared aloud that the ambition of the Emperor was about to sacrifice the honour of his son pledged to that monarch. His opposition was so strenuous, that his father put both himself and his two elder sons under arrest, while by a circuitous route, as if on his return to Delhi, he proceeded to the accomplishment of his treacherous project. At Calberga, a fortified city in the direct line of his march, exists one of the most celebrated mosques in all the Deccan, containing the shrine of a Mahommedan saint of renowned sanctity. Aurungzeb requested the King of Golconda's permission to offer up his devotions at this shrine. Permission was immediately given, and a present of 500,000 gold mohurs was at the same time forwarded by the abject monarch. Unappeased by this magnificent offering, the imperial hypocrite, after paying his devotions, advanced from Calberga with all his banners against Golconda. The fortresses in their way were rapidly taken; Rustum Roy, who again commanded the army of Golconda, could make no effectual opposition; and the Mogul army, advancing to its walls, invested that strong fortress in the month of January, 1687. Aurungzeb himself conducted the siege, and fixed his own quarters in the city of Hyderabad.

The walls and ramparts inclosing Golconda are six miles in circumference. Above them is another circuit, narrower, but much stronger; and fashioned in some parts out of the native rock. With immense labour the besiegers raised and carried on a lofty mound or terrace of earth, sufficient for the display of several batteries, until the assailants and defendants were brought to fight on the same level. A vigorous sally of the besieged, in April, enabled them to gain possession of the mound, and they maintained it until they had ruined the batteries, with all the artillery, and part of the mound itself. The rains setting in, shortly after, prevented further operations, and the arrival of Sultan Azem, in August, with fresh troops and artillery, gave new spirits and vigour to the besiegers, while the garrison, who had no provisions against a long siege, nor expected any succours, were struck with proportionate dismay. At length, after bribes properly distributed among the principal commanding officers, on the 27th of September, a general attack was made by night, and the garrison, exhausted by famine and fatigue, after a slight resistance, were overpowered, and for the most part cut in pieces. The unfortunate young king himself, who had taken shelter in the meanest office of his palace, was dragged out of his lurking place before the conqueror, who treated him with marked indignity, and Aurungzeb is even said to have afterwards inflicted the scourge, to extort a discovery of treasures supposed to be concealed.*

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* Orme, p. 154; Havart's Golconda, p. 232; Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 74, under the year 1690, which is three years later than the date of Mr. Orme's authorities, but the latter being taken from the Company's annals at Madras are, I think, decisive. A letter from two officers at Golconda to the governor of Madras, dated the 15th of October, 1687, says, "*We are informed this day that the Mogul took Golconda eighteen days since*; and that he has given the Carnatic government to Mahommed

Thus, finally, and for ever, were the once potent kingdoms of Visiapore and Golconda, that had resisted for two centuries all the power of the Delhi monarchs, torn from their ancient Mahommedan sovereigns, and added to the vast empire of the Mogul. To subjugate the other yet unconquered portion of the peninsula was the arduous effort of the remainder of the prolonged life of this indefatigable man; who, in spite of increasing age and infirmities, for he was now in his 73d year, continued till his death almost constantly in the field. This is principally to be attributed to the rapidly increasing power and number of the Mahratta nation, now burning with implacable revenge on account of his barbarity towards Sambajee, who about this period was betrayed into his hands, and whose melancholy end has been before related.* The Carnatic, of old dependent on Golconda, the Mysore, tributary to Visiapore, and the Rajahs of Tanjore, Tritchinopoly, and other smaller kingdoms, were quickly reduced; but the Mahrattas under Sahojee, the son of Sambajee, obstinately disputed with the imperial army every foot of ground, and often by daring attacks on their rear, and by cutting off their supplies, reduced them to the greatest straits in a country devastated by perpetual war. We are also informed in the History of Deccan of another reason for the long protraction of the war in that region. It is there stated that the officers and great Omrahs were in general remiss in their military efforts, and purposely prolonged the war in the south, for the sake of the immense plunder to be obtained in those rich and yet unconquered regions; that if they had performed their duty at the head of such powerful armies as they commanded, the

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Ibrahim, who is coming down to possess himself of it." See the notes to Historical Fragments, p. 297.

† See page 325 preceding.

Mahratta power must have been crushed by them with ease, but they feared lest when the Emperor should have finally reduced the peninsula, his restless and indomitable passion for war would induce him to carry his arms to Candahar and Balk, which expeditions were disagreeable to the nobility, who were far from wishing to encounter the hardships of a northern campaign, among a people brave, robust, disciplined to war, and totally destitute of gems and gold; those splendid incentives to a southern one.* From this severe censure must be excluded those great and intrepid generals, Zoolfeccar Khan, and Ghazi-o'deen Khan, names inharmonious perhaps to an European ear, but causing the heart of the valiant in Asia to bound with transport—the latter, the father of the great Nizam-al-Muluck, conspicuous in the van of every battle; the former, general in chief during this extended period, of whom it is recorded that, in the small space of six months, he had no less than nineteen actions with the enemy, and pursued them from place to place, above 3000 coss (6000 miles) in marches and counter-marches.† Into the particulars of these events, however, of neither prominent interest nor magnitude sufficient to engage the attention of the general historian, which occurred between this period and the death of Aurungzeb, it is not necessary for us to enter. Imperiously urged to brevity by the pressure of grand and interesting events, yet unrecorded, we hasten to the termination of a reign in which the chain of important facts, worthy of distinguished notice, closes with the conquest of Golconda.

The great object, upon which so many years of his life had been employed, the reduction of the peninsula being accomplished, exhausted with age and worn, as he himself affectingly says, to skin and bone, Aurungzeb retired, a few weeks previous to his death, into winter quarters at Ahmednagur. There, finding his dissolution rapidly approaching, at the advanced age of 90, some glimpses of remorse appear to have broken in upon a mind long rendered callous by crimes and blood. There are two letters written by him, a short time before that awful event took place, to his sons Azem and Kambuksh, which display evident symptoms of its perturbed state. They are too important to be omitted, and are inserted below: they are, I presume, verbal translations, but ambition and cruelty may derive from the perusal of them a most impressive lesson. They are the dying declaration of an Aurungzeb!!!*

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* Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 97. † Ibid, p. 109.

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* *To* AZIM SHAH.

HEALTH to thee! My heart is near thee. Old age is arrived: weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members. I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, and for what I am destined. *The instant which passed in power hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire.* My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling, (conscience,) but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. Life is not lasting; there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes from futurity are lost. *The fever has left me, but nothing of me remains but skin and bone.* My son, (Kaum Buksh,) though gone towards Visiapore, is still near: and thou, my son, art yet nearer. The worthy of esteem, Shah Aulum, is far distant; and my grandson, (Azeem Ooshaun,) by the orders of God, is arrived near Hindostan. The camp and followers, helpless and alarmed, are, like myself, full of affliction; restless as the quicksilver. Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a master or not.

I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. *I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished.* Though I have strong reliance on the mercies and bounty of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me; but, when I am gone, reflection will not remain. Come then what may, I have launched my vessel on the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet, regarding appearances, the endeavours of my sons are indispensibly incumbent. Give my last benedictions to my grandson, (Bedar Bukht,) whom I cannot see, but the desire affects me. The Begum (his daughter) appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts. The

On Friday the 21st of February, 1707, after performing his morning devotions, in company with his attendants, he exclaimed,

foolish thoughts of women produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell! farewell! farewell!

To the Prince KAMBUKSH.

MY son, nearest to my heart. Though in the height of my power, and by God's permission, I gave you advice, and took with you the greatest pains, yet, as it was not the divine will, you did not attend with the ears of compliance. Now I depart a stranger, and lament my own insignificance, what does it profit me? I carry with me the fruits of my sins and imperfections. Surprizing Providence! I came here alone, and alone I depart. The leader of this caravan hath deserted me. The fever, which troubled me for twelve days, has left me. *Wherever I look, I see nothing but the Divinity!* My fears for the camp and followers are great; but, alas! I know not myself. My back is bent with weakness, and my feet have lost the powers of motion. The breath which rose, is gone, and left not even hope behind it. *I have committed numerous crimes, and know not with what punishment I may be seized.* Though the Protector of mankind will guard the camp, yet care is incumbent also on the faithful, and my sons. When I was alive, no care was taken; and now I am gone, the consequence may be guessed. The guardianship of a people is the trust by God committed to my sons. Azem Shah is near. Be cautious that none of the faithful are slain, or their miseries fall upon my head. I resign you, your mother and son, to God, as I myself am going. *The agonies of death come upon me fast.* Bahadur Shah is still where he was, and his son is arrived near Hindostan. Bedar Bukht is in Guzzurat. Hyaut al Nissa, who has beheld no afflictions of time till now, is full of sorrows. Regard the Begum as without concern. Odiporee, your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death; but every thing has its appointed time.

The domestics and courtiers, however deceitful, yet must not be ill-treated. It is necessary to gain your views by gentleness and art. Extend your feet no lower than your skirt. The complaints of the unpaid troops are as before. Dara Shekhoh, though of much judgment and good understanding, settled large pensions on his people, but paid them ill, and they were ever discontented. *I am going.* Whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you. Take it not amiss, nor remember what offences I have done to yourself; that account may not be demanded of me hereafter. *No one has seen the departure of his own soul; but I see that mine is departing.**

* See Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 9.

"Oh! that my death may happen on a Friday, for blessed is he who dieth on that day!" Soon after he had occasion to retire. Upon his return towards his bed, he had begun his ablutions, and had made one sprinkling, when suddenly his spirit fled into the boundless expanse of space. His hands remained clasped, and in tremulous motion for some time after he had ceased to breathe.———*

Thus, at an age to which few of the human race attain, the effect of abstinence and activity, expired the merciless destroyer of his family, and scourge of the persecuted Hindoos. For his atrocious conduct to his father, his brothers, and their children, it is impossible to form any apology; his persecution of the Hindoos may be accounted for, though not excused, in the intolerant principles of the Mahommedan faith, of which, whether conscientiously or hypocritically, he through life acted as a rigid devotee. If hypocritically, we cannot but admire the unshaken fortitude with which, during so prolonged a life, he submitted to privations of every kind while presiding in the most luxurious court, and wielding the richest sceptre, of Asia; if solely guided by the dictates of conscience, we are astonished that in other important matters its solemn dictates should have been so entirely disregarded. His diet consisted for the most parts of herbs and pulse; no fermented liquor ever passed his lips; in the pleasures of his seraglio he was, at least, more temperate than his predecessor; keeping, indeed, according to the custom of the Asiatics, a number of women, but rather for ostentation than use. He allowed himself but little time for sleep or meals, and that portion of his active day that was not devoted to the hearing of petitions and other public business in the Hall of Audience, was passed in a perpetual routine of prayer, ablution, and reading the Koran. Except on public festivals the vest he wore seldom exceeded the value of eight rupees; nor were his sash and tiara loaded with jewels. In camp he was the most indefatigable man of his whole army; rising early, retiring late to rest, and in his younger days he generally slept on the bare ground, wrapt up in the skin of a tiger.

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* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 10.

Adverting to his more public character, we find Aurungzeb as a sovereign, though deeply stained with blood, yet otherwise endowed with many excellent qualities. He was accomplished in literature beyond most princes of the house of Timur. He was a complete master of the Persian and Arabic languages, and he wrote with fluency that of his ancestors, the Moguls. He patronized and corresponded with learned men throughout his dominions; and wrote with his own hand many of the government dispatches, which were remarkable for their brevity and precision. He erected many schools and universities in different quarters of his empire; stored them with books in every branch of learning; appointed over them the most able masters; and endowed them with competent salaries from the funds of the empire.

By nature of an austere and unsocial disposition, and superstitious by habit, if not from principle, he discouraged gaming and intrigues among the nobles of his court; and the long train of dancers, singers, actors, and buffoons in which his father Shah Jehan took so much delight were banished from his palace, as destructive of morals, and degrading to majesty. His inflexible administration of justice has been already noticed. The highest rank could not arrest, nor even the wealth of Golconda avert, its two-edged sword, when lifted high to strike the guilty head; and the princes, his sons, were no more exempt from punishment than the meanest of his subjects. He seemed to think himself the only person privileged to commit crimes with impunity, and brave the united vengeance of earth and heaven.

From long experience he was thoroughly versed in the detail of the affairs of his vast empire; from his early youth in full confidence of attaining the diadem, he had formed notes and memoranda, and kept a register of every important transaction, to which he constantly referred. Of the governors of his numerous provinces he was intimately acquainted with the disposition and talents, whether warlike or pacific, and of their conduct in those governments. Of the principal officers of his army, though that army consisted of nearly half a million, he was well acquainted with the respective merits; and of his revenues, amounting to 32 millions sterling, he knew all the particulars of the expenditure. Enormous as they were, they were not idly disſipated, or avariciously hoarded; but seem to have been scrupulously applied to the exigencies of the state. In proof of this it may be urged that at the decease of this master of so many millions, in his private treasury were found no more than 57,382 rupees, or about 7000l. sterling; and this puissant monarch could afford to leave only 125l. to be distributed, in largesses, to the poor who attended his funeral.

With respect to the person of Aürungzeb, the traveller Gemelli, who saw him in 1695, when nearly 80 years old, at his camp in Visiapore, and was admitted to an audience of him, describes him as being of stature rather below the middle size, of a slender make, having an aquiline nose, an olive complexion, like all the other descendants of Timur, and a white beard. He walked, leaning on a staff, formed like a crosier; for age had in some degree bowed his back; but had not dimmed the lustre of his eye. There were in his manners great complacency and affability, and a benignity reigned in his features which we too well know was foreign to his actions, and his heart.

Aurungzeb left three sons, the eldest of whom, Mahommed Mauzim, was, at the time of his father's death, at his government of Cabul. The loyalty of this prince, we have seen in a former page, was not without reason suspected by his father, who had in consequence imprisoned him for six years, but at the expiration of that term had released and pardoned him. Azem, the second surviving son, was with his father in Deccan, and was evidently the favourite. Kambuksh, the youngest, was resident in the newly conquered government of Visiapore. Aurungzeb also left a *short will*,* which, both for its moral and its historical importance, is inserted below, and which, while it demonstrates

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* AURUNGZEB'S LAST WILL.

I came empty-handed into the world, and empty-handed I quit it. Whoever of my fortunate children shall chance to rule the empire, let him not molest Mahommed Kambuksh, should he rest contented with the two new Soubahs.*

There cannot be a better Vizier than Emir-al-Omra.

Let all the King's servants be true and faithful to Mahommed Azem Shah.

Whoever shall chance to have the empire, let him not turn out or molest those born or bred up in my house.

If the division I formerly made proves agreeable to my children, it will prevent a great deal of confusion and bloodshed.

There are two imperial seats, Agra and Delhi; whoever settles in Agra may have the province thereof, Deccan, Malva, and Guzzurat.

And who resides at Delhi may have Cabul and the other provinces.

I came naked into the world, and naked I go out of it. Let no ensigns or royal pomp accompany my funeral; let Hamid-o'din-Khan, who is faithful and trusty, convey my corpse to the place of Shah Zen-al-din, and make a tomb for it, in the same manner as is done for Derveishes;† let not my fortunate children give themselves any concern about a monument.

There is in my private treasury 57,382 rupees;‡ let 1000 rupees§ be distributed among the poor at my funeral.‖

* The two new Soubahs are Visiapore aud Hyderabad, so called, as being lately conquered by Aurungzeb.

† The tombs for Derveishes are made low and plain, without any manner of ornament.

‡ 7172*l.* 15*s.* § 125*l.* ‖ Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 37.

his wishes in regard to their future destiny, manifestly expresses his apprehension that a civil war would take place between them. He appears, however, in this instance, to have been deserted by his usual foresight and sagacity; for by not resolutely appointing either Mauzim or Azem his successor in the empire, he seems himself to have lighted the fatal brand whose flames consumed his progeny.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

Printed by W. Bulmer and Co.
Cleveland-row, St. James's.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

MODERN HISTORY OF INDIA;

BRINGING THAT

HISTORY DOWN TO THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1788,

WHEN THE

IMPERIAL MOGUL DYNASTY,

BY THE BLINDING AND DETHRONEMENT

OF

SHAH AULUM,

VIRTUALLY BECAME EXTINCT.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,
BY W. BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW, ST. JAMES'S;
AND SOLD BY J. WHITE, FLEET-STREET.
1810.

PREFACE.

I HAVE at length the honour of presenting to the public the concluding pages of the History of Hindostan, brought down to the year of our Lord 1788, when the late Shah Aulum was blinded and dethroned, and the glory of the Mogul Dynasty, a race of princes who had swayed its imperial sceptre during a period of nearly 300 years, became utterly extinguished! This portion of its history will be found by no means the least interesting; and I have only to lament that it makes its appearance before the public so late, and in this supplemental form. It was impossible, consistently with other occupations, earlier to complete the arduous work, and the form is that which necessity dictated. This concluding portion being of so slender a bulk, it was thought proper to carry on the pages from the former volume, in order that, by those who please, it may be bound up with it. The work, however, is distinct and complete in itself; containing the final section of the History, from the death of Aurungzeb to the subversion of the Mogul empire.

In this latter period of the Indian history, it was necessary to have recourse to an infinite variety of works, published both in Europe and Asia, of which the most important are occasionally pointed out in the notes; but it was deemed useless to burthen the page with multiplied references on subjects so recent. It may be proper, however, to inform the reader, that the basis of what is here submitted to his candid consideration is a work written in Persian, by an author mentioned in the letter to me from Sir W. Jones, inserted below, GHOLAM HOSSAIN KHAN, a native nobleman of Bahar, and the title of it is SEIR MUTAKHAREEN, or a View of Modern Times.*

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* This letter was an answer to one which I had sent him, containing proposals for a General History of India; but upon a more limited scale than that upon which I was afterwards encouraged to undertake it.

Chrishna-Nagar, 10th October, 1790.

Dear Sir,

It is not possible for me to forget the pleasure which I have received from your conversation, and the opinion which I always entertained of your parts and industry. The arduous undertaking, of which I have just perused the plan, fully justifies my opinion; but I am so oppressed with a heavy arrear of business, that I cannot write at large on the subject of it. I will desire my agent in London to subscribe for me, and will do all I can to promote the subscription here. Such is the expense of printing at Calcutta, that it would cost thirty pounds sterling to reprint the pamphlet; but the proposals shall be reprinted, and carefully circulated. I am confident that you might learn Persian in six months, (if you have not learned it already,) so well at least as to read the original text of FERISHTA, whose work, with submission, is very *highly esteemed* by all learned Indians and Indian scholars. To an historian I must express every truth, even though friendship might induce me to conceal it; * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *. Let me, at the same time, exhort you not wholly to rely on *my* authority; for, though I have diligently avoided errors, yet I have made many: for instance, *Por*, a word which I found for *Porus* in the Shah-Nameh, is, I now find, pronounced *Pur*, or *Poor*, by the native Persians; and I have reason to believe, from Sanscrit authorities, that the true name of that prince was PAURAVA. If you read Persian, Mr. Boughton Rouse will, I dare say, lend you the Modern History of India, by GHOLAM HOSSAIN. Farewell, my Dear Sir, and believe me to be, with great regard,

Your ever faithful humble servant,

WILLIAM JONES.

It must ever be a subject of deep regret to me, that I did not on the receipt of that letter resolutely sit down, and make myself master of the Persian language, at least so far (to use the President's words) as to translate Ferishta. But at the time of life at which I received that advice it is rather irksome to return to the Grammar, and Persian books, and MSS. were not quite so common as, happily for Eastern literature, they are at present. I had, also, at that period, the honour of being known to some distinguished Persian scholars, who, on my solicitation, would at any time have translated for me any difficult passages in Ferishta, or Hossain. Both those authors, however, had been already translated; sufficiently well for all the purposes of general history; and the reader will be pleased constantly to bear in mind that it is the grand *outline*, the *leading incidents* only of the Indian History which I have attempted to pourtray and record in a regular and connected manner; not with a view to inform Indian scholars, but to gratify individuals, unlearned in the lore of Brahma, to whom such a connected history was a *desideratum*. Colonel Dow's translation of the former is not destitute of elegance; but, unfortunately, that o fHossain by Mustapha, a Frenchman, converted to Mahommedism, and settled in Bengal, is in that respect greatly deficient. Facts, however, were my object; I cared little about the vehicle in which they were conveyed; and from the specimen of those parts of the original author with which Colonel Scott has obliged the public, however defective the language, and, sometimes, even the grammar of Mustapha may prove, the facts themselves, in general, seem to be narrated with fidelity.

This work of Gholam Hossain* commences at the death of

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* The Persian original is in two folio volumes; the English version in three quarto volumes, price TEN GUINEAS! Calcutta printed, 1788.

Aurungzeb, with which event my second volume concluded, and carries us down through *seven* reigns of Mogul emperors, the seven last emperors; if indeed, after the calamitous visitation of Nadir Shah, the term *emperor* may with any propriety be used. The names of those emperors are Bahadur, Jehandur, Ferokhseer, Mahommed Shah, Ahmed Shah, Aulumgeer, and Shah Aulum; for Hossain seems not to have numbered among the legitimate sovereigns of Hindostan the two young and unfortunate princes, for a few months exalted to the imperial musnud, after the death of Ferokhseer, by the rebel SEYDS.

The same work, also, contains what I am given to understand from very respectable authority is a tolerably impartial account of English transactions in India. That circumstance, however, was not of very material importance to this history, for though I have brought the Mogul annals down nearly to the close of the 18th century, I found myself compelled by the forcible arguments adduced in page 639 following, to decline bringing the military transactions of the English in Coromandel lower down in time than the expulsion of the French from Pondicherry in 1761; and those of Bengal, posterior to the important period of the appointment of the Company to the DUANNY, in 1765. Of so extensive, various, and complicated a nature are those details it was found by the lowest computation, as there truly stated, that they could not be comprised in less than two large additional volumes, and the leading facts are already before the public in a variety of very esteemed publications, for the most part composed by the Company's civil or military officers on the spot.

After all I must be allowed to observe, that, however important these events of a century or two back may appear, and are in fact to us, as Britons, they are still but of inferior moment, of subordinate interest, when compared with the great line and majestic march of its genuine history, which is principally concerned, in recording the struggles for empire, through a series of ages of the two great powers, HINDOO and MAHOMMEDAN. We have seen and traced those mighty struggles from the first invasion of India, by the generals of the Caliph Valid in the eighth century, nearly three hundred years before Ferishta's history of the Gaznavide sovereigns commences, and have brought them regularly down to the last dreadful battle of Paniput, illumining and expanding, as we proceeded, the narration of Ferishta, by the information derived from Abulfeda, Abulpharagius, Al Makin, Mirkhond, and the native historians of Gengis, of Timur, of Nadir Shah, and Abdallah.

The more ancient of these valuable Persian and Arabian authors had already been presented to the public, with elegant Latin versions, by Pocock, Erpenius, Reiske, Gagnier, and other learned orientalists of the last century; were procured by me with much difficulty; at great expense; and perused with that attention, which was necessary to prepare me to write on the subject of an Asiatic history. For India, in fact, constitutes so large a portion of Asia, and has been for so many ages the object of plunder to the most celebrated warriors of the East, that its history on the large scale, as well ancient as modern, naturally embraces a very considerable proportion of that of the continent on which it stands. The adventurous author therefore, who engages in that history, must be provided with materials proportionate to the magnitude and extent of his subject.

Whoever will please to consult my list of books expressly collected for the purpose, and inserted in the first Volume of Indian Antiquities, (edited so far back as 1792) will find these authors, besides an infinity of others scarcely less rare or costly, with the dates of their respective editions, as here enumerated.

Historia Regni Græcorum Bactriani, Auctore J. S. Bayer,	Petropoli, 1738.
Abulfedæ Annales Muslemici, Arab. et Lat. 5 tom.	Hafniæ, 1789.
Abulfaragii Hist Dynast. Arab. et Lat. Pocockii, quarto,	Oxon. 1663.
Abulfaragii Specimen Hist. Arab. Opera Pocockii, quarto,	Oxon. 1659.
Al Makin's Hist. Saracenica, Studio Erpenii, quarto,	Lugd. Bat. 1625.
Ulug Beg's Epochæ Celebriores et Chorasmia,	Oxford, 1650.
Abulgazi Bahadur Khan's Hist. Genealog. des Tartars, octavo,	Leyden, 1726.
Maffeii Historia Indica, folio,	Amsterdam, 1589.
Abulfedæ Vita Mohammedis, Studio Johannis Gagnier, folio,	Oxon. 1723.
Historia Priorum Regum Persarum, Mirkhond.	Viennæ, 1782.
Sherefeddin's Life of Timur Bec, by M. Petit le Croix, 2 vols. octavo,	Lond. 1723.
M. Petit le Croix Hist. of Gengis Khan, octavo,	Lond. 1722.
Mirkhond's History of Persia, octavo,	Lond. 1715.
Dr. White's Institutes of Timur, Persian and English, quarto,	Oxon. 1783.
Ahmed Arabsaidæ (Ahmed Arabshah) Vitæ, et Rerum Gestarum Timuri, Hist. Arabicè et Latinè, Opera S. N. Manger, 3 vols. quarto,	Leovardiæ, 1767

A short account of each of these works, and their authors, is given in the prefatory chapter of the second book of this history,* under date A.D. 600, previously to my commencing the history of the Mahommedan invasions.

It is not from ostentation that I have ventured to mention these facts, and appealed to these early and incontrovertible testimonies of my zeal and diligence, but to vindicate myself from the charge brought against me by certain Reviewers, of having undertaken to write a history without any knowledge of the subject. Of however little value my continued labours, at once injurious to my health, and ruinous to my circumstances, may appear in certain quarters, my exertions at this period of the history so forcibly struck Dr. White, the Arabick professor at Oxford, that in a letter addressed to me soon after the publication of my first Volume in 1804, he condescended to encourage me to proceed, in terms almost too flattering to be repeated. His very friendly letter concluded with these words, "Your Modern History of Hindostan is, in my opinion, a performance of unrivalled merit. It is at once, most classically elegant, most truly judicious, and most highly interesting."

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* See Modern History, Vol. I. p. 168.

Thus much for Mussulman and other writers, from the age of Mahommed downwards. I agree in opinion with the Reviewers, above alluded to, that the Modern History of India properly begins at the period of their earliest invasion of that country, and the term Classical History of India, which I had applied to the period terminating with the death of Alexander, should have been continued down to the birth of the Arabian impostor. In this division of the work I stand before a higher tribunal than the Judicature of Bengal, and with confidence, because I am not conscious of having neglected to take the advantage of any light that could be thrown on the history of India by classical writers from Herodotus to Cosmas, or of having omitted to compare their accounts with whatever has been yet published from Sanscrit sources of information in Europe. The cause of this portion of the work appearing of such limited extent and inferior importance, notwithstanding it embraces several centuries, arises from this circumstance, that, in composing it, I adhered closely to *historical fact*, although, by intermingling, as has usually been done by preceding anthors on India, elaborate descriptions of the arts, the sciences, the civil and religions institutions of the Indians, with the substance of the history, I might have swelled this particular portion of the work to an immense bulk. I had, however, previously in a manner exhausted that subject, and thrown the whole mass of information derived from that source into the volumes of Indian Antiquities. This was done at a very early period of the undertaking by the advice of a Person of very distinguished rank in life and literature, and whose own Lectures on Modern History, which I attended at Oxford, would, if published, reflect upon him the highest honour. It was the decided opinion of this accomplished judge of historical composition, that I should avoid incumbering the page with matter not immediately relevant to the history; but clear my way by throwing every thing of that kind, arranged under their proper heads, into previous *dissertations*, which readers might consult at their pleasure. " If you do not this," added he, " you may depend upon it your book will lose half its interest, and will probably be condemned to moulder on the shelves of your bookseller." This advice gave birth in my mind to the first idea of composing the Indian Antiquities, and if the public have been at all gratified by that publication, they are indebted for that gratification to the present Right Honourable and learned Judge of the Admiralty Court. This advice was obligingly accompanied by a list of subscribers to the intended publication of the very first rank in literature, among whom were Mr. Windham and Sir Joshua Reynolds. Shortly after, the gentleman mentioned in Sir William Jones's letter, Mr. Boughton Rouse, brought me another splendid list of names, with the great Edmund Burke at their head, with the addition of some friendly hints from Mr. Burke, upon which I also improved.*

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* Mr. Burke, among other things, objected to the title of my book, which at first ran thus, " The History of Hindostan, Sanscreet and Classical, FROM THE BIRTH OF BRAHMA." I explained my meaning to him afterwards in a personal con-

On this interesting subject of the highly flattering encouragement, afforded to this work at its commencement, as I am not likely very soon to appear again as an historian, before the public, I must beg permission to be a little more diffuse.

The anarchical and turbulent times in which these volumes successively made their appearance must ever be remembered, *nor is the danger perhaps yet entirely over.* They were deemed important towards checking the progress of Gallic scepticism, which had erected on the debateable ground of India, and its presumed unfathomable antiquity, its loftiest standard of defiance; and had they not been checked, that ambitious nation would, by this time, probably have planted standards there of a more permanent, they could not of a more fatal, kind. Animated by the genuine spirit of patriotism, several of the greatest and best men of the age stood forward to befriend my infant undertaking. Among these it would be the basest ingratitude to omit mentioning a *third* list, which rapidly followed, the spontaneous generosity of the honourable and ever to be lamented Mr. Elliot, brother-in-law of Mr. PITT, with the respected name of that great statesman, Mr. Thelluson, Mr. Thornton, and some others; a *fourth*, still more numerous, of the Right Honourable Henry Addington, at that time Speaker of the House of Commons; the munificent goodness of Earls Spencer, Carysfort, and several other noblemen; and the continued friendly offices of the Editors of the British Critic. Nor will the pride of virtuous and gratified ambition permit me to be silent in regard to the

ference, that the Hindoos had various systems of the cosmogony, but that the present was the "Lotos Creation," that is to say, our system commenced at the epoch when Brahma burst from the egg recumbent upon the Lotos that floated on the primordial waters. He was still dissatisfied, and said, "it would appear *affected*." I instantly, therefore, expunged the obnoxious words.

honourable public testimonies in my favour of the learned, but still unknown author of the Pursuits of Literature; of that excellent scholar and prelate the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, in his Elements of Christian Theology; and that still more substantial proof of desert, the LETTER sent by the late venerable Archbishop of Canterbury, and that most eminent and able judge of classical excellence, the late Earl of Rosslyn, to the East India Directors, in the most express terms recommending my undertaking to the patronage of the Court.

As this was the only instance ever known of such an application in favour of an individual to a great Commercial Company by two such distinguished characters, the one at the head of the Church, and the other of the Law of this country, my hopes were naturally raised to a high pitch; and though by the result not fully gratified, they were not wholly disappointed! I beg respectfully to state, that I still encourage hopes, from the justice and liberality of the Company, that the Letter in question, which still stands on their books, may finally obtain for my advancing years, some more ample remuneration than it was thought proper at that time to grant, (200*l.*) towards the completion of a work which, with the maps and engravings that illustrate it, has cost many thousands. Nearly twenty years of the best portion of life have been consumed in the composition of this work, and nearly the whole of a not very extensive income has been devoted to its completion, during a series of years in which, unfortunately for me, all the materials of printing have gradually advanced to treble their value at the period of its commencement.

But retrospects are unavailing; it is now completed, and on the comprehensive plan upon which I proposed to execute it, consisting of, 1. THE ANCIENT INDIA, in two volumes, quarto, with eighteen *illustrative* engravings. 2. THE MODERN INDIA, also in two quarto volumes, together with this Supplement, and a coloured map of India, by Arrowsmith, according to its latest divisions. And lastly, though first published, THE INDIAN ANTIQUITIES, in seven volumes, octavo, with thirty engravings on quarto plates. This latter work, I must again observe, is an essential appendage to the Ancient India; the contents of those volumes must be considered as illustrations of that work,* and it ought properly to have appeared in a quarto form, to bind up uniformly with the volumes with which they are so inseparably connected.

That a work of this magnitude and extent, and in its early portions so abstruse and intricate, should have been accomplished by an individual, not only unassisted, but pertinaciously obstructed, amidst increasing difficulty and unmerited obloquy, will, by all considerate persons, be thought of as it deserves. However neglected by the present age, when party rage and jealous competition shall be extinguished in the grave, posterity will do justice to my page; and to posterity I appeal with the confidence of a man who has, at least *endeavoured* to merit the applause of his country.

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* It may be agreeable to some of the encouragers of this work, to know that an effort of that kind was, some time ago, made; but from the enormous expence attending it, the project was relinquished, when one large volume, elegantly printed by Bulmer, and comprehending nearly three of the octavo volumes, was completed. The whole now remains in that imperfect state, in Mr. Faulder's possession.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

HISTORY OF MODERN INDIA.

Retrospective moral View of Events in the preceding Reign.—Dreadful Battle between the Sultans Mauzim and Azem.—Mauzim victorious, Azem killed—the former ascends the Throne by the name of BAHADUR SHAH.—*The new Emperor marches into Deccan, where his younger Brother, Sultan* KAMBUKSH, *had taken up arms to oppose him.—A Battle ensues, and* KAMBUKSH *is slain.—Origin and History of the* SEIKS.—*The Emperor marches against them; is taken suddenly ill, and dies after a short Reign of six years.—Succeeded by* JEHANDER SHAH, *a weak effeminate Prince, deposed by the* SEYDS.—FURRUKSEER, *who granted their* FIRMAUN *to the English East India Company, deposed and murdered by the same Omrahs.*—RAFFEIH AL DIRJAT *shares the same melancholy Fate.*—RAFFEIH AL DOWLAT, *an Infant, escapes a violent, by a natural, Death.*—MAHOMMED SHAH *vanquishes the* SEYDS, *and restores the imperial Authority.*

THE very singular fact of Aurungzeb having been treated at various periods of his reign with the same marked disobedience as a father, and the same disloyalty, as a sovereign, by four out of his five sons, which Shah Jehan had experienced from himself, is a circumstance that exhibits a memorable proof of the just dispensations of divine Providence. Mahommed, engaged in open rebellion, perished at Gualior. Mauzim, repeatedly implicated in rebellious projects, was imprisoned for six years in Deccan, and had just obtained his liberty when Gemelli visited Aurungzeb's camp in 1695. Fear probably dictated his being sent to Cabul, and kept at as great a distance as possible from the Presence. Akber, the beloved Akber, still more keenly wounded the feelings of his father, by joining the forces of Sambajee, his bitterest enemy! He fled to Ispahan and *died* there in the year preceding the death of his father.* Azem had plotted with his relative the King of Visiapore, previous to the final conquest of that kingdom; but being restored to favour, had ever after maintained unshaken loyalty and affection. Kambuksh, too, the youngest, was deeply infected with the ambition of his brothers, but being yet young, had committed no open act of disloyalty against his father. The preceding pages display to us a dreadful picture of crimes and consequent punishment; and hold up an awful lesson to filial ingratitude and disobedience.

The same indomitable spirit of ambition that led his father to spurn at a divided empire, induced Sultan Azem immediately to commence his march for Agra and Delhi, where he hoped to seize the imperial treasures; nor would he listen to the very generous overtures made him by his elder brother towards an accommodation. A long and severe imprisonment had taught the latter, during his father's life time, the useful doctrine of disguising his sentiments; and one of his own nobles, Eradut Khan, declares it to have been universally reported, under the sanction of the prince himself, that rather than harass the kingdom by new contentions for imperial honours, he would retire into Persia. The jealous Emperor's death, having freed him from restraint, Mauzim also, without delay began his march from Cabul for Delhi and Agra; and by the strenuous exertions of his wise and faithful minister, Monauim Khan, in whose praises our author is lavish, every means of expeditious advance being rapidly prepared, the treasures both of Delhi and Agra, that had been collecting since the time of Akber, were fortunately secured to him who, as the elder son, seemed to have the greatest claim to them, " treasures that might enable him to support, if he chose, all the troops to be levied in the empire."*

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* This fact is asserted in Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 122.

The rival armies met at the river Chambul, which Mauzim had placed in his rear, and seldom in India have two such mighty hosts appeared in arms against each other. That of Mauzim consisted of 170,000 horse and 150,000 foot, 3000 elephants, and 3000 pieces of cannon ;† and that of Azem was little inferior ; but it will be recollected that the two princes shared between them the collective forces of the empire, and with the followers and attendants their armies together must have amounted to a million. The battle was fought on the 9th of June 1707, and maintained with an obstinacy equal to the importance of the contest. In fact, the princes fought for the sovereignty of an empire, at that time in extent and wealth unrivalled ; their attendants for their ALL. Most of the great Omrahs who had served under Aurungzeb displayed their standards in the line of Mahommed Azem, and the greater part of them fell, together with the two elder sons of Azem. Nevertheless, Azem stood his ground until he was left with only 6000 horse, which were surrounded by ten times the number, when, to avoid the disaster of captivity, and the remembrance of this fatal day, he stabbed himself to the heart with his poniard. No victory could be more decisive, and Mauzim immediately mounted the throne, and was proclaimed Emperor by the assumed name of BAHADUR SHAH, which he had taken before he left Cabul.

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* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 42.

† These numbers may appear improbable, but they are stated to have been of this vast amount both by Orme and Fraser. (Orme's Fragments, p. 307. Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 39.) That of the elephants is least credible, as scarcely half of the number ever appeared at one time in the field.

Vengeance, however, still cried from the ground on account of the accumulated murders of Aurungzeb, and another victim was yet demanded from his family to satisfy omnipotent justice. It has been already stated, that a few days before his death he had dispatched Kambuksh " his son, nearest to his heart," being his youngest, and by his favourite Circassian wife, to Visiapore, and his will enjoins that he shall not be molested, if he rested content with that Soubah and Golconda ; a third portion certainly, and not the least abundant in riches, of his immense empire. Kambuksh, however, inflamed with even more ardour than his brother Azem for independence, immediately on his arrival at his government, ordered himself to be proclaimed Emperor in the *Kootba*, or public prayers, and coins to be struck in his own name, the decided token of royal distinction. Hurried away by ambition and all the headstrong passions of youth, his conduct is represented by our historian as almost bordering on insanity; on the slightest suspicion devoting to tortures and even to death the most beautiful women of his haram, his most tried friends, and his most faithful servants.* Notwithstanding this intemperate conduct of Kambuksh, as he was the beloved son of Aurungzeb, and invested by that prince himself with the southern governments, the most powerful nobles of Deccan, whether Mussulmans or Hindoos, at first enlisted under his banners ; but his perseverance in these atrocious measures soon lost him their support, and the greater part of them retired in disgust to their own districts, where they fortified themselves in the best manner they were able till this contest for the throne should be decided.

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* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 31.

Taking advantage of the distracted state of public affairs about this time, also, many of the Rajapouts began to manifest symptoms of disaffection. Indignation at the unrelenting severity with which both their religion and themselves had been treated by Aurungzeb still burned in their bosoms, and they panted to retaliate on the race of Timur the series of injuries under which they had groaned for so many ages. Powerfully impelled by these circumstances, the new Emperor commenced his march for Deccan at the head of an army superior in number by 100,000 men to that which had accompanied his father thither; all the princes of the empire and a vast concourse of nobility attending in his train. Kambuksh had left Visiapore, and encamped at Hyderabad, and Bahadur, anxious to reclaim his brother without having recourse to arms would advance no farther than Aurungabad, whence he wrote to him letters, couched in the most importunate and affectionate terms, requesting that, if possible, their differences might be adjusted, without the shedding of any more fraternal blood. In addition to the two provinces he offered to confer upon him the Nizamut of the Deccan, with unlimited authority in the south, the revenues of all which united, he observed, were equal to half of the revenues of the empire itself. He concluded by declaring that if he assented to this generous proposal he would, after paying a visit to the hallowed tomb of their father, return with all his forces to Hindostan.*

Callous to all the kindness, and deaf to all the remonstrances of his brother, Kambuksh continued his preparations for war with increased activity and vigonr. Independently of the natural impetuosity of his disposition, which disposed him for war rather than peace, he was induced by some religious impostors who had found their way into his court, to believe that destiny had decreed him the empire; and that, in urging his claims, though millions opposed him in battle, he would be invincible. His enthusiastic confidence in the venal predictions of these hypocritical fakeers urged him on to the field, and though deserted by all the Omrahs of ancient family and military renown, who were disgusted with his folly, his tyranny, and his insane reveries, the rash prince, with scarcely twenty thousand men, resolved to risque a general engagement, opposed to an army of ten times that amount. Bahadur, finding every effort towards reconciliation ineffectual, had now advanced within twelve coss of Hyderabad, but still anxious to avoid coming to extremities, employed his faithful Vizier Monauim Khan, by large bribes, and the assurance of the Emperor's forgiveness and favour, to detach from him the few chiefs who yet lingered in his train. His principal generals, Rustum Dill Khan, Syef Khan, and even his foster-brother, Meer Mulling, had resolved to come over, and embrace the protection thus offered; but Kambuksh having gained intelligence of their intended flight, had them all seized and put to death on the same day and hour, and confiscated their effects. Scarcely ten thousand troops now remained with him, and those of the worst Deccan horse, mutinous for pay, and more zealous to plunder their master, than attack the enemy: at the head of this rabble he marched out of Hyderabad, and encamped on a plain three coss from it, in sight of the imperial army.

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* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 34.

With difficulty the amiable Emperor restrained his myriads from that assault which must in an instant have overwhelmed his unfortunate brother; but Zoolfeccar, who had not been used to this kind of warfare, and who had long cherished an enmity against the misguided prince, determined to put an end to it by surrounding and seizing him. With these intentions, but without imparting them to the Emperor, he asked and obtained permission to reconnoitre the enemy, and took care to have with him a detachment sufficiently strong to effect his purpose without the risque of a battle. Kambuksh, however, on the approach of this force, although treble the amount of that under his command, immediately prepared for action, but was almost instantly deserted by his cowardly bands, who took to flight in every direction. A few personal attendants alone remained with the infatuated prince, and from the centre of these, seated on his elephant, with his bow and arrows he dealt destruction on the surrounding foe. Irritated by his obstinate and frantic defence, the assailants discharged several arrows at him, till at length he sunk down on his seat through loss of blood, was taken prisoner, and carried to the imperial tents, where, pale and bleeding, he was placed on a bed adjoining the royal apartments. An affecting scene now took place. The Emperor with benignity and compassion in his looks, and attended by his sons, entered and endeavoured to soothe and console him by every expression of affectionate concern. He remained for a long time sullen, and silent; and though the physicians and surgeons of the household attended, he obstinately refused to have his wounds dressed, though earnestly solicited both by his majesty and his sons. They were mortal, however, and no aid could have availed him. To a variety of questions, put to him with much tender solicitude by his nephews, he returned answers neither kind, nor conciliating. He seemed to think their presence and their queries an intrusion on his dying moments. At length, turning to the Emperor, he said, " there are in a casket upon my elephant some valuable jewels of our father and my own, of which I beg your majesty's acceptance." After this, he grew faint, and languished in silence till nine at night, when he expired without a groan.

Thus perished the youngest and favourite son of Aurungzeb, the victim of that ambition, and probably also of that *superstition*, which he inherited from his father. Aurungzeb in the letter to him before cited evidently alludes to his headstrong turbulent disposition, which he in vain endeavoured to restrain. In other respects he is said to have been a very accomplished prince. He had an excellent memory, was familiar with the authors, and elegantly wrote the dialects, of Asia. But his passions at times were so boisterous as to disorder his understanding, and he fell a victim to their ungovernable fury.

Having thus successfully concluded the war with his brother, and having paid his devoirs at the tomb of Aurungzeb, at Hyderabad, Bahadur resolved to turn his arms against the Rajapouts, who from the long absence of the imperial troops were in a state bordering on rebellion. The two chiefs of that unconquerable nation had recently strengthened their alliance by an intermarriage; the Rajah Jey Sing having espoused the daughter of Ajeet Sing; and every circumstance seemed to forebode the renewal of those hostilities that devastated India in the reign of Aurungzeb. Just on the eve of this dreadful flame breaking out circumstances arose that imperiously demanded the Emperor's presence in a very distant quarter of the empire, and it became necessary to postpone for a time the vengeance about to be poured on the determined enemies of the house of Timur. Intelligence about this time arrived that the SEIKS had risen in the north in great force, and were ravaging without controul the whole country from the Indus to the Jumna. Of this SECT and NATION, which about this period first began to be formidable, the following summary account from an authentic source may be acceptable to the reader.

The SEIKS are a tribe of Hindoos, who profess to worship one Invisible Being, omnipotent, omnipresent, and whom they consider as degraded by any similitude or images. In truth, both in theory and practice, they are pure theists. They are descended from one NANEEK of the Kattry or war-cast, who flourished in the province of Lahore towards the close of the 15th century, and who from his eminent piety, and superior talents, was reverenced as a sort of prophet among them. Their GOOROOS, or chiefs, of which they enumerate a long succession, seem also to have been invested with a character both sacred and military, as was anciently the case among many eastern people; at once priests and soldiers. Like the present Hindoos, they are perfectly tolerant in matters of faith; though unlike them the Seiks admit of proselytes, which is doubtless one reason of their rapid increase as a people; since proselytes are made without any other ceremony than an oath, binding them to civil and religious obedience. They abhor, however, the multiplicity of idols displayed in their temples, even though attempted to be apologized for under the mild denomination *of the attributes of the deity personified.* The sacred volumes that contain their theological doctrines are written partly in Sanscreet, and partly in a character invented by Naneek himself.*

For a long period, equally inoffensive in their tenets and blameless in their manners, they remained undisturbed by the Mahommedan governors of Lahore and Multan, where they principally abounded; but their numbers vastly increasing, especially during the latter period of the reign of Aurungzeb, and with their *numbers* their *power*, during the long absence in Deccan of the imperial army; in short, a religious sect becoming gradually converted into a nation of warriors, hardy from their climate, mounted on fleet horses, and panting for independence, it was absolutely necessary to adopt the most instantaneous and vigorous measures for their reduction. Under their present Gooroo or chief, they had extended their ravages on both banks of the Jumna, and the inhabitants of Delhi itself were struck with consternation. Filled with implacable hatred against the Mahommedans, and with detestation of their religious principles, they every where insulted and plundered them; levelling their mosques, and burning their palaces. The governor of Sirhind at the head of the provincial troops had marched against the marauders, but had been defeated and killed. Their wide devastations and cruel excesses, the result of both political and religious rancour, were only to be checked by the Emperor in person, and therefore, for the present, compromising matters in the best manner possible with the Rajapout chiefs, and having conferred on Zoolfeccar the vice-royalty of Deccan, who governed it by deputy, he hastened northward with all his forces. Passing by Agra and Delhi, without entering either of those capitals, he in a short time arrived at Sirhind, where the rebels were collected in great force. On the approach, however, of the imperial army they retired to Daber, the original residence of their chief, where they fortified themselves as strongly as possible. Daber is situated on the summit of a rocky mountain, and round it, at different heights, the greatest part of the rebel army had encamped, secure as they thought amidst its rugged precipices and frightful cavities that seemed to forbid the approach of an enemy. The Emperor stationed his army around the foot of the mountain, and resolved to lie inactive for some time before the enemy, in the hope of rendering them confident, and tempting them to risque an engagement. The ardour of the Mogul troops frustrated his intention, for the Vizier having obtained permission with a considerable detachment to reconnoitre the enemy's position, although positively forbidden to make an assault, yet being extremely galled by the fire from the cannon of the fort, as well as by the discharge of rockets and musquetry, both general and soldiers became to the last degree irritated, rushed on impetuously to the attack, clambered up the most difficult heights, penetrated the deepest defiles, and drove the astonished enemy before them with the greatest rapidity under the very walls of the fort. Here, firmly concentrated, the rebel bands made a desperate resistance, and night coming on only suspended, but did not terminate, the contest. It was renewed with the earliest dawn; and the remainder of the army having now, by exertions equally laborious, joined their valiant comrades, a dreadful and general slaughter commenced, no mercy being shewn to wretches who had evinced none. They were cut off to a man. The fort was afterwards taken by storm, and all within it also put to death; but the wily Gooroo, who knew the intricate windings of the hills among which Daber is situated, disguised like a Yogee, had made his escape in the night, and fled by a secret path to the snowy mountains. The Vizier who had vowed to bring him dead or alive, to the Emperor, as some atonement for his disobedience of orders, was so mortified by the disappointment as well as by the cold reception of his sovereign, after deeds of valour that deserved so warm an one, that he shortly after fell ill, and is supposed to have died of a broken heart.*

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* See Mr. Wilkins's account of the SEIKS in Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 289. Calcutta edition.

The terrible example thus made of so large a portion of their nation seems not to have had the effect of reducing the Seiks to entire obedience, since, though the resolution of Bahadar to extirpate the Rajapouts remained still unshaken; and he had not yet visited either of his capitals Agra or Delhi, we find him residing at Lahore, most probably to overawe them, and settle the affairs of the northern provinces, in general, till the time of his death, which took place suddenly, and not without suspicion of poison, in 1712. From the vigour with which his reign commenced, from his acknowledged abilities, and the general excellence of his character, if that reign had been prolonged, Bahadur would probably have fixed the empire upon a solid basis, and rendered its glory permanent; but now a dreadful scene of destruction is to take place, and royal blood to flow in still deeper currents. Imperial fratricide, blood-stained Fakeer! look up from thy tomb of affected humility, and view the long train of disasters which thy crimes have entailed on thy miserable descendants!

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* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 64.

Bahadur left four sons, fired with all the ambition of their family, to contest the vacant throne; their names and characters are thus designated by their historian, Eradut Khan. Jehaundar Shah, the eldest, was a weak man, the votary of pleasure, who gave himself no concern about state affairs. Azem Ooshawn, the second son, was a statesman of winning manners, and of much experience. He had been a favourite of Aurungzeb, who in his deep political craft had opposed him to his father, Shah Aulum, and had given him the rich governments of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, where he had amassed immense wealth, and whence he had now arrived at the head of a formidable army to dispute the empire with his three brothers, leagued against him. Raffeih Ooshawn, the companion and favourite of his father, was a man of abilities, but greatly addicted to pleasure. He paid no attention to public affairs nor even to those of his own household. Jehaun Shah, the youngest, was a consummate statesman, on whom, both before and after his father's accession, a considerable share of the public business had devolved, and seemed most worthy to wield the imperial sceptre.* Such were the personages who were about to enter on the field of sanguinary warfare for the crown of Hindostan. The account of Eradut Khan, who was an eye-witness, is exceedingly curious; according to him, the contest commenced in the following manner.

While Bahadur lay expiring, the princes and ladies of the court made continual lamentations round his bed. It happened one day, that, as Jehaundar and Azem Ooshawn were sitting near it, the latter, perceiving under a corner of the pillow a dagger of very exquisite workmanship, took it up to admire the jewels with which it was adorned, and the water of the blade. Upon his drawing it from the scabbard, Jehaundar, jealous of his brother, was seized with a panic; he started up, and retired with such precipitation, that he struck the turban from his head against the door of the tent, forgot his slippers at the entrance, and fell down over the ropes. Being assisted to rise and adjust his dress by his servants, who were astonished at his strange actions and appearance, he rode off to his tents with the utmost possible speed. His report of his intended assassination, though none was meant, by Azem, roused and united all his brothers in arms. They hastened to the field, determined to conquer, or perish. In fact, the riches and power of Azem Ooshawn had long raised against him the enmity and jealousy of his brethren, who had, for their general safety, formed a compact to support each other. The ameer al omra had formerly been disgusted with some conduct of Azem Ooshawn, from which time he had courted alternately Raffeh and Jehaun Shah. On this occasion, he swore to assist the three brothers in effecting the destruction of Azem Ooshawn, and make an equal division of the empire and royal treasures among them.*

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* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 45.

This ameer al omrah was Zoolfecar Khan, whom we have seen fighting under the banners of his protector Aurungzeb, leading his armies to victory, and now his grand-children to slaughter in furious contest, which, instead of inflaming, he ought to have repressed; a contest in which *three* out of the *four* are doomed to perish. The particulars are given at length in Eradut Khan, but are too long to be detailed here: they are summarily as follows. Azem Ooshawn being in the possession of the imperial treasures, as well as those which he had brought from Bengal, hoped to secure the throne by bribery. Instead, therefore, of coming to immediate action with his brothers, he intrenched himself in his camp, and suffered them at the outset by his inaction to gain very important advantages over him. He is at length compelled to engage them, is deserted by his troops, and sinks down covered with wounds, upon his elephant, in which situation the elephant, frantic from the anguish of its own wounds, hurries him off the field, and both are supposed to have perished in the rapid stream of the Rauvi, which washes Lahore. Jehaun Shah, by whose skill and bravery, principally, aided by Zoolfecar, the battle was gained, now calls upon Zoolfecar to perform his plighted promise of equitably dividing the empire and the treasures, declaring himself ready to submit to his decision. Faithless to that promise, Zoolfecar had privately resolved to seat Jehaundar on the throne without a rival, "as he was a weak prince, fond of his pleasures, averse from business, and consequently best suited to the purpose of a minister ambitious of uncontrolled power." With this view, he, on various pretences, delays making a division of the treasure, and at length openly avows his intentions in favour of Jehaundar. A second battle ensues, in which Jehaun Shah is killed by a musket shot while fighting against a host of foes headed by the traitor Zoolfecar. His son, a prince finely accomplished, who sat behind him on the same elephant, descended and fought with his scymeter, till he could stand no longer, and then sunk down, weltering in his blood!

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* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 64.

There now remained no other rivals for the empire than Jehaundar, and Raffeh Ooshawn. As Zoolfecar, during the life of the late Emperor, had been under the greatest obligations to the latter, he made no doubt of himself being the decided object of his choice for the vacant throne. Zoolfecar, however, remained firm to the interest of Jehaundar; a third battle was fought, in which Raffeh Ooshawn met in the field with the same shameful desertion and ingratitude, which had been fatal to his brothers, and he died with their lion-like courage. "The unhappy prince," says our historian, "surrounded by his enemies on all sides, regarding the honour and reputation of the family of Timur, notwithstanding his delicacy and seeming effeminate softness, threw himself from his elephant, and, drawing the SABRE OF GLORY FROM THE SCABBARD OF HONOUR, fought singly on foot against thousands of assailants. But what could he effect, fighting singly against so many? He was soon hewed down with repeated wounds, and resigned his breath to him who gave it. Jehaundar Shah now sounded the march of victory and unrivalled empire. He permitted the mangled bodies of his martyred and more worthy brothers to be kept three days on the field of battle, exposed to public view. They were afterwards conveyed to Delhi, and interred without ceremony or pomp, in the mausoleum of the emperor Humaioon, the general receptacle of the murdered princes of the imperial family. The mausolea which they had erected for themselves, near the tombs of their favourite saints, of marble, jasper, and other rich stones, were bestowed on the minions of Lall Koor, a public dancer, and mistress to the weak Jehaundar Shah."*

JEHAUNDAR SHAH.

The perfidious Zoolfecar having now exalted his imperial puppet beyond the power of a rival, assumed the chief administration of affairs, and acted in the most cruel and tyrannical manner; degrading and putting to death the ancient nobility, and plundering the opulent without mercy. Nurtured in the school of war, accustomed to deeds of daring ferocity, when so long opposed to the Mahrattas in the mountains of Gaut, and the dauntless bands of Rajapouts, combating for life and religion in the deserts of Ajmere, he brought into the cabinet all the turbulent ambition of the soldier, and ruled only by the sword. His principal aim seemed to be to heap up immense masses of wealth, not to bestow in generous munificence on the friendless and destitute, but to glut the eye, and fill the grasp of insatiable avarice; for even his sycophant dependents suffered the pressure of poverty, and though he conferred titles on many, he allowed jaghires to none. All orders and descriptions of men, the rich whom he had robbed, and the poor whom he had trampled, Hindoos and Mussulmans, alike sent up their prayers to heaven for the downfall of Zoolfecar.

With respect to Jehaundar himself, he was a disgrace to the name of monarch, and to the house of Timur. With intellects little superior to those of an ideot, indolent in his habits, and effeminate in his person; so that his treasury was kept full, which was artfully contrived by the extortions of Zoolfecar, and was one end of them; so that his table was supplied with the choicest dainties, and his haram well stored with Circassian women, he was indifferent to the concerns of government. "He made," as Eradut Khan indignantly exclaims, "the vast empire of Hindostan an offering to the foolish whims of a public courtezan. The relations, friends and minions of the mistress, usurped absolute authority in the state; and high offices, great titles, and unreasonable grants from the imperial domains, were showered profusely on beggarly musicians. Two crores of rupees, that is, two millions sterling, annually, were settled for the household expences of the mistress only, exclusive of her clothes and jewels. The emperor frequently rode with her in a chariot through the markets, where they purchased, agreeably to caprice, sometimes jewels, gold, silks, and fine linen; at others, greens, fruits, and the most trifling articles. A woman named Zohera, keeper of a green-stall, one of Lall Koor's particular friends, was promoted to a high rank, with a suitable jaghire, and her relations exalted to the emperor's favour, which they used to promote the interests of the courtiers, for large bribes: nor did the nobility decline their patronage, but forgetting their honour, and sacrificing decency to present advantage, eagerly flocked to pay adoration to the royal idols, whose gates were more crowded with equipages in general than those of the imperial palace. The ridiculous jaunts of the emperor and his mistress at last grew to such a height, that on a certain night, after spending the day in debauchery, and visiting different gardens near the city, in company with Zohera the herb-woman, they retired to the house of one of her acquaintance who sold spirits, with which they all became intoxicated. After rewarding the woman with a large sum, and *the grant of a village*, they returned in a drunken plight to the palace, and all three fell asleep on the road. On their arrival, Lall Koor was taken out by her women ; but the emperor remained sleeping in the chariot, and the driver, who had shared in the jollity of his royal master, without examining the machine, carried it to the stables. The officers of the palace, after waiting till near morning for his arrival, on finding that the mistress had entered her apartments without the Emperor, were alarmed for his safety, and sent to her to enquire concerning his situation. She desired them immediately to examine the coach, where they found the wretched prince fast asleep in the arms of Zohera, at the distance of nearly two miles from the palace."*

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* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 79.

Compared with the high and dignified deportment on the Mogul throne, of the more virtuous sovereigns of the race of Timur, how infinitely degrading was this conduct in one of that illustrious line ! There can scarcely exist a doubt but that Zoolfecar, who must have despised this silly pageant of his usurped authority, only suffered him to fill that throne until he could by heaping up sufficient wealth raise an army to secure it for himself. His own conduct, however, though in a different line, was equally disgusting, and a powerful party of discontented Omrahs were acting in secret to undermine both the silly monarch and his guilty minister. At the head of this party were *two* nobles, brothers, of uncommon wealth and influence, called Seyd Abdollah Khan, and Seyd Hossain Khan. They had both been firmly attached to, and had faithfully served, the late Emperor, whose son, Azem Ooshawn had rewarded them, the former with the government of Allahabad, and the latter with the province of Bahar. On his death and the consequent troubles they had both raised, with the imperial revenues, considerable bodies of troops, as well for their own safety as that of the countries they governed: at least, such was their pretence. Their known attachment, however, to Azem Ooshawn, and his father rendering their motives for arming suspected, Jehaundar Shah had appointed another governor to Allahabad, whom Abdollah had opposed, defeated, and driven back. One only son survived to Ooshawn, named Furrukseer, who resided in Bengal, and to him the eyes of the dissatisfied omrahs of Delhi were turned. The chiefs above-mentioned, whose resentment the court by subsequent favours had in vain endeavoured to appease, heartily joined in the projected revolution, and united their forces to raise Furrukseer to that throne which his father had lost. The standard of rebellion being thus raised in Bengal, multitudes daily flocked to it, and the prince, accompanied by the Seyds, moved towards Agra amidst the acclamations of an indignant people, who were filled with equal detestation at an ideot king, and a sanguinary minister.

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* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 82.

At the height of his abused authority, and in the midst of his debaucheries, a report being suddenly propagated at Delhi that Furrukseer was in full march for the capital, with intent to revenge his father's death, and seize the throne, the whole court was struck with consternation. The great power and wealth of the Seyds too were well known, and firmauns containing additional grants and mighty promises were dispatched without delay, to secure their loyalty, or if engaged in the rebel cause, to detach them from it. Their choice, however, was irrevocably fixed. A body of the imperial troops being put in motion, the ameer al omrah fearing to leave the whole power in the hands of his enemies, refused to take the command of them; and at length, in the distracted councils of the moment, it was resolved to place at the head of them, Aiz ad Dien, eldest son of Jehaundar Shah, quite a youth, under the tutelage of Dowran Khan, and other officers, not much more experienced than himself. On the army's arrival at Agra it received considerable reinforcements, but not of the most formidable description of soldiers; and the march was continued to Kidgwa, where the great battle before described between Aurungzeb and Sultan Sujah was fought. At this spot Furrukseer and the two Seyds had previously arrived with an army consisting of about 70,000 horse and foot, mostly adventurers, and hoping to benefit themselves by a revolution.

Abdollah Khan, accompanied by some other officers, going out early the next morning to reconnoitre the enemy's position, was attacked by a party of royalists, which brought on a partial action, and afterwards a cannonade on both sides, which lasted till evening; and at midnight the young prince and his general, Dowran, magnanimously fled in a woman's covered pallankin, nor stopped till they arrived at Agra. In the morning, when the army found themselves deserted by their chief, the greater part enlisted under the banners of Furrukseer; and the rest disbanded. On receiving intelligence of this disaster, Jehaundar took the field in person, and moved towards Agra, where a large army was soon collected by a lavish expenditure of the royal treasures that had been accumulating there from the time of Shah Jehan. Formidable by their numbers, and not deficient in valour and discipline, for many of them were veteran soldiers, and had fought under Aurungzeb, if attachment to the royal cause had not been wanting, they probably would have triumphed over the insurgents: but the great Omrahs had for the most part been disgusted by the absurd and tyrannical conduct of the court, and, when the two armies at length met on the banks of the Jumna, the contest was neither long nor arduous. Zoolfecar, indeed, at the head of a few determined battalions, displayed his usual courage as a man, and his abilities as a commander; but the great body of the army was soon broken by the resolute and repeated charges of the Seyds, and Furrukseer in person, who pierced through to their artillery, near which Jehaundar had taken his station, but which was deserted as they approached. The terrified Emperor immediately sought safety in flight, and disappearing from his elephant, the route became general and complete. Amidst this scene of dismay and confusion, the ameer-al-omrah bravely stood his ground till darkness covered the field; he then slowly retired to Shaw Gunge, near the city, where he remained till midnight, dispatching messengers on all sides in search of the Emperor, in the hope, if he could be found, of rallying the troops, and renewing the attack the next morning. Jehaundar however was not to be found, and Zoolfecar, with the remainder of the army, marched towards Delhi. Thither, also, Furrukseer with his victorious army, immediately directed his progress, and was, by his two protectors, elevated to the throne of Timur. The wretched Jehaundar was afterwards taken, having in vain disguised himself by shaving off his beard and whiskers, and was strangled in prison. Thus every one of the four brothers, who had contended for the empire, fell in his turn the victim of that insatiable ambition which had been the occasion of so profusely shedding the blood of the race of Timur; and, in the end, Zoolfecar himself, the fomenter of their disputes, miserably perished by the same fatal bow-string. As a public example, at once, of imperial imbecility, and of great abilities prostituted to the basest purposes, their bodies were afterwards tied together, and with their heads downwards, slung across an elephant, in which condition they were exposed to public view, when the new Emperor made his triumphal entry into Delhi.*

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* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, page final.

FURRUKSEER.

Furrukseer, often written Feroksere, grandson of Bahadur, and great grandson of Aurungzeb, being firmly seated on the throne, appointed Abdollah Seyd his Vizier, and raised his brother Hossain to the rank of Ameer al Omrah. For a long time these powerful nobles, as well on account of their distinguished stations in the realm, as of the weight of obligation by which Furrukseer was bound to them, were suffered to have the sole administration of public affairs. Like their predecessors however in power, in every age and country, they grossly abused this delegated authority, and Furrukseer too soon found himself fettered by even more oppressive bonds than Jehaundar himself. Although not of brilliant abilities, he possessed a mind far more vigorous than the dethroned monarch, and by separating the brothers, he hoped to weaken their power and influence in the state. As, therefore, during the desolating wars that had recently taken place between the sons and the grandsons of Aurungzeb, the Rajapouts, and in particular, the Maharajah himself, Ajeet Sing, sovereign of Marwar, had been guilty of the most daring acts of rebellion, levelling the mosques, and re-erecting the temples of the Hindoo deities, destroyed by Aurungzeb, it was proposed that Seyd Hossain, the brother most experienced in arms, should march against the insurgents at the head of the imperial troops. The project was seen through by the sagacious Seyds, for they well knew that a secret combination of courtiers, headed by one Meer Jumla, a worthless minion, in high favour with the Emperor, was formed against them; but a full confidence in the strength of their own party, added to the pressing necessity which existed, that some exertion should be made to crush the Rajapout rebellion, induced Hossain to consent to the acceptance of the command. By a policy equally despicable and ruinous, encouragement was secretly given, from court to Ajeet to persevere in his resistance to the imperial army, sent to subdue him, in order that Hossain might be detained as long as possible in that region; but Hossain, who received frequent letters from his brother, with intelligence of the proceedings of the opposite faction at Delhi, informing him that they were about to imprison them, and intreating his speedy return, carried on the war with such decisive spirit and vigour against the enemy, as quickly compelled them to sue for quarter. The terms of peace were the immediate payment of a large peshcush, the daughter of Ajeet, to be given in marriage to the Emperor, and his son to be sent to court as an hostage for his future good behaviour. After concluding this treaty, he returned with the utmost expedition to Delhi,

On his arrival at court, the ameer al omrah found every thing in confusion; the Emperor's confidential minister, Meer Jumla, disposing at his pleasure of all places and emoluments, and Abdollah Seyd, vizier only in name. Accused to their sovereign of direct disloyalty, he had resolved to seize on both their persons; but the knowledge of the intended arrest coming to their ears, they found means to render unavailing the plots laid to ensnare them, and now determined to act a more decisive part. They declined all attendance at court, on the plea that their lives were in danger from the intrigues of the favourite; they even levied troops and fortified themselves in their palaces, while Furrukseer and the courtly cabal held daily councils what were the best measures to be taken, pacific or hostile, with men of such vast resources, extensive connections, and daring ambition. It was found impossible for Meer Jumla and themselves to hold exalted stations under the same imperial roof, as great public measures could not be for ever subject to the caprice of an individual. In this dreadful situation all public business was suspended; every body saw that a great storm was ready to burst; but nobody could resolve who were to be the victims. At length the court faction deemed it expedient to give way; the mother of the Emperor, who had guaranteed the treaty between her sons and the Seyds, when they first took up arms in his favour, interfered to prevent a rupture that must again convulse the empire, and it was finally agreed that Meer Jumla should be promoted to the government of Bahar, to which he should immediately retire, while Hossain was promoted to the richer soubahdary of Deccan, which he obtained permission for the present to govern by deputy.

Harmony being thus restored at court, by the removal of the obnoxious favourite, the most splendid preparations commenced for celebrating the nuptials of Furrukseer, with the daughter of the Maharajah, an union which it was hoped would prove a public benefit, by blending in one, the interests of the two great contending powers, whose sanguinary conflicts, for four centuries, had entailed so many disasters on India. Nothing, even in the days of the magnificent Shah Jehan, ever exceeded the pomp of those nuptials, for a love of splendour and ostentation was the characteristic of that vain prince, who was not stained with any deep crimes, but wanted fortitude and judgment. He was only unfortunate in having his hands fettered by those who placed him on the throne; and from whose tyrannical usurped power, he was for ever, but in vain, struggling to get released. Somewhat previously to this period, (A. D. 1715), arrived at Delhi, the ambassadors sent from Calcutta by our East India Company, as mentioned in a former page, and they are said to have been materially indebted for their success to the medical abilities of Mr. Hamilton, surgeon to the embassy, who by an operation, skilfully performed, restored the Emperor to health, when given over by his own physicians, for which, among other rewards, (and much greater were intended) he was presented with models of all his surgical instruments in pure gold.*

Hossain at length commenced his journey for the Deccan; but when he had his final audience, he resolutely told the Emperor, that if any sinister designs were put in practice against his brother, the Vizier, he would in twenty days be with his army at the gates of Delhi. To make way for him, that old and favourite general of Aurungzeb, the NIZAM, had been removed, and for the temporary loss of his government, he meditated against the Seyds a deep, though concealed revenge. When arrived at Brampore, on the frontiers of that soubah, his authority was resisted by Daood Khan, an Afghan, the deputy appointed to govern during his absence, and secretly instigated, it was thought, by the Emperor, to oppose and cut him off. For this purpose he had received into his pay a body of Mahrattas, commanded by one of the principal chiefs of that nation, and encamping under the walls of Brampore, with confidence awaited the attack of the royalists. The engagement was obstinate and bloody; and at one time, even doubtful on the side of Hossain; but as the Afghan chief rushed forward with his elephant, to end the conflict by a personal combat with his antagonist, at that instant a matchlock ball entered his breast, and he fell dead upon his elephant. The Mahrattas, who, with their usual perfidy, had stood neuter at some distance, till it could be perceived which army was likely to prove triumphant, now pressed forward to join the victor, and share the plunder, which was very considerable. A part of it, with the intelligence of Daood's defeat, was transmitted to the Emperor, who received it in a manner that decisively proved to the Vizier his deep regret that, instead of the Afghan, the imperial general had not perished.

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* Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 139, ubi supra.

Towards the close of this year, the Seiks, who during the late public disturbances, had multiplied considerably, and become very formidable, again appeared in arms. The governors of Lahore and Sirhind * were successively sent against them, but the former was defeated with great slaughter, and the latter basely assassinated in his tent by a Seik, sent for the purpose by Bunda, their chief, the same who had escaped by night when the fortress of Daber was invested by Bahadur. The governor of Cashmere now took the field, at the head of an army quadrupled in number, and was successfull. They were exterminated without mercy, and Bunda himself being taken, and refusing to turn Mahommedan, first had his infant child butchered before his face, and its palpitating heart forced (horrible atrocity!) into the wretched father's mouth; and was himself afterwards put to death, by having his flesh torn from his bones with red hot pincers, and other exquisite tortures; all which he bore with undaunted firmness. It may here be remarked, that from the rooted hatred borne by this sect towards the Mahommedans, their stern oppressors, the wars between them have ever been carried on with the most unrelenting barbarity.

About this time, the banished favourite, Meer Jumla, arrived at Delhi, from his exile in Bahar, not, it was thought, without a secret invitation from the Emperor. His imprudent conduct had greatly embarrassed the affairs of that province, and the outrages committed by his officers on the inhabitants, had nearly occa-

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* "The Seiks now possess the provinces of Lahore, Panjab, and Multan, with great part of Delhi, and bands of them have more than once made inroads into the Nabob Vizier's dominions, but have been as often easily repelled by the approach of a British army." Note by Captain Scott, 1794.

sioned a general insurrection. This event seemed to forbode the immediate downfall of the Vizier, who, filled with just apprehension, summoned and armed his dependents in all the neighbouring districts.

The Emperor, also having neglected to discharge the arrears due to a body of twenty thousand cavalry, which he had ordered to be raised in a crisis of difficulty, that body, on being dismissed, mutinied, and between them and the Vizier's armed followers, the agitated city was thrown into the utmost confusion. When the ferment was at its highest, Furrukseer, ever precipitate, and equally irresolute in his plans, prudently gave way; he consented to satisfy the disbanded troops, and allayed the suspicions of the Vizier, by sending the favourite once more into banishment at Lahore.

Thus did every exertion of the unfortunate Emperor, ultimately, only tend to bind him faster in those chains, with which the Seyds had manacled their devoted victim. Numerous were the other projects, to which he resorted to emancipate himself, but they are unworthy to be recorded in the dignified page of serious history, which seizes only on the great features and striking characters of each reign, and leaves minor characters and incidents to perish in deserved oblivion. The Mahrattas, now rising into great power and consequence, are eminently entitled to that distinguished notice, and to them and the affairs of Deccan we return.

The reader has already seen Aurungzeb engaged in active hostility against them during all the latter period of his life. Sahojee, or, as he is sometimes denominated, the Sou-rajah, the reigning sovereign, continuing to act with the same vigour and caution as his ancestors, had, during the dissensions that raged between the sons and grandsons of Aurungzeb, widely extended his power, and added vastly to his domains in Viziapore, and the neighbouring Soubahs; harassing, as usual, on their march, the armies of the Mogul governors, and every where, on the old pretence of being *lords of the soil*, rigidly exacting the CHOUT, or fourth part of the revenues. The Ameer al Omrah, filled with indignation at their continual depredations on the imperial domains, determined to curb the insolence of that people. Being informed that they had erected a chain of forts on the high road between Surat and Brampore, from which they issued in large bodies, and compelled merchants and travellers to pay a *fourth* part of their property, or, in case of resistance, plundered them of the whole; he dispatched an army of four thousand horse, and as many foot, to expel the robbers, and raze the forts. The force thus detached was utterly inadequate to the undertaking; and the commander being outgeneraled, and drawn into ambush, they were defeated, and the whole detachment either killed, or taken prisoners. An army, far more powerful, under approved commanders, was afterwards sent against them; but with these troops the wary Mahratta chief was reluctant to contend in the open field, and retreated to Sattarah; at that time the capital of the Mahratta state, in the strong fortress of which Sahojee himself resided. Still, however, his predatory bands continued their depredations; on their fleet horses, scouring uncontrolled the open country, and plundering and burning wherever they came, but ever cautiously avoiding a general engagement.

It was now resolved to lay siege in form to Sattarah, and crush the evil at its source; but, at this instant, letters were received at Aurungabad, informing Hossain of the dissentions raging at Delhi, and moreover, that the Emperor had sent private orders to Sahojee, and all the persons of authority in Deccan, to oppose and distress his own governor there. Enraged to the last degree at this intelligence, he immediately recalled the troops marching to invest Sattarah, and instead of farther irritating the Mahrattas, he resolved to make friends of that powerful confederacy, and bind them to his own interest, and that of his brother. He offered them terms degrading to the imperial dignity, and suffered them to have a resident at Aurungabad, to receive the *choute*, with the addition of what is called *deesmukkee*, or ten rupees in each hundred collected; a right not satisfactorily explained. The emperor, whose perfidy was thus retorted upon his own head, dared not refuse to ratify the treaty; but with increased assiduity laboured to undermine that power which he could not openly control. This admission of the exorbitant claims of the Mahrattas, in the governor of Deccan, was to the last degree impolitic, and laid the imperial crown of Timur at their feet. After this period, how rapidly their power and consequence increased in India, how bold their aggressions, and how shameless their extortions, the future pages of this history will too frequently demonstrate.

Before we come to the close of this reign of disaster and imbecility, another description of people must also be noticed, who were now becoming formidable by their numbers, and their outrages, I mean the Jats, or Jauts, who made their first appearance during Aurungzeb's prolonged wars in the south, as an intrepid band of robbers, and as such, received chastisement from that prince, who, on being informed of their depredations, sent from Deccan a strong detachment to reduce them. They are said to be descended from the ancient tribe of the JITS, who possessed the banks of the Indus, as far back as the reign of Mahmud of Gazna. They seem to have been the Getes, upon whom Timur, in his invasion of India made war, and were probably not unconnected with the Getæ of classical historians.

Their ferocious, predatory habits, seem to justify their presumed descent from those barbarians. It should not be omitted, however, that the word JATE, in Hindoo, signifies a husbandman, from which some have derived their name, however different their practice. Under a succession of daring chiefs, they gradually extended themselves along the banks of the Jumna river, and in the vicinity of Agra, and about this time broke into open rebellion. Rajah Jey Sing was sent by Furrukseer at the head of a considerable force to bring them to obedience; but taking refuge among their strong fortresses, they resisted all his efforts to subdue them for nearly a year, when, by bribes sent to the Vizier, who wished to secure their assistance, in any crisis of difficulty, together with a large pescush paid into the royal treasury, they obtained the recall of the troops under Jey Sing, who was greatly disgusted at having victory thus ravished from his grasp.

That crisis was rapidly approaching; the deposition of the Emperor was determined upon by the enraged brothers. In vain had Furrukseer summoned around him, from various and distant quarters, all the great vassals of the empire, in full confidence that they would support him against their usurpation. The artful Vizier held out alluring bribes to their ambition; and his brother was in full march from Deccan, with an army devoted to his interests, and ready, by one decisive blow, to crush every opponent. That army consisted of thirty thousand horse, ten thousand of which were Mahrattas. They poured, in a resistless torrent, into the capital, occupied the great squares, and filled all the avenues of the palace. Furrukseer, in a paroxysm of terror, fled into his haram, the doors of which, with barbarous violence were burst open, and the pusillanimous monarch was dragged from the midst of the shrieking females, who composed his family, not indeed to immediate death, but to confinement in a dark chamber, over one of the gates of the palace, where he was blinded with a hot iron. Attempting, however, soon after, to make his escape from his gloomy prison, he was assassinated, according to Fraser, on the 16th of February, 1719, after an inglorious, distracted reign of about seven years.*

The triumphant brothers now reigned without control, dividing among themselves and their adherents, the imperial treasures, jewels, elephants and horses; and Abdollah Seyd, who, to unbounded ambition, added unbridled lust, seized for his own use several ladies of the royal haram. Their principal agent in these and other atrocious transactions, was a venal and unprincipled wretch, named Ruttun Chund, their Dewan, or steward, who had long exercised a supreme control over the revenues of the empire, which he had farmed out to wretches, venal and extortionate as himself. Under him every thing had its allotted price; in that empire honours and titles were brought to a public mart, and all distinction between virtue and vice seemed to be annihilated. Although *they* may be truly said to have *reigned*, yet a nominal sovereign of the blood of Timur, an imperial pageant, was deemed necessary to their security, and therefore proceeding to the castle of SELIMGUR, in which the royal princes were confined, they took out of its solitary chambers,

RAFFEH AL DIRJAT,

the son of Raffeh Ooshawn above mentioned, and placed him on the vacant throne. He was quite a youth, and had neither voice nor will of his own, while all the great offices of state, and the most lucrative governments were filled with the friends, and dependants of the Seyds. The Vizier took possession of the palace, whence the eunuchs and other domestics, grown old in the service of the royal family, were ejected, to make room for the creatures of the new dynasty. They were cautious, however, of offending the more powerful among the old nobility. Sirbullind Khan, an omrah of great weight and influence, and at that time on his way to Cabul, at the head of a considerable army, was confirmed in his recent appointment to the government of that province, and adorned with new honours. To conciliate Nizam al Muluck, formidable both for his great military and political knowledge, the soubahdary of Malva was conferred upon him, whence he soon *appointed himself* to his former government of the Deccan, for we find him established there in great power, and the object of dread to the tottering brothers, in the first year of the reign of Mahommed Shah. He will soon become an important actor in the scenes, the eventful and sanguinary scenes, without parallel in the history of nations, about to pass in rapid succession, before the view of the reader.

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* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 45.

The aim of the Seyds, in exalting to the throne so juvenile a prince, was, doubtless, that they might enjoy uncontrolled, during a long minority, the imperial power. But in this expectation they were grievously disappointed, for, after a nominal reign of about four months, the young emperor died of a consumption. Fraser says he was murdered by them; but as there appears no adequate cause to have excited them to such wanton barbarity, they may reasonably be presumed guiltless of that crime. They now raised to the same painful pre-eminence his younger brother,

RAFFEH AL DOWLAT;

But his reign was still shorter, for in less than three months he also died, it is said, a natural death, though there are writers of respectability, who, arguing possibly from the atrocious character, and the wavering politics of the Seyds, assert that both of these unfortunate princes perished by the hand of assassination. A son of that Jehaun Shah noticed before as so distinguished by valour and abilities, a youth of about seventeen, yet remained in the prison-palace of Selimgur, and India saw a ray of transient glory illumine her horizon, when Sultan Rooshun Akber, under the assumed title of

MAHOMMED SHAH,

assumed that throne for which his father died contending. When the last pageant emperor died, the brothers were with the army at Agra, the governor of which city had rebelled, but being vigorously pressed, and despairing of pardon from his pursuers he put himself to death, and immediately the citadel surrendered at discretion. The mother of Mahommed, a woman of deep policy and sound judgment, attended her son to Agra, and devoted her attention to acquire confidence of the brothers, while the emperor himself was in all things scrupulously subservient to their will. This subserviency, however, in both mother and son was the result of the deepest hypocrisy, and they privately meditated plans for the overthrow of the haughty disposers of the throne, and destroyers of the race of Timur.

Shortly after the governor of Allahabad, who had been insulted by the brothers, raised the standard of independence, and the royal army began its march towards that quarter. A negotiation, however, commenced; the Seyds thought it prudent to relax a little from the stern severity of their despotism, and matters were amicably adjusted. The army now prepared to march against a more formidable rebel to their authority, the Nizam, who bade them defiance, and had collected a considerable army of mussulman and Mahratta troops to support his opposition. The

Emperor is said secretly to have encouraged his rebellion, and to have sent him a firmaun constituting him Soubah of Deccan in the place of Hossain. He was likewise encouraged to persevere by many of the discontented nobles at court who were grown weary of the insolence and tyranny of the usurpers, whom they hoped to crush, if they could be separated. The iniquitous Dewan saw into the projected scheme to ruin his protectors, and strongly advised the ameer al omrah not to proceed with the army to Deccan, but to make peace with the Nizam by a voluntary resignation to him of the government of that province. At this latter idea the pride of Hossain revolted, though he was easily persuaded to send an army commanded by another general against his antagonist. That general, however, and a second who followed him at the head of a still larger army, were successively and totally defeated by the experienced veteran who had so often led to victory the armies of Aurungzeb, and, at length, after great debate and irresolution between the brothers, in which their dread of the result was evident to the young sovereign and the whole court, it was determined that Abdollah, the Visier, should return to Delhi, and Hossain with the emperor march with the army to Deccan.

This plan of operations exactly coinciding with the wishes of those who had combined for their destruction, no time was lost in preparing for the expedition. In October 1720, according to Fraser, the imperial army left Agra, and having marched nine measured coss the first day, the emperor called a *divan* that night, and, after a short stay, withdrew. The conspirators, Mahommed Ameen Khan, an omrah high in favour with the emperor, Hyder Kuli Khan, the general of the artillery, and Dowran Khan, with several others, had fixed on that very evening for the assassination of the ameer al omrah, and as he was returning from the audience in his pallankin, one of them on whom it had fallen (for it was decided by casting lots) to strike the fatal blow, approached it with a petition, at the same time crying aloud for vengeance on Mahommed Ameen Khan. At these words, which conveyed no unwelcome sounds to the ears of his bitterest enemy, he ordered the guards to stop, and while he was perusing the petition, the noble assassin struck his dagger into his breast, and immediately fell beneath a thousand swords plunged into his own. His followers, who were numerous, immediately flew to arms to revenge his death, but proper arrangements having been previously made, and the artillery being commanded by Hyder Kuli, the contest was soon decided; and the emancipated emperor, having publicly appointed the Nizam to the soubahdary of all Deccan, exultingly returned to Agra. Mahommed Ameen was appointed Visier, Dowran ameer al omrah, and on all who had assisted in the overthrow of the fallen Hossain were bestowed the most distinguished honours and rewards.*

When the fatal intelligence of a brother slain, and what might be truly called an empire lost, arrived at Delhi, it excited in Abdollah the mingled sensations of exquisite grief and high resentment. Resentment, however, prevailing, he immediately burst open the royal treasury, and robbed the peacock throne of its finest jewels,† in order to purchase the assistance of all who could bring a horse or arms, and by this means was enabled in a short time to raise a promiscuous army of 80,000 men; of whom not a few, after receiving their pay, deserted his standard. Many great omrahs, however, who owed their honours and fortunes to the Seyds, with their followers remained faithful to his cause, and to give it still more weight and consequence, he took out of his imprisonment Sultan IBRAHIM, the infant son of Raffeh Ooshawn, caused him publickly to be proclaimed emperor, and placing him at the head of the forces, marched out of Delhi to meet and combat the imperial army. That army was already rapidly advancing towards the capital; and both received in their progress great multitudes of auxiliary troops, Afghans, Jauts, and other adventurers, ever ready, in hopes of plunder, to join in the contests of the princes of India. Not to enter into military details disgusting by their uniformity, the important battle that was to fix the crown on the head of Mahommed Shah, or rend the sceptre for ever from his grasp, took place, according to Fraser, on the 2d of November, 1720, at Sirkad, twelve coss from Muttra. It was long, obstinate, and bloody, but in the end Abdollah's forces were defeated, and himself desperately wounded, and taken prisoner. The victorious Emperor on this occasion exerted a benignity that did honour to his heart. Abdollah being brought before him, after being severely reproved, was dismissed with no other punishment than that confinement which the monarch's security rendered necessary, had the palace of Asoph al Dowlat assigned him for his residence, and a princely establishment settled upon him, which, however, he did not long enjoy, as he died a few months afterwards of his wounds. The same clemency was also shown to the young Sultan, who was only remanded to his former apartments in the castle of Selimgur. In short, no sovereign ever enjoyed victory with more moderation, nor re-ascended a contested throne under more happy auspices than Mahommed Shah. The vigour and decision with which he had acted awed to obedience the refractory governors in the distant provinces; tranquillity was again restored to the distracted empire; and the most confident hopes were entertained that his reign would be not less glorious than those of the most distinguished sovereigns of the house of Timur.

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* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 55. Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 177.

† Fraser says, "he broke to pieces the famous *peacock throne*, which cost Shah Jehan nine crores," or as many millions sterling; but that imperial pageant we know afterwards became the plunder of Nadir Shah. I have, therefore, mitigated the outrage to a partial depredation of its jewels.

CHAPTER V.

Great Change in the Conduct of MAHOMMED, *who becomes indolent, and enervated.—The* NIZAM *invited to Delhi, and made Vizier, but soon retires in disgust to Deccan, and there meditates Independence.—He incites the Mahrattas to invade Agra and Delhi.—They are defeated, but renew their Irruptions in greater Numbers.—The Emperor at length purchases their Retreat by submitting to pay the* CHOUTE *for those Provinces, from which Period the Fall of the Mogul Monarchy may be dated.—Distractions at Court.—Character of* SADIT KHAN.*—He conspires with the Nizam, and they invite* NADIR SHAH *to invade India.—That Invasion described.—Consequent Ruin of the Empire.—Death of the Nizam.—Death of Mahommed.*

THE Oriental historian describes the triumphal entry of Mahommed into his capital, after the destruction of the Seyds, to have been one of the most splendid and magnificent pomps ever seen. He himself was mounted on an elephant of uncommon magnitude and beauty, most sumptuously adorned with housings of gold brocade, and sparkling with precious stones. This was preceded and attended with several other led elephants and horses adorned with equal magnificence; while the travelling thrones and other carriages of the Emperor, glittering with gold and enamel, dazzled the eyes of the beholders. The troops of the household and the nobility were all newly clothed for the occasion, and the great omrahs vied with each other in the magnificence of their appearance. Gold and silver coins were scattered in profusion among the populace, whose acclamations of joy at the restoration of the imperial authority rent the heavens. On his entering the palace he was met by his mother and the princesses bearing golden basons, filled with jewels, which they waved in triumph around his head; and the principal nobility presented *nuzzurs* (gifts) of the most costly kind. Of a reign thus happily and splendidly begun, it is painful to the historian to relate the unfortunate incidents that marked its progress, and its calamitous termination.

Those powerful enemies, those creators and destroyers of sovereigns, being crushed, and no public foe remaining to be subdued, Mahommed soon relaxed from the vigour that distinguished his early councils, and resigned himself to those seducing pleasures that had proved so fatal to many of his predecessors. He was in the prime of youth with every incentive of pleasure around him, and all the means of gratifying the passions predominant at that season were within his reach. His favourite minister Dowran Khan, the prince of the omrahs, though not without abilities and great military talents, was, also, not less devoted to dissipation than his master; and the new Visier, Kammer o'deen Khan, all young like the monarch, was of the same dissolute description. The sword was returned to the scabbard, as if danger had ceased to exist; days, months, and even years rolled on in circles of ever-varying delight; virtue was without honour, and valour without its reward.

In the mean time, those ancient enemies of the empire, the Rajapouts, took advantage of the supine indolence in which the court was plunged, and spread desolation through Ajmere, and the central provinces; while the Mahrattas, defeating and expelling the Mogul governors, without control extended their growing empire over Guzzurat, and the whole western coast. The Nizam, having collected a powerful army in Deccan, preserved that region and the peninsula from their ravages, but it was not for the Emperor that he preserved it. He had long aspired at independence, and was now taking the most effectual means of securing that extensive portion of the empire for himself and his posterity. A sensible writer* has well observed, that it would have been a fortunate circumstance for the Mogul emperors had they never attempted to make conquests in Deccan, as its great distance from the capital, as well as its innumerable local advantages, held out a perpetual temptation to the viceroy to make himself independent; and that probably, if the Deccan had been originally left to itself, the posterity of Timur might have still swayed the sceptre of Hindostan. The vast armies necessary for its subjugation in the first instance, and the reduction of its rebellious governors in the second, were an eternal drain upon the capital, and left the northern provinces of Lahore and Cabul without an adequate army for the defence of those frontier provinces through which Mahmud, Timur, and, as we shall soon see, a still more dreadful conqueror, Nadir, made their destructive irruptions.

Immersed in shameless debauchery, no active vigorous exertions were taken by Mahommed and his ministers to check the torrent of insubordination that threatened to subvert the empire. Palliatives were alone used to check the advances of the two former, the chief of the Rajapouts, Ajeet Sing, being confirmed in the government of Ajmere, from which it had been attempted to remove him, and the choute being allowed to the Mahrattas by the Mogul governor of Guzzurat. With respect to the Nizam, every effort was made to inveigle him to court, and the high station of Vizier was promised him; but for a long time the crafty viceroy resisted every solicitation. At length, however, being still more closely pressed, by letters from the emperor himself, and having settled matters on a firm basis in Deccan, he resorted thither at the head of a well-disciplined army of 10,000 men, as his guard, on whose fidelity in any emergency he knew he might place an entire dependence. Thus attended he met with a most gracious reception from the emperor, was appointed Absolute Agent, a rank higher than Vizier, and honoured with the title of Asof Jah.*

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* Major Rennell.

The Nizam, educated in the rigid school of Aurungzeb, and attached to his maxims both in politics and war, immediately urged upon the Emperor the necessity that existed for restoring the affairs of government to their ancient order and discipline; for a total reformation of manners; and a strict observance of the wise but severe laws enacted by that great man. Mahommed, who had recently married a daughter of the late emperor, Furrukseer, and at intervals was capable of serious reflection, listened to the hoary monitor, then in his eightieth year, with attention and respect, but his profligate courtiers ridiculed his projects of reform, which agreed not with the dissoluteness of their manners, and endeavoured to divert the Emperor's mind from attending to his grave admonitions by renewed dissipations. On the other hand, the veteran warrior, finding no efforts made to put those admonitions into practice, and disdaining to be the associate of men, who passed their whole time with abandoned women and low buffoons, solicited permission to march with his army into Guzzurat, and restore order in that distracted province. That permission was easily obtained, and the courtiers viewed with joy the departure of a man of power too strong to be opposed, and of manners too inflexibly rigid to be seduced. The rebellion that had been secretly cherished by himself in Guzzurat was soon allayed by his presence in that province, to be excited again whensoever it suited the determined purposes of his ambition. The Mahrattas, indeed, were now become the necessary engines of that ambition, and shortly after his return to Deccan, without leave, he again solicited them to avert the vengeance that was fulminated against him from Delhi. He entered into an agreement with Rajah Sahoo, that a large body of that nation should immediately march northwards, and, ravaging all before them, penetrate even to the vicinity of Agra and Delhi. He hoped by this bold measure to rouze from their dream of indolence the luxurious emperor, and his besotted ministers, and that they might see and feel the absolute necessity of defending themselves and protecting the throne before they ventured to march an imperial army into Deccan.

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* Asof Jah, says Mr. Fraser, is a title commonly given to Viziers. It signifies, in place and rank as Asof, whom, they say, was Solomon's Vizier. At the same time that they honour their Viziers with this title, they flatter their own vanity, by comparing themselves to Solomon.

In consequence, the Mahrattas, under the command of their most celebrated general, Bajerow, in 1730 commenced that fatal invasion, which with one tremendous sweep laid for ever low the humbled majesty of the empire. Their first attack was on Malva and Guzzurat, where the Mogul governor for some time made a vigorous resistance, but timely succours not being sent from Delhi, they were finally defeated, the country was extensively devastated, and has ever since remained in the hands of the conquerors. Bahadur, the viceroy of Malva, who died bravely fighting at the head of the provincial troops, wrote several remonstrative letters to the ministers, and told them in the most positive terms, that if properly supported, while he lived he would prevent the Mahrattas from pursuing their conquests further northward; but that if he fell, and they passed the frontiers of

Malva, they would infallibly over-run the whole empire. Bahadur was not supported, fell at his post, and, on his death, the prophecy was too amply verified. It seems to have been the aim of the Visier to subdue the enemies of the empire, not by arms, but by intrigue and bribery, a glaring proof of which was soon exhibited in the regular appointment by a firmaun of Bajerow to the soubahdary of Malva, thus rivetting the power which a more enlarged policy should have resisted to the last gasp of the expiring empire. But, observes the Oriental historian, the subtle fox cannot overcome the lion; and it was not by imprudent concession that such men as Bajerow and the Nizam were to be checked in the career of their insatiable ambition.

Notwithstanding, therefore, these ill-judged attempts at pacification we find the Mahrattas, in 1732, rapidly advancing their hostile legions towards Agra, and plundering even the districts appropriated to the support of the royal household. Thus insulted, and even braved, it became impossible for the imperial army to remain any longer inactive. It took the field in great force under the command of Muzzuffir, the Visier's brother, and every effort was made to bring on a general action with them; but the cautious Mahrattas declined, as usual, engaging him in the field. They contented themselves with perpetually harassing his line of march, and cutting off its supplies. The army, however, continued its progress without any opportunity of displaying its prowess, except in occasional skirmishes, till it reached Malva, where it met with the same mode of desultory attack which it had experienced in its march, and after a residence of some months at Sironje in that province, returned without having rendered any substantial service to the empire. The negative success that had attended the expedition was magnified by the Visier beyond victory; Muzziffir entered Delhi in triumph; and was presented with a rich tassel of jewels for the turban; an honour, seldom conferred, but on the most distinguished conquerors.

Repulse only inflamed the hostile fury of those marauders, and incited them to new aggressions. In 1734, they renewed their devastations in the neighbourhood of Gualior, and in the suburbs of Agra, when the ameer al omra and the visier took the field to oppose them. But the campaign again terminated without any signal success over an enemy that always fled at their approach, and still eluded every attempt to bring them to close action, while their excursive legions, spreading in all directions, plundered the country without mercy, and treated the inhabitants with the greatest cruelty. The following year a considerable body of them crossed the Jumna with intent to plunder the rich province of Oude, of which Sadit Khan, a general of great experience, of tried valour, and having under his command a body of troops of superior courage and discipline, was the governor. Sadit immediately marched against them, by his superior skill brought them to action, and after an obstinate engagement defeated them, took two of their principal officers, and killed 5000 of them.* In attempting to repass the Jumna vast numbers were drowned, and the general, Mullar Row with difficulty reached the camp of Bajerow near Gualior. Bajerow, not at all discouraged by this misfortune, prepared to act against the Moguls with increased vigour; while Sadit, flushed with his recent triumph, and burning for military glory resolved to follow up the blow, and, if possible, drive those barbarous invaders beyond the bounds of Hindostan Proper.

Intelligence being brought to Delhi of this signal defeat of the Mahrattas, the Vizier, and the prince of omrahs thinking the present a proper opportunity to strike a decisive blow, immediately put the imperial army in motion, and marched towards Agra. Sadit was already far advanced in his march towards Gualior, when he received orders from the imperial commanders to halt till he could join them with his forces, in order, that united, they might act with more effect against the common enemy. Those orders that chief very reluctantly obeyed, because he was well acquainted with the rapid motions of the foe with whom they had to contend, and the importance of expedition. What that sagacious commander had conjectured actually took place. Bajerow, knowing the capital was almost deserted of troops, at the head of his choicest and best mounted cavalry pushed forward with the rapidity of lightning to Feridabad, ten coss from Delhi, which place they plundered; and arrived in the suburbs of Delhi, before any tidings of his movement had reached that capital. The emperor, dissolved in pleasure, and the nobles and citizens utterly unprepared for resistance, were thrown into the utmost consternation. Paleness sate on every face, and despair reigned in every heart. Never before for ages had an armed enemy, not of the royal blood, or combating in defence of it, dared to approach so near the august abode of the race of Timur. For three successive days they continued plundering the wretched inhabitants, and laying in ruins whatever was valuable and sacred in the environs of that great city. On the fourth day, when they were on the point of entering the metropolis, arrived Sadit Khan, with the Vizier and ameer al omrah at the head of the imperial army, when the enemy was attacked, defeated and put to flight. They were pursued by the two latter as far as Alaverdi Khan's serai, about seven coss from Delhi, where being joined by others of their tribe, they made a resolute stand, and the two ministers, rather than hazard a second battle, consented to an inglorious compromise of their own honour and that of the empire, by agreeing to pay the Chout for Delhi and Agra, on condition of their immediately evacuating those provinces. Having thus obtained their object by an immense accumulation of plunder, and by laying the imperial throne itself under contribution, the Mahrattas retreated to Malva, and the Mogul army returned to Delhi, whence the brave Sadit Khan, disgusted at the base compact entered into with the determined enemies of the empire, abruptly, and without taking leave of the emperor, who by Dowran's persuasion had confirmed it, departed for his province. This fatal compact, which gave the death-blow to the empire, took place towards the close of the year 1735.*

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* Fraser, p. 66.

In the mean time the Nizam continued extending his conquests, and his influence in Deccan, and though in the receipt of a vast annual revenue, under the pretended necessity of keeping up a great standing army to over-awe the Mahrattas, remitted nothing to court. Nor were the accustomed revenues received from the rich provinces of Malva, Narwah, Biana, and Ajmere, which had been so ravaged by the Mahrattas that no taxes could be levied on the unfortunate inhabitants. In this perplexed situation of public affairs, and as the chief cause of that perplexity was known to arise from the discontent of the Nizam, new efforts were made by the emperor to pacify that omrah and allure him once more to court. The emperor was probably sincere in his wishes in the present emergency to have the benefit of the advice of so great a statesman; but his ministers could only desire his presence at Delhi, the sooner accomplish his destruction; and however incredible it may seem that so crafty a politician, as the viceroy of the Deccan, should again trust himself in the hands of those who considered him as the greatest obstacle to their projects, and plans, those efforts were successful. That event, according to Fraser, who was at that time in India, and might have obtained his information from an authentic quarter, was accomplished through the means of Mihr Parver, the emperor's grandmother, who had great influence over that omrah, and at his urgent request wrote to him letters, full of kindness, and assuring him that he should have the entire management of affairs at Delhi, provided he came without delay. He complied with her request, but met with no better treatment than before. The omrahs, not only disregarded him, but took all opportunities of affronting him, especially Dowran and his creatures, who, when he came to pay his respects at court, used to ridicule him, saying in a scoffing manner, *Observe how the* Deccan *monkey dances.* This usage having wrought him up to the highest pitch of inflamed resentment, he was resolved to revenge himself by distressing the empire, and destroying Dowran and his creatures. He imparted his design to the Vizier Kammir o'deen Khan, imagining he would join with him. But notwithstanding the alliance between them, (Nizam's son being married to the Vizier's daughter, and the Vizier's son to Nizam's daughter) he could not engage him to join in any plot detrimental to the public interest; on the contrary, he used his endeavours to dissuade him from the project, by representing to him the infamy of sacrificing his country to private resentment. When Nizam perceived he would not come into his measures, he applied himself to Sadit Khan, the Soubahdar of Oude, who then had a great body of men at his command, was an officer of experience, and had lately raised his reputation by his action with the Mahrattas; and, what was still more to his purpose, had, since that time, stood ill-affected towards the emperor and his favourite. These omrahs having entered into an agreement, it was resolved that Nadir Shah, ruler of Persia, who was then besieging Candahar, should be the instrument of distressing the emperor, and of removing Dowran from his counsels for ever.* Such is Fraser's concise statement of this important combination, by which a great though declining empire was utterly subverted, and an ancient dynasty plunged in irretrievable ruin. In describing the calamity itself, it will be necessary to go into a more extensive detail; for the annals of Asia record no event more momentous in its consequences than the invasion of India by NADIR SHAH.

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* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 66. Scott's Deccan, p. 201. Dow's Decline of the Mogul Empire, vol. iii. p. 316.

That conqueror, but newly seated on the usurped throne of Persia, on account of insults offered to his embassador, and of the protection afforded by the Mogul governor on the frontiers to the rebellious Afghans, his subjects, already harboured a secret resentment against the court of Delhi, but till the invitation received from those disaffected omrahs does not seem to have meditated any irruption of the extent and magnitude that afterwards took place. The splendour of the exploit, and the immensity of the plunder, by which the myriads who composed his army might be supported without oppressing Persia with new burthens, urged him to undertake an expedition by which his ambition and his avarice might at once be gratified. Having at length planted his victorious standards on the heights of Candahar, Nadir set out for Cabul, according to the before-mentioned author, at the head of 80,000 horse, composed of various nations and tribes, but all inured to hardships, and from their infancy trained to war. Nasser Khan, the governor of that soubah, having in vain solicited auxiliary troops from Delhi, retreated nearer the capital to Peishore, in hopes of making a more successful stand; but Sherzih Khan, the more resolute governor of the castle of Cabul, refused to surrender the keys, and defended both the city and castle for six weeks with the most undaunted bravery. During this period he wrote repeated letters to court for assistance; but none arriving, both city and castle were at length taken by storm, and he and his son were put to death. Nadir Shah found there treasure, jewels, arms, &c. to a vast amount, which had been laid up in vaults ever since the reign of Sultan Baber.*

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* Fraser, p. 69.

According to Sir W. Jones's summary but luminous account of this invasion, of which we shall now have the benefit, the Persian army lay encamped in the plains of Cabul till the middle of June, 1738, in which interval Nadir sent an expostulatory letter to the Mogul, containing a succinct narrative of the affront he had received, of his resolution to chastise the insolence of the Afghans, and of the obstruction made to his progress by the governor of Cabul; he declared, that he had strictly forbidden the least act of violence by his soldiers, and that he desired nothing so much as the continuance of their mutual friendship. This letter was entrusted to an envoy, who set out for Delhi attended by several chiefs of Cabul, who were enjoined to confirm the truth of his assertions: but, when they reached Gelalabad, the governor of that place put the Persian envoy to death, and compelled the chiefs of Cabul to return. Nadir Shah could no longer brook such a succession of injuries, but marched with great rapidity towards Gelalabad, 70 miles below Cabul, and, on the 28th of July, encamped at Kendemac, a place remarkable for the serenity of its air, and the beauties of its situation. From this place he detached a body of Persians against Gelalabad, who entered the city without opposition on the 10th of August: but the governor Mir Abbas, conscious of his crime, and fearing the punishment due to it, retreated to a fortress situated on a mountain of very difficult access. The Persians attacked his intrenchments, and took the fort by assault: Mir Abbas was killed, together with the Indians that attended him, and his family were sent in chains to the royal camp.

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* Fraser, p 132.

Soon after, the Persian army marched to the east of Gelalabad, and halted in the station of Rikab, where Nadir received intelligence of a formidable army, that was preparing to oppose him. Nasser Khan, governor of Cabul, had assembled on that spot a considerable body of Afghans and Indians, and was resolved to dispute with the Persian invaders the passage of Peishor, which was also defended by a strong castle. Upon this information, Nadir left the artillery with the prince Nafralla, and advanced with great celerity towards Peishore; the next day, after a rapid march, he reached the army of Nasser, who were so astonished at the incredible haste of the Persians, that their courage and resolution wholly forsook them: their ranks were broken in an instant, and those only escaped the sword, who had recourse to a precipitate flight. Nasser, and several Indian chiefs, were taken prisoners; and their camp was entirely pillaged: the captives were kept under close confinement, and the plunder was distributed among the Persian soldiers. After this victory the fortress of Peishore was easily taken, and the king staid several days in the adjacent plains, in order to refresh his troops, and to wait for the arrival of the prince Nafralla.

That prince having at length arrived, Nadir resumed his march, and with the skill and firmness of a great general whom no difficulties could retard, and no dangers dismay, safely conducted the army over the five branches of the river Indus, which at that season were swelled with the rains, and flowed with the most rapid current. A numerous army was assembled on the opposite banks, under the command of Zekaria, governor of Lahore: but whether they were alarmed at the swift progress and formidable appearance of the Persians, or confounded at their surprising passage over the Indus, they retreated with a mixture of terror and astonishment. As Nadir continued to advance towards the city of Lahore, Zekaria sent an officer of rank, with a considerable present, to implore his clemency, and to promise the strictest submission. This messenger met with a favourable reception, and Zekaria, having received many marks of distinction, was confirmed in his government of Lahore. At the same time Nasser was admitted into favour, having been bribed, according to Fraser, by the conspirators, and returned, by the permission of the conqueror, to the capital of his province.

In the mean time the Mogul was preparing to obstruct the progress of these victorious invaders; he had marched twenty-five leagues from the metropolis of his empire, and lay encamped on the plains of Karnal, with an army of thirty thousand Indians, and two thousand armed elephants: the rest of his very numerous forces were making all possible haste to join him, and were commanded by the most illustrious princes of India. It was not long before Nadir's emissaries gave him a full account of Mahommed's situation; upon which he left Lahore, and arrived at Serhind on the 8th of January, 1739, whence he dispatched six thousand Persians to examine the Indian camp, while he continued in full march towards it, with the rest of the army. On the 10th he reached Ambala, about thirty miles from Karnal; and, in the same night, the detachment fell upon the Mogul's camp, and, having slain or taken prisoners a great number of the guards, retreated to Azimabad, where they were joined on the 14th by the royal forces. Nadir was informed by the Indian prisoners, that the plain of Karnal was defended on the eastern and western sides by a broad river, and a very thick forest, that the intrenchments of Mahommed were guarded by three hundred pieces of artillery, and that he was waiting for the vast armies of the Vizier, his commander in chief, and his other ministers. The next morning the Persians continued their march, and pitched their tents six miles from the Mogul's camp; towards which Nadir made an excursion, and returned after an exact survey of it. He then advanced to the east of Karnal, and, arriving at a large plain about a league from the Indians, he encamped in a very advantageous situation. In the evening he had intelligence, that Sadit, an Indian prince of very high rank, was hastening to join Mahommed, with thirty thousand men. It was too late to intercept this reinforcement, which reached Karnal at midnight: but a troop of Persians who had been sent for that purpose, attacked the rear of the Indians, and plundered the baggage of Sadit. This loss exasperated that general to the highest degree, and drove him to the fatal resolution of advancing early the next morning against Nadir Shah, without considering the disadvantage of acting offensively against an invading enemy, who might otherwise have been reduced to great extremities in a country so little known to him, or compelled to fight upon very unequal terms: but Mahommed and the Indian princes, who had been softened by a life of luxury and indolence, deceived by the vast number of their forces, and wholly void of experience in military affairs, determined to venture on a battle, and hastened to the support of Sadit, with a vain confidence of victory. They were soon joined by Khan Dowran, commander in chief, Nizam al Muluck, prince of Deccan, Kammir o'deen, the Grand Vizier, and many other able generals, at the head of very numerous armies, divided into three bodies, which extended to an amazing length on the field of battle. Nadir Shah was so far from being disheartened at the sight of this formidable armament, that he is said to have been animated beyond his usual degree of courage: he knew, that an army of soft and enervated Indians were little able to oppose the hardy troops, whom he had trained to arms by the most excellent discipline, and allured to engage with more ardour than ever, by the hopes of sharing the spoils of so rich a kingdom; he perceived the folly of his adversaries, in bringing to the field such enormous pieces of ordnance, which they were unable to conduct with skill, and in depending upon the number of their elephants, which could not fail to distress and impede them in a general action.*

These considerations gave him such an assurance of success, that he ordered Nafralla to stay behind with the greatest part of the artillery, and rushed with a wild impetuosity upon the Indians. The shock was equally violent on both sides, but the two armies were conducted with a very different spirit; for while the Persians were able, with very little impediment, to seize every advantage that presented itself, their enemies were quickly thrown into confusion, and would have made but a short resistance, if so unwieldy a body could even have retreated with speed. After a scene of havock and disorder for five hours, the prince Sadit, who had been the first to take the field, was the first to leave it; and his troops by their sudden flight imparted a general terror to Mahommed, and his ministers, who retired in haste to their camp at Karnal, and depended for their safety on the strength of their intrenchments. The rout of the Indian army soon became universal; the two nephews of Sadit, who were mounted upon the same elephant, were taken prisoners; Khandowran received a wound, of which he died the next day; and ten princes of eminent rank, with an hundred nobles and officers of distinction, and thirty thousand of their soldiers were slain in the action; great numbers of Indians were made captives, and all their elephants, horses, and instruments of war fell into the hands of the conquerors.

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* The above, it will be recollected, is the Persian account of this invasion, written by an historian in the train of Nadir, therefore probably not without prejudice in favour of his hero, and certainly not acquainted with the secret springs of the actions of Nadir Shah, and of the Indian Omrahs. Authentic documents collected by our countrymen at Delhi, place things in a very different point of view, and evidently demonstrate a collusion between the principal agents in this dark affair. Sadit, in thus prematurely attacking the Persians, undoubtedly acted *treacherously*, with a view to throw himself into their hands; for no general, consummately skilled in the art of war like himself, would have acted in this manner, and thus early and precipitately bring on a general engagement.

After this victory, Nadir Shah advanced to the camp of Mahommed, which he found so strongly fortified, that he could not attack it with advantage, but thought it more prudent to enclose it on all sides, and to distress the Indians, who were almost destitute of provisions, by a continual blockade: on the third day after this, the ministers of Mahommed, finding it impossible either to exist in that confinement, or to escape from it, prevailed with him to preserve his life at the expence of his kingdom, and by resigning his diadem, to calm the resentment of the conqueror. The great Mogul perceived the necessity of this expedient, and left his entrenchments, attended only by the prince of Deccan, the grand Vizier, and his other nobles. When Nadir was informed of his approach in this submissive manner, he sent the prince Nafralla to meet him, and himself received him at the door of his tent, where he took him by the hand with great mildness, and placed him by his side on the throne. Mahommed resigned his crown in form, and was treated, on that day and the next, as a guest in the Persian camp, where he received every demonstration of respect. On the 1st of February, Nadir advanced towards *Delhi*; and on the 7th he encamped in the gardens of Shallimar; where Mahommed obtained leave to enter the city, in order to prepare his palace for the reception of his vanquisher. Nadir followed him on the 9th; and was conducted to a magnificent edifice, built by the Mogul Shah Jehan, which, upon this occasion, was decorated with every ornament that the treasury of Mahommed could supply. That unfortunate monarch, finding himself reduced to the condition of a private nobleman, prepared to attend his conqueror with the lowest marks of submission: but Nadir Shah soon raised him from the state of dejection into which he was sunk, by declaring that he would reinstate him on the throne of his ancestors, and that he would repair the late breach in their friendship, by maintaining a perpetual alliance with the Indian empire, and by giving him a sure support upon every exigence: but that he would stay some time at Delhi, to refresh his army after their long expedition. The Mogul was so penetrated with this unexpected act of generosity, that he expressed his gratitude in the strongest manner, and having stripped his treasury of the most valuable jewels and curiosities that were deposited in it, he brought them as a present to Nadir Shah. These treasures consisted of rich vases adorned with gems, vast heaqs of gold and silver in coin and ingots, with a great variety of sumptuous furniture, thrones, and diadems: amongst the rest was the famous throne in the form of a peacock, in which the pearls and precious stones were disposed in such a manner as to imitate the colours of that beautiful bird, and which was said to be worth two millions and a half sterling.*

Such is the substance of Sir W. Jones's account of Nadir's

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* Sir W. Jones's History of Nadir Shah, section V. on the Indian invasion, p. 85, 86, et seq. oct. edit. 1773.

Indian irruption, founded, as before observed, on the authority of a Persian manuscript, translated by himself for the king of Denmark, at an early period of life. He allows that the writer, who attended Nadir in most of his expeditions, might be somewhat partial in his narration, but he contends for the general correctness of the facts recorded, and, except in its silence as to the circumstance of the conspiracy, and Nadir's boundless rapacity, it accords pretty accurately with those of Fraser and others. Coming from such a source I thought it too curious to be omitted; but the accounts of the suffering Indians themselves must also be heard, and the picture is in most parts charged with colours of a much more dark and sanguinary hue.

According to native authors, consulted by our countrymen, the Mogul fortified camp at Karnal extended seven coss in circumference; and the army itself, an army, according to Mr. Orme, famished by its own numbers,* amounted to nearly half a million, with a train of a thousand pieces of artillery, linked together by massy chains.† The number of the elephants is, however, doubtless greatly over-rated at 2000. The enormous wealth obtained by Nadir at Delhi was by no means a voluntary gift, as the Persian author affirms, for by far the greatest part was extorted by blood and stripes from the miserable inhabitants, and in its total value amounted, not, as he seems to intimate, to *thirty* millions, but, as we shall hereafter see, to above *sixty* millions sterling. The substance of what less partial writers have related, as occurring after the battle, or rather skirmish of a few hours, that laid the crown of India at the feet of Nadir, is as follows.

After the various ceremonial visits paid by the humbled emperor to his conqueror, who, according to Fraser, was by no means so polite or condescending as the Persian relates, but severely reproached him for his obstinacy, his treatment of his embassadors, and his degrading the throne of Timur by paying the *choute* to the infidel Mahratta race; after these visits, and repeated conferences holden with the Nizam * and Sadit respecting the immense sum to be paid for the ransom of the emperor and his capital, amounting, under the softer name of peishcush, to twenty-five millions sterling, the two armies began their march for Delhi in the most guarded and cautious manner possible. It commenced on the 2d of March. Nadir Shah marched first at the head of 20,000 chosen horse: in a line with Nadir, at the distance of a coss proceeded his haram, guarded by 4000 horse. Mahommed Shah, accompanied by 40 or 50 only of his attendants, but with a *guard of honour* of 10,000 *Kezzlebash* horse (resolute soldiers of Persia resembling the Janizaries of Turkey) and 2000 harquebussiers followed Nadir at a distance of one coss. The Nizam, Vizier, and other great officers, with their attendants, followed half a coss distant from each other, and separated by Kezzlebash horse to prevent their junction. The extent of ground which they covered in their march was five coss in length and three in breadth, and the same method was observed on every day's march. On the 7th of March the grand cavalcade arrived at the gardens of Shallimar, described before, and on the

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* Orme, vol. i. p. 39. † Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 201.

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* The Nizam's reception is thus described in letters from Delhi: "On the 17th of February Nizam al Muluck, with Azim Allah Khan, and a guard of horsemen, went out, and a small tent being pitched between the two camps, Nadir Shah's Vizier came, and from thence conducted him to his master, who embraced him sitting, and made him stand honourably, close by himself; he gave him a cup of sherbet, and made him eat at the Vizier's house. The conference was continued all that day, and the 18th, at the close of which he received a rich dress on being made captain general and ameer al omrah in the room of the deceased Dowran Khan." Fraser, p. 161.

8th Mahommed, accompanied by 4000 Kezzlebash horse, by Nadir's permission, entered the castle. The conqueror delayed his triumphal entry till the following day, when it took place with all the caution imaginable, and at the head of 20,000 horse; the rest of the army encamped without the walls of the city.

On Saturday the 10th of March the sun entered Aries — that sun which had often witnessed the unequalled pomp, the unrivalled glory of the house of Timur, now beheld the usurper of the throne of the Sefi's, sitting on the imperial musnud of India, and receiving *extorted* offerings of inestimable value from her degraded emperor, and her prostrate nobility. These presents, together with the treasures found in the subterraneous vaults of the palace, hoarded up since the reign of the magnificent Shah Jehan, and sealed with the seal of the empire, and the *peacock* throne, with nine others of inferior lustre and value, amounted by the lowest computation, to thirty-five millions sterling. Of gold and silver plate, which he melted down and coined, the amount exceeded five millions; of utensils set with jewels, and of jewels unset, five millions more. In the richest brocades and stuffs of Indian manufacture he received the value of two millions; in horse and elephant caparisons, adornedwith gold and gems, three millions; in all, fifty millions sterling! A more general and complete depredation was never committed by any imperial robber in ancient or modern times.

Enormous, however, as was this amount, that robber was by no means satisfied with it; but gave orders for levying a peishcush of eight millions more upon the merchants and inhabitants of the opulent city of Delhi. In raising this additional sum the most severe cruelties were exercised, and many of them died under the extreme tortures inflicted upon them, by those appointed to collect it. Many also of the higher order of nobles, who were supposed to have not made offerings proportionate to their immense fortunes, were called upon for additional sacrifices. The two traitors, Sadit and the Nizam, who by their inviting Nadir to invade Hindostan, had brought such incalculable evils upon their country, were amerced in very large sums; Sadit a million, and the Nizam a million and a half. The former having been spoken to by Nadir, in terms of great severity, respecting the collection of the peishcush money, being in a languid state of health, was so affected, that on the following morning he died, though it was generally reported, that, agonizing with remorse, he had accelerated his fate by swallowing poison. Persons the most venerable for age and virtue were not spared, and some were assessed double what they were able to pay. The severity of these exactions irritated the populace to madness; tumultuous insurrection in many places was the result; and resistance was made, wheresoever it could be made with effect. To these calamities, succeeded the more dreadful one of famine, occasioned by the increased multitudes of men and horses that inundated the province of Delhi. An attempt of the Persian commander of Delhi, to regulate the price of wheat at the public granaries, caused the spark, which was already kindled, to burst forth into a flame, which was only to be quenched by the blood of 100,000 of its inhabitants. Fraser states the first commotion to have taken place about noon; that it was considerably increased towards evening; that after sunset, some persons having reported that Nadir was taken prisoner, and others that he was poisoned, the mob and tumult exceeded all bounds; and all the idle and disaffected of that great city, joining from all quarters, with such implements of destruction as they could most readily procure, rushed in a torrent towards the castle, devoting to death every foreigner they met, and breathing vengeance against the invaders of their country. Of the external guard a considerable portion were instantly sacrificed to their fury, and the remainder sought safety in flight.*

On the first tidings of these commotions, Nadir, firm and collected in every difficulty, had dispatched couriers on fleet horses to his general in chief, Thamas Khan, who with the rest of the army, was encamped without the walls, with orders to commence his march, with 30,000 horse, immediately for the capital; and the vanguard of that army shortly after arriving, soon routed with immense slaughter, the infuriated populace that surrounded and threatened to storm the citadel. In a few hours after, the whole of this formidable body entered the city; and Nadir, thus re-inforced, at midnight marched out of the castle at their head, to crush the insurrection. Inflamed with high resentment against the faithless Delhians, but ignorant of the full extent and magnitude of the evil, he intrepidly led them on towards the great mosque of Roshin al Dowlat, which stands in the center of the city, and there took his station. All was raging tumult and distraction around him, but he remained firm and unmoved, acting solely on the defensive, and waiting for the break of dawn, to let loose his vengeance on the devoted city. The morning, big with the fate of Delhi, at length arose; and discovered to him heaps of his Persian soldiers weltering in their blood. An awful, momentary pause ensued; and during that pause, a pistol was discharged at him, from a neighbouring terrace, the ball of which missed himself, but killed an officer standing close at his side. He immediately ordered a general massacre to commence from that very spot. His squadrons of horse, instantly pouring through the streets, put every one, without distinction, aged and young, women and children, to death. His foot soldiers at the same time, mounting the walls and terraces, consigned to the same fate every soul they found upon them. The love of spoil, and the thirst of blood, equally operating on those barbarians,—all the bazars of the jewellers, and the houses of the rich citizens in that quarter, were first plundered, and then set on fire. Fearful of the violation of their women, many of the higher rank of Indians collected together their females and their treasures; and, then setting fire to their apartments, consumed them with themselves in one general conflagration. From the same dread, thousands of women plunged headlong into tanks and wells. In every imaginable form of horror,

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* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 184.

> DEATH stalked at large
> Through all the streets of that vast capital,
> And seem'd to REIGN UPON THE THRONE OF DELHI.*

During this dreadful carnage the king of Persia continued in the mosque of Roshin al Dowlat. His countenance is said to have been dark and terrible, and that, during the paroxysm of his rage, none but slaves dared to approach him. At length the unfortunate emperor of India, attended by the principal omrahs, with sorrowing looks, and eyes fixed on the ground, ventured to draw near and intercede for the half ruined city and surviving inhabitants. For a time he was obdurate; at length the sternness of his countenance relaxed, and, sheathing his sword, he said, For the sake of the prince Mahommed, I forgive. The joyful tidings of his wrath appeased were immediately, by sound of trumpet, conveyed through the city, and the work of destruction as instantly ceased. Between the issuing of the bloody mandate at sun-rise and two o'clock in the afternoon, 100,000 Delhians of all ages were inhumanly butchered. The tyrant then retired into the citadel; and enquiry being made into the origin of the tumult, several Indians of distinguished rank were seized, as the secret abettors of the insurrection, and their execution closed the scene of desolation and carnage. The once beautiful city of Delhi, in the meantime, exhibited a most dismal spectacle, the great streets being filled with the ruins of fallen palaces and houses consumed by the fire; and the smaller streets and passages being absolutely choaked up with the multitude of putrefying carcases. To avoid the danger of pestilence both Persians and natives were for some days employed in removing the bodies of the dead; those of the Indians were heaped up in vast piles, and burned in the rubbish of the ruined houses, and those of foreigners were buried promiscuously in pits, or thrown into the Jumna.

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* Fall of the Mogul; a tragedy founded on this tremendous catastrophe, and presented to the reader in the Appendix.

The transition from rioting in blood to rioting in intemperance is a practice congenial to the mind of the tyrant. From celebrating the orgies of death, Nadir shortly after proceeded to celebrate those of Hymen and Bacchus, for on the 26th of the same month, while the sabres of the Persian soldiers were yet warm with the slaughter of the Indians, with great pomp and splendor were solemnized the nuptials of his son, the prince Nasr Allah, with a grandaughter of Aurungzeb; by which politic measure the royal line of Persia and India being united, he hoped posterity would see the crown of both empires placed on one head. The most sumptuous presents were made to the bride on this momentous occasion both by Nadir, and the Indian emperor, and omrahs, and the most happy auspices were drawn from this august alliance. In the mean time the tribute of the peishcush was exacted with increased rigour from the miserable inhabitants of Delhi, but at length the full amount being collected; and the coffers both of the great and the small being utterly exhausted, the Persian army in high spirits, refreshed with health, and loaded with plunder, Nadir began to think of his return to Persia, and having appointed a fixed day for all the omrahs to assemble early in the morning at Mahommed's apartments, his orders were punctually obeyed. Rich kelauts, turbans, and sabres, were prepared for the omrahs, more or less decorated with gold and silver ornaments according to their rank. With these they were invested, and then proceeded, with the dethroned emperor at their head, seated on a royal litter under a canopy of state, to the general divan, where Nadir received them; and after the two emperors had embraced, and refreshments had been served, a crown set with the most costly jewels was brought in, which Nadir, with his own hand, placed on the head of Mahommed, making him at the same time those apologies which the time and circumstances seemed to demand. He was then invested with the other regalia, in like manner set with the richest stones. Nadir then saluted him as emperor, and after giving him the most salutary advice concerning the future government of the empire and his conduct towards the omrahs, particularly enjoined him to be cautious of that hoary traitor, the Nizam; adding, If necessary I can be with you at the head of my army in forty days from Candahar.* The two monarchs then solemnly swore to maintain with each other eternal friendship; and Mahommed, as a pledge of his sincerity, made over to Nadir, and his successors on the Persian throne for ever, all the provinces situated on the west of the Indus; a cession extremely gratifying to Nadir, as some of them had anciently been considered as part of Khorasan, and had been the object of much contention between the two nations.*

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* Nadir is, however, by one of his biographers reported to have declared before some of his omrahs, that he had acted indiscreetly in regard to two things; one was his restoring the empire to Mahommed Shah, who being unequal to so great a task, the affairs of India would become worse than formerly; the other was, his giving quarter to Nizam al Muluck, who being so very subtle and crafty, it was more than probable he would raise disturbances; but as according to the decrees of Providence, and the assistance of their own good fortune, he had once passed his word to them he could not then recede.

On the 7th of May Nadir commenced his march for Persia, and on the evening of that day encamped in the gardens of Shallimar. His exit from Hindostan was marked by the same dreadful scenes of devastation as his ingress; and of the immense wealth which he carried out of it a great portion is said to have been buried in the Indus; owing to the bridge of boats which he had thrown over it being carried away by the rapidity of the stream, and with it many of the animals that were loaded with treasure. On the banks of that river a new, and almost incredible instance of his insatiable avarice is related by Khojeh Abdulkurreem, a Cashmirian nobleman in his train, and is deserving of notice, because it marks the absolute control of this great conqueror over the soldiers who fought under his banners, many of them perhaps not less avaricious or eager for diamonds than himself. Two jewels of inestimable value, that had adorned the turban of the Mogul, being missing from the royal treasury, a search was ordered to be made for them among the baggage of the army. That search not being successful, Nadir issued a decree, challenging all precious stones whatever taken in the plunder of Hindostan as his property, and ordering all the treasures of that kind, under penalty of death, to be brought into the treasury. But this was not sufficient: officers were placed at the ferry to examine all persons before they passed the river; and if any valuable jewels were discovered upon them, to seize and send them to the royal repository. Upon the publication of this order some of the soldiers came of themselves and delivered up the jewels they had got in plunder, and these were rewarded with dresses and other presents. From others were taken what they had concealed in the packs and saddles of their horses, camels, or mules. Some buried their stores in the ground, hoping that after the search was over they might be able to return and dig them up again; but from the strict orders of Nadir Shah, which were punctually obeyed, it was impossible for any one to recross the river; and thus the treasure remained in the bowels of its parent earth. Others, out of rage and indignation, threw into the river whatever they had concealed.*

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* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 223. Jones's Nadir Shah, p. 93, ubi supra.

Nadir in fact delighted in this kind of wealth, of which Hindostan afforded him so plentiful a harvest. His turban, his tents, and his horse caparisons, were always richly adorned with jewels; and he constantly carried about him a sapphire of unrivalled magnitude and beauty, with which he was frequently seen to amuse himself in his tent. The same noble author has favoured us with a description, too curious to be omitted, of the tent decorated with jewels, which he caused to be fabricated, and exhibited at Herat in the following year. When Nadir Shah, says our author, an eye witness, was at Delhi, he had such a profusion of precious stones, that he ordered the superintendants of the jewel office, to make up arms and harness of every kind, inlaid with precious stones, and to ornament a large tent in the same manner. For this purpose, the best workmen that could be procured, were employed a year and two months during the march; and when Nadir Shah arrived at Herat, he was informed that a great number of the following articles, richly inlaid with precious stones, were prepared, viz. horse harness, sword-sheaths, quivers, shields, spear cases, and maces; with Sundelees, or chairs of different sizes, and a large tent lined with jewels. The tent was ordered to be pitched in the Dewan Khaneh,* in which were placed the Tukht Taoussee, or Peacock Throne, brought from Delhi, the Tukht Nadery, with the thrones of some other monarchs, together with the inlaid Sundelees. Publication was made by beat of drum throughout the city, and the camp, that all persons had liberty to come to this magnificent exhibition, such as had never before been seen in any age or country. Nadir Shah was not pleased with the form of the tent, for, besides being lined with green satin, many of the jewels did not appear to advantage: he therefore ordered it to be taken to pieces, and a new one to be made, the top of which, for the convenience of transportation, should be separate from the walls. When he returned to Meshed from his expedition into Turan, this new tent being finished, was displayed in the same manner as the former one; but its beauty and magnificence are beyond description. The outside was covered with fine scarlet broad cloth, the lining was of violet coloured satin, upon which were representations of all the more beautiful birds and nobler beasts in the creation, with trees and flowers, the whole made of pearls, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, amethysts, and other precious stones: and the tent poles were decorated in like manner. On both sides of the Peacock Throne was a screen, upon which were the figures of two angels in precious stones. The roof of the tent consisted of seven pieces, and when it was transported to any place, two of these pieces packed in cotton, were put into a wooden chest, two of which were a sufficient load for an elephant; and the screen filled another chest. The walls of the tent, the tent poles, and the tent pins, which latter were of massy gold, loaded five more elephants; so that for the carriage of the whole were required seven elephants. This magnificent tent was displayed on all festivals in the Dewan Khaneh at Herat, during the remainder of Nadir Shah's reign. After his death, his nephew Adil Shah, and his grandson Shahrokh, whose territories were very limited, and expences enormous, had the tent taken to pieces, and dissipated the produce.*

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* The missing stones were afterwards found among the confiscated effects of a general officer put to death by his order. Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem, page 4.

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* The public hall of audience.

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* Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem, p. 32.

CHAPTER VI.

*Affairs at Delhi.— Unlimited power of the Nizam, who, retiring to Deccan, becomes independent in that region.—His example followed by most of the other Soubahs in their respective provinces.—Insurrection and reduction of the Rohilla Afghans.—*ABDALLAH *seizes Candahar, and invades Hindostan.—Repulsed by the Shah Zaddah.—Death of Mahommed Shah.—Death of the Nizam.—Sultan* AHMED *ascends the throne.—Fresh insurrection of the Rohillas and the Jauts.—The Mahrattas called in to the assistance of the Moguls.—Fatal effects of that imprudent measure.—Character of Ghazi o'deen the younger.—Renewed war with the Jauts.*—AHMED *deposed and blinded by Ghazi, who raises to the throne* AULUMGEER, *the second.—Repeated irruptions of* ABDALLAH.—*Murder of Aulumgeer by Gazi.—Delhi plundered by the Mahrattas.—Great battle between the Mahommedan powers and the latter, who are defeated.*—SHAH AULUM *ascends the nominal throne.—Rapid sketch of his unfortunate history.—His palace sacked and plundered by the Rohillas.—Cruel treatment of his family by* GOLAM CAUDIR.—*Himself blinded.— In him the Mogul empire expires, and with him its history terminates.*

WHEN the sovereign of Persia had evacuated Hindostan, or, to use the allegorical language of the oriental historian, when that destructive comet had rolled back from the meridian of Delhi, Mahommed and his courtiers seem to have remained for some days stupified by the magnitude of the calamity, and little public business occupied their thoughts. We have already mentioned the ties of consanguinity that bound together, in the strictest friendship, the Nizam and Kammer o'deen, the favourite Vizier, viz. that the Nizam's son was married to the Vizier's daughter, and the Vizier's son to the Nizam's daughter; and this circumstance, added to his great political talents, will account for the unlimited influence that Omrah continued to have in the government. In short, he disposed, as he pleased, of honours and places. He appointed his own son, Gazi o'deen, captain general of the empire; Ameer Khan, by his advice, was made governor of Allahabad, and Sefdar Jung, son of the deceased conspirator Sadit Khan, succeeded him in the government of Oude. No alteration was made in the other Soubahdaries, nor had there been an inclination to remove any of the distant governors, in that weakened state of the empire, did Mahommed possess the power of doing so. That enervated prince became again absorbed in the usual routine of pleasures that occupy a luxurious court, to which the Vizier himself was too much inclined; and, by degrees, even the horrors of the Persian invasion were obliterated from their minds.

In the mean time the Nizam, for whom effeminate pleasures had no allurement, had commenced his march for the Deccan, where his son Nazir Jing, taking advantage of the distractions at Delhi, had raised the standard of independence. When arrived at Hydrabad, or Golconda, the capital of his usurped domain, in extent amounting nearly to a fourth of the empire, by means of his amazing wealth he collected a vast army, and assumed all the honours, without the name, of a king. The artifice which he made use of to get his rebellious son into his power, strongly marks the character of that crafty veteran. The two armies being encamped at no great distance from each other, the Nizam, now considerably turned of ninety, affected to be so desperately afflicted with sickness, as to be near the point of death. He confined himself to his tent so strictly, and in other respects acted the part so well, that the report of his approaching dissolution was universally believed by his own army, whence it was diffused, as an undoubted fact, through that of Nazir Jing. Urgent and repeated solicitations were sent to Nazir Jing, imploring him to visit, in this last extremity, a dying father, promising forgiveness, and assuring him of perfect safety if he might be permitted to embrace him before he expired. The advanced period of the Soubah's life rendering the story highly probable, added to the operation of natural feeling, not wholly extinguished by ambition in the breast of Nazir Jing, induced him, after long hesitation, to pay the desired visit, when, immediately on entering the tent of this expiring parent, he was arrested and thrown into chains, and in that state was, during several months, carried about with him a close prisoner, until, at length, a thorough conviction of his repentance induced that parent to liberate him, and the lesson was so effectual, that he never after was guilty of any disobedience.

The Nizam, now equally at leisure from domestic broils and court intrigues, began to employ all his great political abilities to settle on a permanent basis the affairs of the Deccan, turning out the imbecile and corrupt governors, and placing in their room men of vigour and experience. By anticipation, when treating of the European settlers in the Peninsula, we have already, in some degree, traced his progress in that region, and seen the uncontrolled authority with which he acted, especially when on his arrival at Arcot in 1743, he was so struck with the anarchy that every where prevailed, and so indignant at the multitude of petty chiefs, who had arrogated the title and honours properly belonging to himself, that he ordered the first person who should dare again to assume those honours, to be scourged.* We have also seen that he appointed Abdallah, one of his generals, to be Nabob of the Carnatic, and on his sudden death, Anwar-odean, (the father of Mahommed Ali) who fell in a conflict fomented by the intrigues of the French. His artful expulsion of Morari Row and his Mahrattas from the Deccan, "rather by presents and promises than by arms," has been also noticed, and may be considered as a strong additional feature in the character of that extraordinary man. In fact, about this period, in consequence of the imbecility of the emperor, and the dissipation of his court, the transactions of this Omrah and his family in Deccan, form the most interesting portion of the Indian history, and that history has been already given.† The irruptions also of the Mahrattas into Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, which make so prominent a feature in the history of the period, have been likewise detailed.‡

From the lethargic supineness in which the court of Delhi had been so long plunged, it was at length roused in 1744, by an insurrection of the Patans, headed by a daring chief, named Ali Mahommed, of the Rohilla tribe. This chief aimed to make himself independent in those countries between Delhi and Lahore, and extending eastward beyond the Ganges, now called Rohilcund, where his ancestors of Afganhistan had been permitted to settle, on remitting the usual subsidies to court. Those subsidies he now refused to discharge, and the Mogul governor of the district having marched against him, was defeated with great slaughter. Victory induced other Patans to enlist under the rebel banners. In a short time his army multiplied exceedingly, and the usurpation of domain became alarmingly extensive. To oppose his farther progress, Kammir o'deen, the Vizier, dispatched his own son, Meer Munnoo, a youth of great bravery, at the head of an army of 30,000 men. Munnoo, crossing the Jumna, advanced to the banks of the Ganges; but found the enemy so formidable both by numbers and situation, that, uniting the prudence of age with the valour of youth, he thought a negociation safer than a battle, and conditions being agreed upon between them and signed, he led his army back to Delhi. Those conditions not being faithfully adhered to, the emperor himself in the following year, took the field with 50,000 horse. The Rohilla chief shut himself up in Bangur, a fortress of considerable strength, where he was invested by the royal army, and after a short, but bloody siege, was compelled to surrender. He was brought prisoner to Delhi; but afterwards, in the corruption of the times, and amid the distraction of the court, found means to obtain his release, and was appointed Fojedar of Serhind, where he once more appeared with increased strength in arms, and finally became the founder of the independent Rohilla government, for a long time the terror of the throne, and execration of the Moguls.*

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* See Vol. II. p. 291.

† It is comprised in the second, third, and fourth chapters of Book V.

‡ Vol. II. p. 342.

Nadir Shah, the scourge of nations, fell a victim to the vengeance of an enraged army, in A. D. 1747. Ahmed Abdallah, one of his generals and confidentials, an Afghan by birth, had risen by that merit which, with Nadir, ever insured success, to the high office of treasurer. On the assassination of his patron, with the assistance of his own resolute tribe, he contrived to carry off three hundred camels, loaded with treasure, to the mountains of Afghanistan, where, by means of that treasure, having raised a considerable army among the hardy inhabitants of those mountains, he seized upon Candahar, and urged his claim to the sovereignty of all the provinces west of the Attock, which had formerly been ceded to Nadir by the terrified Mogul. After a slight resistance, the Soubah of Cabul was compelled to yield; he experienced a more determined opposition from Munnoo, the son of the imperial Vizier, who governed Lahore; but eventually he triumphed. The path to Delhi now lay strait before him; and the successful example of Nadir, added to the known imbecility of the government, incited him to attempt the conquest and plunder of that capital, which had begun to recover from the shock of the former invasion, and again to overflow with wealth.

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* For the above and other particulars, see Hamilton's curious "*History of the Rohilla Afghans*," p. 70, et seq.

The approach of Abdallah, at the head of a nation peculiarly ferocious, and burning for plunder, filled Mahommed and his court with the utmost consternation. The recruited treasury of Delhi was again thrown open, and an army of 80,000 horse was rapidly levied, at the head of which the young Sultan Ahmed, a prince of great promise, under the direction of Kammir o'deen, the Vizier, Sefdar Jung, and other distinguished officers, advanced against the invader with only 50,000 horse. The two armies came within sight of each other near Sirhind, but fearful of the event on which so great a stake depended, instead of instantly rushing to battle, both parties strongly intrenched themselves. During this awful pause, Abdallah having brought some pieces of artillery to bear on the flank of the imperial army, a random shot penetrated the tent of the Vizier, that faithful servant of the crown, in the act of performing his evening devotions. As he was equally beloved and respected by the army, of which he was in fact the commander, it was thought prudent to conceal his death, and, without delay, to attack the enemy in his entrenchments. Accordingly, at the break of dawn, the royal army was put in motion, and the troops being intrepidly led on to the assault, by Ahmed and Munnoo, the Vizier's son, in a resistless torrent, burst into the camp of Abdallah, who, not wholly unprepared, in that situation with heroic resolution defended himself for three hours against their whole force. The vast superiority however of the imperialists in elephants, who trampling down the intrenchments, spread havoc and dismay wheresoever they moved, contributed greatly to decide the fortune of the day. The discomfited army was pursued by Munnoo several miles from the field of battle; and though some desperate efforts were afterwards made by Abdallah, to retrieve the loss he had sustained, yet he was, eventually, compelled to retreat across the Nilab with an army greatly diminished in numbers, and with the total loss of his artillery and baggage. Thus ended the first irruption of this famous chief, whom the brave Munnoo was left with a considerable army to keep in check, while Sultan Ahmed commenced his triumphant return to Delhi.

When arrived at Paniput, a city situate about eighty-five miles from the metropolis, he received intelligence of the sudden death of the emperor his father, a few days before, while sitting on the throne, and administering justice in the great Hall of Audience. Mahommed had for some time been in a declining state of health, and excessive grief, for the loss of his favourite Vizier, was supposed to have occasioned the convulsive fit, which brought on the fatal catastrophe. Ahmed immediately hastened to Delhi, where he was proclaimed emperor in April 1748, with the usual solemnities; and of a reign thus auspiciously commenced, great was the promise, and ardent the expectations.

One of the first acts of the new emperor was an offer of the post of Vizier to Nizam al Muluck; but that venerable soubah, enjoying in undisturbed tranquillity the ample sovereignty of Deccan, declined the offer, and pleaded in excuse his very advanced age, being then in his 104th year; nor did he long survive the emperor; for not many months after he expired at his palace of Aurungabad, leaving the world in astonishment at the unimpaired vigour of that genius, and those abilities, which seemed only to increase with increasing years. Neither his refusal nor his death were the cause of immoderate grief at Delhi, and shortly after that high office was conferred on Seffdar Jung, the son of Sadit, who has already made so conspicuous a figure in the pages of this history, and whose descendants in Oude, for the last half century, engross so large a share of that of the Company. Nasir Jing, the Nizam's second son, being in possession of his father's army and treasury, was, from fear rather than affection, confirmed in the Soubahdary of Deccan, and Gazi o'deen, the eldest, for the present at least, continued quietly at Delhi, in the office of paymaster and captain general.

The new emperor being in the flower of his age, surrounded by flatterers who praised his valour, and allured by all the incentives to pleasure that the most luxurious court of Asia could yield, soon relaxed from the ardour of military pursuits, and became the victim of indolence and dissipation. Seffdar Jung, the Vizier, was distinguished by no pre-eminent abilities; but conducting himself in the most haughty and arrogant manner towards the Omrahs, was universally detested by them, and his downfall universally desired. His fondness for military glory, however, had not declined like his master's, and the Rohillas, and other Afghan tribes in that vicinity, having made frequent irruptions into the province of Oude, of which he was Soubah, he conducted an army against that people, and was at first defeated; but, by the permission of the emperor, having called in a body of 40,000 Mahrattas to his aid, he was eventually victorious, and revenged the injury by an indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children of Afghan extraction. He continued for some time in Oude, settling the distracted affairs of that province, and then returned to Delhi, followed by the mercenary Mahratta army, clamorous for their arrears, and eager, if refused, to repay themselves by the plunder of the environs of that opulent city. The treasury was empty, and the danger imminent. In this extremity, Gazi o'deen, who had in his public station accumulated an immense fortune, offered to discharge their arrears, which amounted to no less a sum than fifty lacks of rupees, on condition that the emperor should issue firmauns expressly appointing him Soubah of the Deccan, in the room of his brother Nazir Jing, who had recently been assassinated on the field of battle, as before related.* The emperor's acquiescence was joyfully given, their demands were settled, and Gazi o'deen immediately commenced his march for the south, attended by these very Mahrattas, who were happy to enlist under any banners where a prospect of plunder was even distantly afforded. That they ever were from authority permitted to collect the *choute*, or engaged to fight under the royal standard, was perhaps the most unfortunate occurrence that ever befel this once mighty empire; which was now torn asunder by tribes of freebooters of every denomination, Jauts, Rajapouts, Rohillas, Seiks, and the still more ferocious barbarians of Afghanistan.

In that quarter the intrepid Munnoo had, for a long time, at the head of the best disciplined troops of Hindostan, resisted all the force of Abdallah, or, to use a more familiar term, *the Abdallees;* for *Abdal*, whence his name is derived, is only the general name of the tribe to which the sovereign of Candahar belonged. The contests between the two powers were long and arduous; attended with great expenditure of blood and treasure, which

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* See Vol. II. p. 308.

Ahmed could immediately supply from his inexhaustible resources at hand, but which, amidst the supineness and dissipation of the court of Delhi, could not, in an equally adequate, or rapid degree, be conveyed to Munnoo. The greatest part of Lahore was in consequence lost; and to complete the disaster, Munnoo himself, the valiant governor of that province, about this time (1753), died suddenly by a fall from his horse. Abdallah, immediately advancing with his army, seized on the capital of that province, and placed his son, then an infant, in the government of that city, under the tuition of an experienced omrah, fully determined, in the following year, to push on with his innumerable legions to the gates of Delhi.

The importance of the family of the Nizam, at this period of the empire, renders any apology for alluding to the individuals of it unnecessary. It has been already stated, that Ghazi o'deen, the late captain-general, after discharging the arrears due from the Vizier to the Mahrattas, had departed for the Deccan, aided by a formidable body of that nation, to take possession of his government, usurped by Salabad-Jing, assisted by the French, after the murder of the unfortunate Nazir Jing. Having entered Aurungabad at the head of 150,000 men, and being well acquainted with the power and influence of the French in his brother's army, he from thence dispatched emissaries with splendid offers of money and titles to M. Dupleix at Pondicherry, if he would recall M. Bussy and his army from the service of Salabad-Jing, in which project he would probably have been successful had not the latter took an effectual method to prevent it, by causing his brother to be poisoned, and that by the agency of his mother, then at Aurungabad, who sent him a plate of victuals prepared, as she told him, by her own hands. To such dreadful extremes in eastern countries does ambition drive her infuriated votaries! The Mahratta army immediately dispersed, and Salabad Jing continued in the usurped sovereignty of Deccan, without any dread of the threatened vengeance of the court of Delhi, to the consideration of whose conduct we are recalled by the consequences of the calamitous event just recited.

We are now to introduce upon the theatre of affairs, one of the most extraordinary characters that ever existed, a youth of fifteen, the only son of the abovementioned Ghazi o'deen, and on whom the title and honours of his father were immediately conferred by the emperor, at the earnest solicitation of Seffdar Jung, the vizier, who admired his great talents, and who was too soon to become the victim of them. The young Ghazi, at that early age, possessed all the high accomplishments, abilities, and vices of his father and grandfather. In him, the most open unreserved manners were combined with the deepest dissimulation; unbounded generosity, and the most undaunted fortitude, with the basest treachery and ingratitude; he had a head to project, a genius to advance, and, if necessary, a hand to execute the most daring and criminal designs. He seemed as if born to control thrones, and direct empires; and he mounted at once to the pinnacle of ambition and grandeur, in assuming the reins of that of Hindostan. This chosen youth, on being appointed by the emperor captain-general, as before observed, at the intercession of Seffdar Jung, immediately used all his influence with his sovereign to get his patron removed from that high office, and succeeded. But Seffdar Jung was himself too high-spirited to submit quietly to this disgrace, and flew into open rebellion. He engaged in his service an army of Jauts under their prince Suraje Mull, and advancing at their head to Delhi, shut up the emperor and his juvenile captain-general within its walls. Ghazi defended the city with great bravery for three months, at the end of which period he issued forth, engaged, and completely routed the ejected Vizier, who fled precipitately to his government of Oude, leaving Suraje Mull and his Jauts to sustain the whole weight of the imperial vengeance. To chastise that turbulent race, Akebut Mahmud, an experienced general, was dispatched at the head of a considerable army; but by avoiding a general engagement, and retiring into and under the protection of their numerous forts, they found means to baffle all his efforts to subdue them.

In the mean time the power of young Ghazi, in consequence of his late success, became almost unlimited at the court of Delhi, especially as the emperor, satisfied with the laurels which he had obtained when he drove back the Abdallees from the western frontier, remained continually plunged in intemperance, and left every thing at his disposal. He was not, however, without a rival almost as young, as ardent, and as ambitious as himself. This rival was the new Vizier, the youngest son of the celebrated Kammir o'deen, the favourite of the late, as the son was of the present emperor, and he burned with secret envy at beholding the almost sovereign authority with which the latter was invested. He took every opportunity of calumniating him to the emperor, and filled the royal breast with the darkest suspicions of the man whom he had thus imprudently exalted to premature honours. An opportunity soon offered of removing his hated rival from his presence, and, as he fondly hoped, for ever!

No very signal success had crowned the imperial army employed against the Jauts, who were now become a formidable people, especially when their forces were united in the field, and they had gradually obtained possession of the country extending for many miles round Agra, although they were not yet masters of that capital. The great body of the Mogul army being engaged at a distance in Lahore, watching the Abdallees, the forces under Akebut were by no means adequate to their complete reduction, and great bodies now began to appear in the field, and seemed to bid the Mogul general defiance. To a foe so near, so menacing, and so dangerous, it was necessary to give an immediate and decisive check; in this extremity, Ghazi proposed to the emperor to call in the assistance of the Mahrattas, at that time in the vicinity of Agra, and offered to lead them in person against the insulting foe. The advice, however fatal in its consequences to the empire, was acquiesced in, and the offer of Ghazi's personal services was accepted with insidious joy by Ahmed and his jealous Vizier. The Mahrattas, at that time in high hostility with the Jauts, readily consented to the terms proposed; and 40,000 of that nation, under their generals Mulhar and Ragonaut Row, but subject to the control of Ghazi, advancing into that beautiful country, scattered death and desolation wheresoever they came; discomfiting whatever bodies of troops appeared in arms to oppose them, and driving the rest back into their strong forts. To the attack of those forts, artillery became necessary, and with that article the Mogul camp was but indifferently provided. Ghazi immediately dispatched an officer to Delhi, with a request that the royal park of artillery might be forwarded to him without a moment's delay. This request, to his astonishment, was peremptorily refused, and the officer, in addition, reported that all Delhi was flying to arms, as if an enemy were at the gates.

Shortly after an intercepted letter, written by the emperor himself, and intended for Suraje Mull, unravelled the whole mystery, and opened to him his alarming situation. In fact, during his absence, the implacable Vizier had too well succeeded in impressing the king's mind with ideas of the confirmed disloyalty of Ghazi. His rebellious designs, he affirmed, were glaringly evident throughout the whole of his conduct, both in the cabinet and the field. He represented his daring ambition, as aimed at the imperial throne itself; "the Mahrattas were already at his nod; and the royal artillery might soon be pointed against the castle of Delhi." The intercepted letter encouraged Suraje Mull to hold resolutely out to the last extremity; it informed him that the imperial guard, with a numerous army, had taken the field, and that the emperor was approaching to attack the traitor in the rear, while at an appointed signal, the Jaut prince should issue from his strong forts, and attack him in front. On perusing these dispatches, the lofty soul of Ghazi was filled with indignation, and burned with a desire of revenge. He instantly raised the various sieges in which he was engaged, and with his whole army re-crossed the Jumna, determined to give battle to the king and vizier, who were leisurely marching down between the rivers in fancied security. Daring in design, and prompt in execution, Ghazi was not a person to rest satisfied with half measures. With the reign of the one, and the influence of the other, he saw that his own safety was incompatible, and he was firmly resolved, by desperate measures, to put a period to both. On receiving intelligence of his approach, the emperor halted at Secundra, and by liberal promises and munificent offers, endeavoured to reclaim his rebel minister to a sense of duty. The only answer which Ghazi condescended to return, was the king's own letter to Suraje Mull, and a spirited remonstrance against his base ingratitude to a man, whose only crime was his being engaged in fighting the battles of the empire. He inveighed against the meanness that could listen to the perfidious insinuation of a sycophant, to his prejudice, and justified his being in arms against a prince, whose imbecility rendered him unworthy longer to hold the reins of government. Both the king and the vizier were thunder-struck at this bold strain of invective, and knowing themselves unable to cope with him in the field, unaided by the Jauts, retreated in haste to Delhi. They were, however, pursued by Ghazi with such celerity, that he gained possession of one of the gates which they had just passed, and the fugitives, retiring into the citadel, were there so closely invested by the rebellious omrah, that they were in a short time compelled to surrender. After upbraiding the emperor with his ingratitude, and the vizier with his rashness, he ordered the latter to immediate execution; and committed Ahmed himself to the custody of an officer, on whose steady vigilance he could rely. The next day the eyes of the king were blinded with an iron heated red hot, which necessarily terminated his government, after a reign of seven years, only distinguished by a transient display of vigour and fortitude at its commencement. This calamitous event took place about the close of the year 1755.

AULUMGEER THE SECOND.

After the atrocious act that consigned Ahmed Shah to blindness and oblivion, Ghazi o'deen raised to the vacant throne a grandson of Bahadur Shah, by the name and title of Aulumgeer the Second. He was immediately appointed vizier to the new emperor, and reigned with despotic sway both over him and the empire. Thus held in absolute bondage, and sensible of his chains, the weak monarch struggled in vain to get free from those manacles, which every effort to release himself only rivetted the closer. He never reflected, that the same power which exalted him to the imperial musnud, could, if so inclined, in an instant, hurry him back to that prison, in whose cheerless solitude he had already passed so many disconsolate years. As Ghazi was universally detested, a large party of omrahs sided with the king, but being equally dreaded as detested, few opportunities occurred of publicly evincing that rooted aversion which his tyrannical conduct had excited. All his measures, however, were secretly thwarted and undermined by the court and its sycophants; and many projects, that were even fraught with important benefit to the public, were relinquished, because they originated with him. Such an order of things could not last long. The secret cabals of his enemies, by no means escaped the penetrating eyes of the sagacious young vizier, and he was silently meditating a dreadful retaliation, when the alarming intelligence received of the mighty preparations of Abdallah for the invasion of Hindostan, roused the court of Delhi from their culpable insensibility to the public dangers that threatened the empire, and for a time suspended the animosity of faction. Aulumgeer possessed neither capacity of mind, nor vigour of body for military affairs; it was, therefore, determined that Ali Gohar, his eldest son, the present SHAH AULUM, accompanied and directed by the vizier, should march with all the forces that could be raised to oppose the progress of that powerful chieftain.

The treasury was exhausted by the unbounded profusion of the late and present emperor. With great difficulty an army of 80,000 men was raised for the expedition; but when they had advanced about forty miles beyond Sirhind, Abdallah was found to be too firmly established in his new conquests, to allow any hopes of a successful attack by troops hastily raised and ill disciplined, upon the veteran bands that had served under Nadir Shah. The whole result of the campaign was a treaty that only for a short time retarded the progress of Abdallah into Hindostan, and the solemnizing of a marriage contracted at a former period by Ghazi, with the daughter of the deceased Munnoo. Ghazi well knew that, if defeated by Abdallah, his power and influence were for ever gone. By dexterously warding off the blow, which was to subvert the empire, he saved himself also from destruction.

On the return of the imperial army to Delhi, the conduct of the vizier, both to the emperor and the omrahs, was marked by more outrageous insolence than ever. He confined the former within the walls of the citadel, and he dispatched, by poison or the dagger, all his enemies among the latter. Never were so many crimes crowded into so short an interval. At length wearied out with his sufferings, and his crown having become a burthen to him, Aulumgeer adopted the desperate measure of privately inviting Abdallah to advance with his army towards Delhi, and release him from his prosecutor. A well-concerted plot was laid for his destruction, which, however, by his profound craft he evaded, although the empire sunk in the dreadful conflict. To the command of a Rohilla chief, named Nidjib Dowlah, originally patronized by Ghazi, but whom his arrogance had disgusted, was intrusted a large division of the imperial army, that marched out to give Abdallah battle. Ghazi himself commanded the remainder. In the mock encounter that followed, he was deserted by the Rohilla, and the greater part of the army, and thus fell into the hands of Abdallah, whom, however, he afterwards found means to propitiate, though he was for the present deprived of the post of vizier.

The Afghan hordes being of a more ferocious disposition than the Persian troops of Nadir Shah, their irruption into the city of Delhi, which immediately took place, was attended by circumstances proportionably more disgusting and barbarous. In the space of nearly twenty years, amidst all its distractions, that metropolis had in great part recovered from that ruinous calamity, and though its wealth in jewels was at this time far inferior, yet commerce and the residence of the court had caused it again to overflow with treasure, which those savages extorted from the inhabitants, by every mode of refined torture that ingenuity could devise. Not satisfied with plundering the living; with robbing the mosques and the palaces of their gaudy spoil, they carried their depredations into the regions of the grave itself, and robbed the sepulchres of the emperors, and many pious saints, that had been held sacred for ages, of their gold and silver ornaments. For two months was the city subjected to these horrors, after which period the invader marched towards Agra, in order to punish and raise contributions among the Jauts, in which he was not altogether successful; for though he spread wide the scene of ravage and desolation through the open country, that people, for the most part, evaded his vengeance and extortions, by retiring to the strong holds, in which that district abounds. At Agra he was repulsed by the Mogul governor; but he wreaked his indignation upon the city of Muttra, one of the most ancient and venerable seats of the Hindoo religion, and after sacking and plundering it, left it a heap of ruins. He had also dispatched Ghazi, whom, in spite of the emperor's remonstrances he had again raised to the Vizirat, with an army into Dooab, or the interamnian region, to collect the tributary sums due to the government from that country and Oude. The Soubahdar of Oude, was that Sujah Dowlah, so well known to the English, who with the Rohillas, his allies, had already commenced his march for the frontiers, determined to oppose, if necessary, force by force. After some fruitless efforts to separate the united chiefs, and thinking himself not equal to their combined armies, the prudent Vizier compromised the business with them for a few lacks of rupees, and with these, and the spoils which he had otherwise procured, returned to Abdallah.

That invader who acted, while he staid in Hindostan, in all respects as its absolute sovereign, having received intelligence of some incursions into his dominions from Western Persia, was now preparing for his return to Candahar. As a balance to the Vizier's power, whom he had exalted to that high station solely on account of his transcendant abilities, in consequence of the earnest supplication of the emperor, he appointed Nidjib al Dowlah prince of the Omrahs, with orders to protect the king against his machinations, and having celebrated his nuptials with a daughter of Mahommed Shah, immediately commenced his retreat. In his progress to Candahar, he left his son Timur Shah, who was about the same time married to a daughter of Shah Aulum, with a large army at Lahore, and by this double alliance, his future views upon the throne of Hindostan may be clearly discerned.

The balance intended against the power of the Vizier, by the appointment of Nidjib al Dowlah to the high station of Ameer al Omrah, proved ineffectual towards restraining his arrogance and his cruelties, which were now carried to a greater height than ever. As, for supporting his usurped authority, it was necessary to keep in pay a considerable army of Mahrattas, and the treasury being drained, enormous sums were to be raised for its support, they could only be procured by the most oppressive measures from the toiling mechanic, by excessive burdens on commerce, and by confiscating the estates of the obnoxious nobility. Loud complaints and invectives resounded from every quarter, but there was no one to redress the grievance; for the king, with his son Ali Gohar, groaned under the same bondage, and were kept state prisoners by this daring young ruffian, while Nidjib al Dowlah was compelled to consult his personal safety, by retiring to his jaghire at Secundra, in the Dooab. The young and spirited prince, after several attempts to make his escape, did indeed at length effect it, at the head of a chosen band devoted to his service, by valiantly cutting a passage with his sabre through thousands of troops sent by Ghazi to blockade the palace, and endeavoured, when at liberty, to rouze against the traitor the various country powers ; but his deficiency in the great sinew of war, MONEY, added to the terror of Ghazi's name, and his formidable Mahratta army, prevented any effectual interference on their part. He resolved, therefore, to fly for protection to Nidjib, at Secundra, who received him with respect, but at present could be of no essential service to the royal cause.

In A. D. 1759, Abdallah, unsatiated with Indian spoil, and having settled the affairs of his own kingdom, again descended from the mountains of Afghanistan into the plains of Hindostan. He seemed to consider that devoted country, at once, as an inexhaustible source for recruiting his treasury, and as a field for the discipline of his hardy warriors. His present visit, however, was not *wholly* the effect of avarice, or ambition ; for the restless tribes of Mahrattas were now making rapid advances towards his dominions on the eastern frontier: indeed about this time their armies were in motion in all quarters, and their aim seemed to be to exterminate the Mahommedan princes, and upon the ruin of their authority, to erect a sovereignty of their own. To oppose a power whose views upon that empire were so similar to those entertained by himself, and once more settle the distracted affairs of Delhi, concerning which he had regular intelligence from Lahore, doubtless accelerated his march eastward, which was at this time made with all the forces of his empire, and with energy mighty as the interests at stake. We must here for a short interval, leave him pursuing his victorious career across the mountains, and driving his enemies before him in every engagement, to return, for the last time, to Ghazi, and the unfortunate monarch his prisoner.

The situation of that minister was now desperate indeed! After having been so repeatedly pardoned and promoted; having violated all confidence, and trampled on all gratitude, every hope of appeasing Abdallah must have vanished from his mind. He had long at an heavy expence maintained in his pay, as if for the security of the empire, but principally to promote his own ambitious projects, and to maintain his own usurped authority, a large body of Mahrattas, the decided enemies both of Abdallah and the Mogul dynasty. With these barbarous hordes he had inundated all the environs of Delhi; with these he had driven Nidjib from its walls, and held in defiance the menacing Soubahs of Oude and Bengal. He *suspected* that Aulumgeer had again invited the Abdallees; he *knew* that, by his emissaries, he had endeavoured to detach from his service the army which he had raised to defend the throne in every preceding extremity. He knew also that before the myriads of Abdallah, that army would be unable to stand. The dream of greatness was over, and he was resolved to terminate his sanguinary career, with a blow that should shake Hindostan to its center, and remind ungrateful monarchs of their doom. He resolved to murder the sovereign whom he had created, and to deprive Abdallah of, at least, half his promised spoil, by permitting his ferocious Mahrattas to ravage the capital, in which he had so long borne the chief sway.

Among his other weaknesses Aulumgeer was addicted to superstition; but it was an amiable weakness; and it added greatly to the atrocity of the murder, that, during an act which strongly marked his piety, the crime was accomplished. Being informed that a fakeer, or Mahommedant saint, highly venerable on account of his religious attainments, had arrived at Delhi, he expressed an anxious wish to visit the holy man; for saints in India disdain to visit even the palaces of kings. Every thing being previously prepared in the apartments of the pretended saint, as he slowly approached the reverend impostor, two assassins rushed from behind a screen, and with their scymetars divided his head from his body. The headless trunk was exposed two days on the sands of the Jumna, and then interred without regal honours. This event took place towards the close of 1759. The regicide then proceeded to the state prison of the princes of the house of Timur, and taking out thence a grandson of Kambuksh, the youngest son of Aurungzeb, placed him on the throne, with the title of Jehaun the Second; but he is not reckoned among the number of emperors. The gates of the city were now opened to the Mahrattas, who renewed, with increased horrors within its walls, the dreadful work of devastation and death, and for many days continued their merciless career of blood and plunder, till intelligence of the near approach of the Abdallees compelled them to depart. Ghazi himself, after having introduced them to the spoil, had for security retired, by that chief's permission, to a strong fortress of Suraje Mull, and there, whatever atrocities, in a less public character, he might afterwards commit, history loses sight of him.

Abdallah found Delhi in a dreadful situation, from having been so long exposed to the desolating fury and pillage of the Mahrattas. His own exactions severely added to its misfortunes; and so great were they, and so unparalleled the sufferings of the inhabitants that, in the paroxysm of despair, they flew to arms. More stern than Nadir, because exposed to more imminent danger than his predecessor, Abdallah gave orders for a general massacre, which lasted without intermission for seven days. At that period, when nearly a fourth part of the inhabitants had thus perished, and most of the public buildings were on fire, to add to the confusion, and increase the miseries of the wretched Delhians, immense bodies of Mahrattas, under Mulhar Row, had arrived in the environs, to share with Abdallah the spoils of the burning metropolis. Undaunted in danger, like his great example, after checking the ravages of the sword and the conflagration, he marched out of the city, and gave them battle. After a desperate conflict fought about two coss from Delhi, the Mahrattas were defeated, and pursued for many leagues with great slaughter. Their defeat, however, was only the awakening signal, the grand tocsin, for the assemblage and union of their whole power, under all their chiefs, in order to crush the bold invader. This design they probably would have been able to accomplish, by cutting off his supplies, and, by repeated assaults, wearying out and diminishing an army that was too remote from its resources to recruit itself, had not, at length, all the great Mahommedan powers of India also taken the alarm, and however varying their interest, or individually hostile to Abdallah, seen the urgent necessity of joining him, or being crushed themselves. The Mahommedan religion and government established in India for eight centuries, at an immense expenditure of blood and treasure, must be subverted, or the vast power of the Mahrattas be annihilated by one decisive blow. The circumstance of two such mighty potentates rushing to arms, exhibits a spectacle truly great; but outraged humanity cannot contemplate it without horror! While they are mutually preparing for the mighty conflict which is to decide the fate of India, it is necessary that we should for a short time, attend to the adventures of a personage of no small importance at the present moment, that Ali Gohar, who, we have seen, after valiantly cutting his way through the besieging army of Ghazi, retired to the jaghire of Nidjib al Dowlah, for protection from the rage of the blood-stained foe of his family.

After staying some months with that protector, finding him unwilling, or unable, in a more public and decisive manner to espouse his cause, the royal exile, at the head of his few determined adherents, faithful to him in every difficulty, and not, perhaps, uncheered with hopes of the approaching dawn of better days, pursued his journey to Oude, where he was received by Sujah Dowlah with the greatest respect, and even with regal honours; though that omrah also at present declined taking any active public part in his affairs. He presented him, however, with a handsome nuzzar of elephants, horses, and money.

In the anxious and laudable desire to emancipate his royal parent from the tyranny of Ghazi, the prince next repaired to Allahabad, and there, in Mahommed Kuli Khan, its viceroy, he found an ardent and strenuous supporter. That enterprising chief, however, recommended, in the first instance, his seizing upon the rich provinces of Bahar and Bengal, with whose tributary wealth, so vast and so long owing, they might be able to raise an army adequate to the great object in view. The proposition was acceded to, and being afterwards imparted to Sujah Dowlah, received his consent, accompanied with the promise of a considerable body of troops, in addition to those of Mahommed. Towards the close of the year 1758, the expedition, highly formidable to any troops but those with thom they were to engage, commenced. Unfortunately for him, at this time the

English army under Colonel Clive, connected by the closest alliance with the government of Bengal, which had for some time, as we have before related, assumed independence,* presented too firm a front to permit his eventual success, even with all his high and imperial claims. This is not the proper place to enter upon the particulars of that campaign. It will be sufficient at present to observe that, notwithstanding some partial triumphs in Bahar, in Bengal he was wholly unsuccessful; and that after having surrendered himself to the victorious British army, and having solicited their military aid in his behalf without effect, as they deemed it not prudent at that time to interfere in his concerns, he once more retired to his protector at Oude. Intelligence, however, of the assassination of Aulumgeer having arrived during the expedition, he caused a throne to be erected, which he publicly ascended, and was proclaimed emperor at Patna. He ever afterwards acted, and was addressed in that capacity. One of the first acts of his new authority was the appointment of Sujah Dowlah to be perpetual vizier of the empire, a situation equally gratifying to the ambition of the one, and beneficial to the interests of the other. He resolutely, however, refused to accept the pressing invitation which, about this period, came from Abdallah, under that chief's auspices publicly to assume the diadem at Delhi. His spirit at this time seemed too great to owe the crown of Hindostan to any other source than his high birth, and the exertion of his own valour.

The grand conflict, as yet unrivalled in the history of India, in respect to the number and power of the combatants, and which was to consign its throne to a Mahommedan, or native power, was now rapidly approaching. After his late triumph and pursuit of the Mahratta army, Abdallah had returned to Delhi, and releasing from the weight of his regal cares the sceptered pageant raised to the throne by Ghazi, by consigning him to his ancient abode, the state-prison of his family, dispatched thence the invitation to Shah Aulum, which we have noticed, publicly to ascend the throne of his ancestors at that capital; but which under such ill-omened auspices, that prudent prince declined. The Mahratta armies under all their most famous chiefs, but subject to the supreme controul of Suddasheo, otherwise the Bhow, were now rolling in a vast body towards Delhi; in their progress they summoned the Jaut rajah to join them. Suraje Mull, although a Hindoo, yet jealous of the Mahratta power, at first hesitated; but on their threatening to ravage his country with fire and sword, and actually commencing those devastations, he reluctantly joined them with 50,000 of his troops. With this addition, their force amounted to 200,000 men, for the most part cavalry. On the near approach of this enormous mass to Delhi, Abdallah thought it prudent to evacuate that city, and retired across the Jumna, to a country more open for the conveyance of supplies to his army, and more practicable for his junction with the Mahommedan forces, which he expected from the north and east of Delhi. Among these were the Rohillas, the troops of Sujah Dowlah, Ahmed Khan Bunguish, the Patan chief of Douab, and other mussulman princes, neighbouring on the Ganges, who had been long subject to the depredations of the Mahrattas.

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* Under Allaverdy Khan. See Vol. II. p. 341.

The Mahratta general soon after advanced, and took possession of the imperial city, in which but a slender garrison had been left by Abdallah, and which was again subjected to all the horrors of former devastation, with great aggravation. The Bhow himself was as mean as he was avaricious, and amidst his other enormities, tore down the cieling of the grand hall of audience, which was of massy silver, and sent it to the mint, with all the utensils, as chairs, tables, of that precious metal, which after such repeated spoliation yet remained in that once august abode. All the branches of the royal family, as well as their dependants, were, also, meanly plundered of their property and jewels. But what pen can describe the unequalled sufferings of the poor Delhians themselves, in this last extremity of human wretchedness. After being stript of all their little remaining property, and even their very clothes, by a sordid foe, to whom no species of plunder came amiss, they were unmercifully scourged with whips by their insensible tormentors, and driven before them naked through the streets, a famished and frantic throng. Many perished under the hands of their oppressors, and many more rushed voluntarily upon that death which is the last refuge of agonizing humanity. Provisions at length totally failing, to avoid the fate of thousands daily falling around them, the merciless barbarians were compelled to quit the city, and immediately proceeded to Karnaul, where they intrenched themselves on the same ground, formerly occupied by Mahommed, while Abdallah wisely selected the more fortunate situation of Nadir Shah. Here both armies lay in their intrenchments several days, in dreadful preparation, during which, by the mediation of Sujah Dowlah, some overtures were made for peace, but ineffectually. Their mutual differences had risen too high to admit of compromise; and the demands on either side were too extravagant to be complied with.

The whole surrounding country had been so recently and utterly exhausted by the large armies, of whose contests it had been the fatal *aceldama*, that provisions adequate to the support of such immense bodies of troops, were obliged to be brought from very distant quarters, and the active Abdallee cavalry had contrived to cut off several large convoys bearing provisions to the Mahratta camp, from Deccan, escorted by considerable bodies of troops, while his own was amply supplied by the Rohillas, and his Mahommedan allies on the banks of the Ganges. At length the Mahrattas being reduced to the greatest streights, came to the resolution of giving battle to the enemy, and the whole army marched out of their entrenchments, and advanced towards the enemy's lines. The Abdallees also marched out with alacrity to meet them, and on the morning of the 14th January, 1761, the dreadful battle took place, about two coss distant from the camp of the Abdallees, by whom the attack was commenced with such irresistible impetuosity as prevented their making effectual use of the formidable train of artillery which was drawn out in their front. The dreadful concussion was felt through the whole extent of their line. The Mahrattas, however, fully aware of their desperate situation, that if death threatened before, famine hovered behind, and that their sabres alone must cut their way to safety and to glory, fought for a long time with obstinate bravery, and drove the Abdallees back almost to their camp; but at this moment of apparent triumph a cannon ball struck off the head of the Bhow; the Jauts, who had never heartily joined in their cause, deserted them in a body; and Sujah Dowlah, Ahmed Khan Bunguish, and the other Mahommedan allies pouring down with all their troops on their exposed flank, compelled the great body of them to give way; though in various divisions of that vast army the most heroic deeds were achieved, worthy of themselves and the object, an imperial throne, for which they contended. This is demonstrated by the fact, that out of the numerous distinguished generals by whom that army was conducted to the field, scarcely one, except Mulhar Row, who fled upon the first charge, returned to his native country. The carnage that commenced after the battle was horrible, for no body was inclined to give quarter to them, whose unrelenting rage spared no body; and wheresoever they were pursued in their flight among the towns and villages, they were universally massacred. 50,000 are said to have fallen in the action, and 30,000 more during the pursuit, which lasted three days, the whole line of their flight being stained with blood. With respect to the plunder taken in the Mahratta camp, it exceeded all calculation, comprising their whole artillery, tents, elephants, horses, camels, the treasure collected in their progress from Deccan, and the still more enormous sums extorted from the miserable Delhians.

To that ill-fated city, after the pursuit, Abdallah immediately repaired, and in imperial pomp received the congratulations of all the great Mussulman lords, his allies, on the utter subversion of the power of the implacable enemies of their religion and government, the Mahrattas. The empire of Timur was now his own, but he seemed inclined to permit the existing branch of that dynasty to enjoy the throne as his deputies, paying him a large annual tribute; and he not only dispatched heralds with renewed invitations to Shah Aulum to return to Delhi, but placed on it his son JEWAN BUKHT, as regent, till his father should return from Bengal, where he was engaged in new schemes of conquest. On Sujah Dowlah, by whose intrepid valour, exerted at a most critical moment, principally, the victory was gained, he bestowed magnificent presents, and confirmed him in the exalted post of perpetual Vizier of the empire. After staying some time there to settle, on the best basis possible, the distracted affairs of the country, he appointed Nidjib al Dowlah, governor of the city, and guardian of the royal family, and returned about the close of the year 1761, to Candahar; nor from that period till his death, which happened in 1773, owing to distractions nearer home, and the firm barrier presented to his farther progress by the Seiks, was the capital cursed with another visit from that scourge of Hindostan.

SHAH AULUM.

We are now arrived at that distressing part of the Mogul history which exhibits the singular phænomenon of an EMPEROR without an EMPIRE, and that emperor himself residing many years during the early part of his reign a voluntary exile from his capital in an obscure corner of his nominal dominions, and a pensioner on the bounty of a foreign power. Although the detail of these matters more properly belongs to the history of the English successes in India than to the General History, it will be necessary to present the reader with a summary statement of facts that led to such an extraordinary predicament in one of the princes of Timur's family.

The first attempt of Shah Aulum to possess himself of Bahar and Bengal, or rather of their wealth, by which be hoped to reinstate himself in splendour at Delhi, has been already mentioned as wholly unsuccessful. On the return of Sujah Dowlah to Oude in 1762, loaded with honours, and flushed with recent victory, with what ever awe the British character might have before inspired him, that awe was now in a great degree effaced, and under the sanction of the imperial name and imperial banners he hoped with his mighty armies to overwhelm them as he had overwhelmed the myriad foe at Paniput. The expulsion of Meer Cossim from the Nabobship of Bengal was the ostensible reason alleged by the Vizier for this unprovoked attack upon them. To him, Cossim, after the inhuman massacre in cold blood of the English gentlemen at Patna,* had fled with the remnant of his army, and by him was for a time protected, but afterwards plundered and deserted. Immense preparations were made for an expedition which was to insure to him the sovereignty of Bahar and Bengal, and expel the English from the Indian shores for ever. Early in 1764, those mighty preparations being complete, the armies of the two soubahs commenced their march southward. The respectable native historian of Bengal, GHOLAM HOSSAIN, describing the progress of the march, mentions their numbers as exceeding calculation, covering the country as far as the eye could reach; but from the ignorance of the generals, and want of discipline, murdering one another. It was not an army, but rather a moving nation.* With this undisciplined rabble, and with Clive's victory, at Plassey, fresh in his memory, did Sujah Dowlah hope to conquer a British army!

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* See an account of this sanguinary affair in Vansittart's "Bengal." Vol. III. p. 375.

Among that rabble, however, were doubtless intermingled many battalions of the Rohilla and Mogul cavalry, that fought so valiantly against the Mahratta host; by some of his more experienced generals he was strenuously advised from the immense mass in motion to select those squadrons, and with those alone, and his artillery, which was numerous and well served, to advance against the foe; but Sujah Dowlah despised his enemy too much to take their advice, and entered Bahar at the head of this disorderly band, "spreading desolation," says Hossain, "for miles around their line of march."† The English army under Major Carnac, greatly diminished in numbers, and worn down with excessive fatigue during the late arduous campaign, in which Meer Cossim had been driven before them through a great part of Bengal and Bahar, and also not a little alarmed at the approach of this new and formidable foe—thought it prudent now to fall back from Buxar to Patna, near which city, finding themselves unable to keep the field against such an immense superiority, they threw up intrenchments. Inspired with new confidence by their retreat, the allies kept up a vigorous pursuit, and having arrived at Phulwaurree, about four miles distant from Patna, they there pitched their tents. Early on the following morning they advanced, and in the course of that day made three successive assaults on the English lines, which however, being defended with equal vigour and more dexterity than the attack was made, they were as many times repulsed with immense slaughter. Towards evening Sujah Dowlah with his discomfited army retreated to their encampment at Phulwaurree, extremely indignant at the conduct of Meer Cossim, who had all the day kept at a very respectful distance from the scene of action, nor had even quitted his station when required by signals to advance.* The Vizier was himself wounded in the action, and was in consequence for some days confined to his tent. On his recovery he attempted nothing decisive, but encamped nearer to the south of the city, and contented himself with occasionally parading before the English lines in all the pomp of Asiatic military splendour. After a month had thus elapsed in inactivity, as the season of the rains was rapidly approaching, this vain glorious chief retreated to Buxar, where he continued, intending to return to the attack of Patna, when the wet season should be over.

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* Gholam Hossain translated by Captain Scott, p. 437.

† Gholam Hossain, p. 432.

During all this time Shah Aulum was treated with great neglect and indifference by the arrogant Vizier; in short, as the mere imperial pageant of his ambitious projects. Sick of such empty homage, and such lukewarm friendship, he became impatient to throw himself upon the generosity of the British commander. He even sent a message to that purport by our author,

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* Gholam Hossain, p. 432.

Gholam Hossain, who was upon the spot, and in his suit; but Major Carnac respectfully replied, " that his majesty was not then in a situation to act from himself, and that therefore the English could enter into no negociation with him." Neither was his conduct to Meer Cossim marked with any more feeling or respect: he had agreed to pay the Vizier eleven lacks of rupees monthly during the war, but that war becoming greatly protracted, the Vizier thought proper to anticipate payment, and on some trivial pretence confined Meer Cossim, and seized upon all his property, which was immense; he being supposed to have carried out of Bengal the amount of five millions, in gold and jewels. The day of severe retribution, however, was at hand, when he himself was doomed to become an abject dependent upon the bounty of others!

The rains being at length over, Colonel Hector Munro, who had superseded Major Carnac, and brought a great accession of strength to the army, not only in point of numbers, but of vigorous discipline, which it also wanted, commenced his march for Buxar, where the enemy in their turn had strongly intrenched themselves. Buxar is situated on the river Carumnassa, on the frontiers of Bahar, 100 miles above Patna. On receiving this intelligence Sujah Dowlah sent a large detachment of Mogul cavalry to harass his line of march; but the English army was not to be retarded or dismayed. They had with them only ten days provision, and they had resolved in that space to conquer or die. The Vizier's troops, added to those of Cossim and the emperor, composed an army of 50,000 men; that of the English scarcely amounted to 5000 men, of which 1200 were Europeans.

On his arrival at Buxar, Colonel Munro encamped on the borders of a morass, which now only separated the hostile armies. Two days they remained inactive; on the third the

Vizier changing his resolution of avoiding a general engagement, marched out of his intrenchments at the head of the Mogul cavalry, and took his station at some distance on the right of the English army. His minister, Beny Bahadur, occupied a ruined village on the bank of the Ganges, on their left. Eight battalions of sepoys, dressed and disciplined by Cossim in the European manner, with a numerous train of artillery, formed the front line, supported in the rear by a large body of cavalry. A heavy fire of cannon and musquetry immediately commenced, and was kept up for a long period, and with great spirit on both sides. The Vizier, in the mean time, pouring down with his cavalry, harassed the British in flank, and the Duranny horse at one time penetrated the line of major Munro's cavalry, and threw them into momentary disorder ; but all was quickly restored by the continued, well-directed, redoubled fire of the English artillery, which mowed down whole squadrons, and overwhelmed horse and infantry with promiscuous destruction. In the height and ardour of the conflict, Munro, calm and collected, detached a strong body with a view to dislodge Beny Bahadur from the village on the left, which was happily effected, and the victorious squadron impetuously rushing forward, entered, and plundered, the camp of the Vizier, which threw the whole field into irretrievable confusion, as the Duranny and other mercenary troops, despairing of victory, now pressed forwards with equal eagerness to partake of the spoil, and repay themselves by plundering the rich tents and baggage of their employer. The heroes, however, who had so arduously fought on that day, soon arrived to claim the just reward of triumphant valour, and the barbarous hordes quickly disappeared. In the general flight that now took place, Sujah Dowlah, left almost alone by his perfidious auxiliaries, was reluctantly compelled to follow the route of his retreating army, nor did he think himself in perfect security till with a few followers he arrived at Allahabad. This celebrated battle, decisive of the claims of Cossim to Bengal, and of the power of the native princes to contend with European armies, took place in October 1764: 6,000 of the enemy were left dead on the spot, and 130 pieces of cannon, with a vast quantity of military stores were taken on the field. In the intrenched camp, notwithstanding the depredations made by those Afghan marauders, still an immense booty remained to the victors in money, bullion, jewels, and every species of valuable property, for, according to our author, " the cantonments resembled a populous city rather than a camp."*

The emperor, with this fresh proof of the invincibility of the English before him, and being once more the master of his own actions, again applied to the British general for that protection which it was now thought proper to grant him. He was accordingly received in the British camp with the honours due to his high rank, and attended Colonel Munro to Benares, where a handsome stipend was allowed for his maintenance till the pleasure of the governor and council at Calcutta could be known concerning his future disposal. In the mean time the war with Sujah Dowlah was vigorously prosecuted, and with such unvaried success, that after having in vain called to his aid Rohillas and Mahrattas, the warriors on the Ganges, and the chiefs on the Jumna, he found himself stript of all his dominions, and was, in his turn, ultimately compelled to throw himself on the clemency of the victors. General Carnac, having resumed the supreme command, received the fallen chief with respect; and in the end he was, from motives of sound policy, restored to all his territories, except the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, which, with a revenue of 22 lacks, or 220,000l. were conferred on the

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* Golam Hossain, p. 442.

Mogul, and the castle of the latter place assigned him as a suitable residence. In addition to this allowance, on his majesty's issuing firmauns, granting, in perpetuity, to the Company, the office of DUANNY, or administration of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, the British governour, Lord Clive, recently returned to India, engaged to pay into the royal treasury, as a kind of quit rent out of the revenues of Bengal, 26 lacks, or 260,000l. more, making a clear annual income of nearly half a million sterling; an income amply adequate, not only to his necessities, but to the maintenance of some degree of regal splendour.

While, however, the emperor was thus liberally provided for, it cannot be denied but that the Company, in return, obtained essential advantages, which placed them, as foreigners, in a new and enviable situation; for they were by these firmauns, and that grant, constituted an efficient, permanent part of the Mogul empire, with the sovereign's authority, added to their own, for the accomplishment of all reasonable purposes of power, and aggrandisement, together with a clear annual revenue OF A MILLION AND AN HALF STERLING, after all the charges of the civil and military establishment were paid. Under the protection of the English, we shall at present leave Shah Aulum, and return to the administration of affairs at Delhi, under his son, and Nidjib al Dowlah.

To that capital, and a small district adjoining to it, on each side of the Jumna, were the once mighty and extensive domains of the Mogul sovereign reduced; and even that wretched pittance of territory, on the departure of Abdallah, the rapacious Jauts, the avowed enemies of the Rohilla minister, endeavoured to wrest from his grasp. The intrepid minister, with a far inferior force, took the field, but made amends by his skill and address, for what he wanted in point of number. Confiding in their numbers, unimpaired by the recent battle from which we have seen they early and prudently receded, the chiefs of that nation, in vain assurance of victory, amidst the toil of arms occasionally indulged in the sports of the field. This culpable negligence passed not unobserved by Nidjib al Dowlah, who, by his spies, was fully acquainted with whatever was transacted in the hostile camp. Having, by this means, gained intelligence of a large hunting party, in which Suraje Mull and his principal generals were to be engaged on a particular day, he contrived on that very day to dispatch a resolute body of 500 horse, under a commander of approved valour, to intercept them, while he himself with the main body of his troops, rushed on the Jaut army, utterly unprepared, and deprived of the advantage of its most skilful generals. In both cases the well-concerted project was crowned with complete success. After a desperate defence, Suraje Mull and his chiefs (about 300 in number) were cut off to a man, and the head of Suraje Mull being borne aloft on a spear, and exhibited to his army, they were struck with fear and horror at the sight; and after a feeble resistance, fled in every direction. They were pursued by the Moguls to a great distance, and with immense slaughter, after which the victors returned in triumph to Delhi, where the death of the restless and turbulent Suraje Mull seemed to promise them a long and undisturbed repose.

It proved, however, but of short duration, for the rajah's son, Jowahir Mull, being determined to revenge his father's death, and having in addition to his own troops, hired a body of 20,000 Mahrattas, under Mulhar Row, marched at the head of this formidable army to Delhi, to which city he laid close siege for three months, Nidjib being utterly unable to cope with such an accumulation of force. Being reduced, at length, to great distress, and well knowing the mercenary nature of the Mahratta chiefs, he contrived by a large present, to bring Mulhar Row over to his interests, and the Jauts finding themselves betrayed by their venal allies, were ultimately compelled to agree to conditions very ill calculated to gratify their high-flown ideas of conquest and vengeance, and retired humiliated and disgusted to their own country. Repeated attacks, however, upon the capital, but of minor importance, continued, afterwards, to be made both by this people and the Seiks, but they were all repulsed or rendered nugatory by the political address of this able and upright statesman, who having discharged with honour both the duties of private life, and those due to the royal family, entrusted to his care, expired of a complication of disorders, and deeply regretted by the inhabitants of Delhi, in 1770. His son, Zabetah Khan, succeeded him in his important ministerial charge at Delhi; but in that station he seems to have acted with neither the ability, integrity, or loyalty of his father. Indeed it will be presently seen, that under whatever obligations the family of Timur might lie to Nidjib al Dowlah, they were utterly annulled by the long series of insults and oppressions heaped upon them at a subsequent period by this traitor, and his inhuman son, or rather monster in human form, GHOLAUM CAUDIR.

Deluded by a phantom of ideal grandeur, and impatient to be seated on the throne of his ancestors in the imperial city of Delhi, Shah Aulum, after a reluctant residence at Allahabad under the protection of the English, during five years, at length determined to exchange the comforts of independence for the splendid cares of a diadem, whose glory was faded, and whose authority was extinguished. Out of the liberal stipend settled upon him by the Company, Shah Aulum had been able to save a considerable sum, and as the English continued firm in their resolution not to assist him in his ambitious projects, he turned his eyes towards the Mahrattas, who were by this time sufficiently recovered from their late disaster to engage in new schemes of conquest and aggrandizement, and in fact had at that moment an army encamped near Delhi, of 30,000 horse, waiting the current of events to be employed by one or other of the contending parties that harassed the empire. In this his rash determination to quit Allahabad, and to call in the aid of the Mahratta chiefs, he was encouraged and supported by his favourite minister, Hussam al Dowlah, a man of base and venal principles, and originally of mean extraction, but who had risen to distinction by becoming the pander of his master's illicit pleasures. This wretch, to whose pernicious councils the greater part of the errors of his early reign may be justly ascribed, hoped, by engaging the Mahrattas in the royal cause, and under their protection, to establish beyond controul his assumed power over the crown in that more enlarged sphere of action in which they possessed ample ability to place him, and his plans and councils were but too eagerly attended to on this and other occasions by his infatuated sovereign. The sum which was stipulated by this minister for their assistance in putting him in possession of Delhi was ten lacks of rupees, and this sum their rapacious chiefs insisted on being paid before hand, with which extraordinary demand, after much negociation, the emperor thought proper to comply. His own army, although not numerous, was respectable, having been disciplined after the European manner, and commanded by English officers, who were, however, not permitted to accompany him beyond the frontiers of Corah. To that boundary the imperial troops were attended by the Vizier and Sir Robert Barker, the English commander in chief, who, after repeating in vain his own earnest request, and that of the presidency of Calcutta, that he would not depart from under their protection, took his final adieu. In this request the Vizier also joined, but insincerely, as he had secretly encouraged the departure of a prince, whose strict union with the English he considered as a bar to the success of projects to the accomplishment of which he wanted their assistance.

The royal army now moved forward, and arriving at Ferokhabad, the Nabob of which, Ahmed Khan Bunguish, was recently dead, Shah Aulum received from his son a tribute of five lacks, as a compensation for having confirmed to him by a royal firmaun those estates and that property of his deceased father, which, according to the laws of the Mogul empire, should have reverted to the crown. Thus was the royal treasury still farther replenished, and with invigorated confidence pressing forward towards the goal of his ambition, the emperor was in a few days joined by the Mahratta army, who, marching on with him to the capital without meeting any obstruction, entered it in grand procession, and completed their agreement by publicly enthroning him with great pomp on the musnud of Delhi. This joyful event took place in December 1771; a momentary exultation was diffused through that desolated metropolis, and the palace and court were illuminated by a transient ray of their ancient splendour.

Inflamed with resentment against Zabetah Khan, who, after his father's decease, was reported, not only to have treated the emperor, then resident at Allahabad, with marked disrespect, but, also to have violated the sanctity of the royal haram, by an intrigue with one of the princesses of the blood,—with the aggravation of refusing to remit to court the customary tribute of his district—Shah Aulum, early in the following year, commenced his march at the head of 90,000 men, chiefly Mahratta cavalry, for the territories of that chief. They comprehended the province of Sehaurunpore, situated about 70 miles north-east of Delhi, in the upper parts of the *Dooab,* and in the vicinity of the Sewalick hills; and were conferred on his father, in Jaghire, in just reward for his long and meritorious services to the state. Zabetah Khan, conscious of guilt, and prejudging his fate, had made every preparation possible for resisting the *Mogul* forces; he had placed numerous garrisons in all his forts, and commanded in the field a chosen body of veteran Rohillas; but against the immense *Mahratta* army, now advancing to desolate his country, it was in his power to oppose no adequate force, and after several desperate and sanguinary conflicts, he was compelled to retire across the Ganges, and take refuge in the dominions of Sujah Dowlah, who, however in his heart he might detest the Rohillas, retained a still greater dread and abhorrence of the Mahrattas. Well knowing how obnoxious he was to them from his conduct at Paniput, that omrah had advanced to Shahabad, the frontier city of his dominions, attended by Sir Robert Barker, and a considerable body of English troops, to watch their motions, and Colonel Champion was at Benares with a still larger body; but the emperor restrained their impetuosity, and having plundered the country of every valuable it contained, the whole army returned to Delhi. On this occasion he experienced a glaring proof of the equity of his new allies, for out of the immense booty which they had obtained in this campaign, the Mahrattas scarcely allowed any part to the Moguls, with whom they had agreed to divide the spoil; and having thus drained both the emperor and the country, marched off towards Agra to pass the rainy season, and raise fresh contributions among the Jauts. In the late expedition we first hear of the distinguished bravery and ability of Nudjuff Khan, general of the imperial troops, who will make a conspicuous figure in the annals of this reign, and whose exertions the emperor rewarded to the best of his abilities.

To fill up the measure of their perfidy, after the rains, the Mahrattas returned to the neighbourhood of the capital, and having been secretly bribed by Zabetah Khan, dispatched messengers to the court of Delhi, insisting on the restoration of that omrah to all the territories, for ejecting him from which they had been paid by the emperor. By their own peremptory mandates the newly appointed officers were removed from the districts near Delhi, in which they had been placed as the only means of paying the heavy arrears due to them; and the wretched emperor, baffled, deluded, and assailed on every side by insult, and clamour, began heartily to wish himself once more under the protection of the English, in the enjoyment of an abridged but undisturbed domain, and a solid and certain, though inferior revenue. His treacherous minister, Husham, grown jealous of the rising influence of Nudjuff Khan, is said privately to have instigated the Mahrattas to these outrages, in order to crush that chief, and obtain the disbanding of his army, on the plea that there was no money in the treasury to pay them. But neither would that loyal chief desert his sovereign in this extremity, nor would the affection of the soldiers suffer themselves to be torn from their general. On the contrary, on the near approach of the enemy, he marched out at the head of all the troops which Delhi could supply, and offered them battle under the walls of the city. Scarcely had he formed his line, when the Mahrattas began the attack in their usual impetuous manner; but they were repulsed by the steady bravery of the Moguls, and pursued to some distance. Their flight was probably designed, for the pursuit was fatal. Having advanced beyond the reach of the artillery of the city walls, which defended their rear, they were surrounded by so superior a body of Mahratta cavalry as insured victory to the latter. Still, however, the Delhians for a time resolutely continued the unequal contest. Many brave Moguls perished on that fatal day, and Nudjuff, in particular, seemed determined not to survive the disaster. While attempting to rush singly on the armed myriads of the foe, he was stopt by his friends, and carried by force into Delhi, where, however, neither his courage nor his patriotism could save him from the vindictive fury of his rival.

The Mahrattas in a few days removed their camp close to the walls of the city, and their chiefs, Bissagee and Holkar, together with Zabetah Khan, insolently entered the palace on their elephants, as far as the hall of audience, a privilege allowed only to the royal family. The humiliated emperor descended from his throne to receive them, and was compelled to submit to all their arrogant demands. Zabetah Khan was completely restored to all the domains that had been wrested from him, and had also the rank of ameer al omrah bestowed upon him. The Jauts were also re-instated in many of their possessions which had been taken from them in the Dooab, and added to the royal domain; and the Mahrattas appropriated to themselves other large tracts; so that Delhi alone remained to the beggared monarch. Not content, however, with degrading him thus far, they compelled him to violate every principle of honour and gratitude, by demanding of him a grant of the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, where he had been so long and so generously protected by the English. The English, however, on his retreat from those provinces, had seized upon them, as their property, not only by conquest, but by his former cession of them, and the Mahrattas stood too much in awe of their power at present to attempt occupying them. Nudjuff Khan, upon whom the minister laid all the blame of resistance, was fined in a heavy sum, and banished the royal presence, and the city of Delhi, from which in three days he departed with all his adherents, but was immediately taken into the service of Holkar, who admired his bravery, at a large stipend.

The Mahrattas shortly after commenced their march for Rohilcund, with intent to plunder that province; but found there Sujah Dowlah, and an English brigade under Sir Robert Barker, to whom the Rohillas had applied for protection, ready to obstruct their progress. After committing their usual depredations on the northern and exposed districts of the province, awed by the approach of the British artillery, they retired precipitately across the Ganges, and bending their course towards the Jumna, before the end of the year returned to Deccan. On the retreat of the Mahrattas, Nudjuff Khan, with his faithful battalions, joined the forces of Sujah Dowlah, who received him with the greatest kindness, and by his earnest recommendations, in addition to those of Sir Robert Barker, he was again restored to the emperor's favour, who had, in fact, parted with him only by compulsion. He had long viewed with disgust the unprincipled conduct of his favourite minister, Husham, by whose predilection for the Mahrattas he had suffered such extreme affliction and debasement. The treasury was empty, and even the crown-jewels had been pledged to supply the pressing necessities of the court; the army also had become mutinous on account of the great arrears due to them. In this emergency, it seemed but just that the remedy should be derived from that quarter which was the source of these multiplied calamities. The minister was given up to the merited vengeance of his fortunate rival, and his ill-gotten treasures were devoted to alleviate the public distresses. After keeping him confined, however, during two years, Nudjuff Khan had the generosity to set him at liberty, and allowed him a liberal pension for the remainder of his life.

It is not without indignation that the historian of this period finds himself compelled to descend from recording the annals of a great dynasty, and become the degraded narrator of the ambitious struggles for power of their viziers and favourites. Sujah Dowlah had, however, now become a personage of greater political consequence in the empire, possessed far more extensive territories, and a far more abundant revenue, than even Shah Aulum himself. His ambition, indeed, had expanded with his power; and he now determined, with the aid of his allies, the English, to seize on the country of the Rohillas, and make that fine, fertile, and contiguous province, a constituent, unalienable portion of his own dominions. The ostensible plea, never wanted by a tyrant, when resolved on acts of aggression, for this glaring act of injustice, was the neglect of the chiefs of that nation to discharge the sum of 40 lacks, stipulated to be paid him for the defence of their country in the preceding year against the Mahratta hordes. The chiefs urged, in excuse, their utter inability at that time to discharge the demand, owing to the desolated state of a great part of their country; but, whether that excuse were feigned or real, their ruin and expulsion were resolved upon by the inexorable Vizier. The presidency at Calcutta seem in this instance too easily to have listened to those delusive maxims of state policy, which removed for ever from the vicinity of their ally and of themselves, a dangerous and troublesome neighbour, of whom war was at once the employment and delight. The imbecile court of Delhi, soothed by the immediate payment of a large sum, and the promise of sharing in the plunder of Rohilcund, prepared to take an active part in the iniquitous business; and Nudjuff Khan, at that time successfully pursuing the war against the Jauts, in the vicinity of Agra, was recalled for that purpose, and ordered to unite his forces with those of the Vizier in its reduction.

Early in the year 1774, all his mighty preparations for the attack being ready, the Vizier took the field, and was soon joined by the British under Colonel Champion. Hafiz Rahmut, the most distinguished chief among the Rohillas, as well by power as talents, commanded the army of warriors who were now to contend against such great odds in military skill, for their independence, and even their very existence, as a nation. Their collective force amounted to 24,000 horse and foot, 4000 rocket men, and 60 pieces of artillery.* They had the village of Cutterah on their rear, and a river that runs by that village covered their flank. Colonel Champion, by various skilful manœuvres contrived to draw them from that advantageous situation, and, by delaying the attack from day to day, caused the Rohilla general to relax somewhat in point of vigilance. On the 22d of April the British commander made the necessary preparation for action, and marching the following morning at two o'clock, *without beat of drum*, arrived about sun-rise within view of the Rohilla camp. The confusion of the Rohillas at the sudden appearance of so formidable an enemy, drawn up in battle array within cannon shot of their lines, may be conceived, but cannot be expressed. Hafiz Rahmut did the utmost in his power to rectify the error into which he had suffered himself to be betrayed. Immediately mounting his elephant, he sallied forth to reconnoitre their position, and on his return to camp, by his presence and authority, prevented the flight of a great part of the army, though he was too late to arrest the progress of a body of infantry, about 4000 in number, who, at the first alarm of the near approach of the English, had retired panic-struck from the field. He recounted to them their former glories on the plains of Hindostan; he reminded them that the enemy whom they had to oppose, though formidable in battle, were but *usurpers* like themselves; and he suceeded in inspiring them with an undaunted resolution to make, at least, one brave effort for the preservation of their independence.

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* Hamilton's History of the Rohilla Afghans, page 231.

Hafiz himself took his post in the centre of the Afghan army, directly opposite to the British troops. Fizoola Khan, the next chief in power and consequence, assisted by others, subordinate to himself in rank, had the command of that division of their forces which fronted the troops led on by the Vizier, and his general Latifet. For intrepid personal exertion, however, by distinguished individuals, there was little opportunity, as the action principally consisted of a cannonade, supported with great vigour and spirit on both sides for two hours; first at the distance of 2000 yards, and then, as the armies gradually advanced towards each other, of 500 yards. Unfortunately for the Rohillas, most of their shot, from the bad quality of the powder used by them, fell short of the enemy, and their rockets, the invention of an age of barbarity, though thrown in prodigious numbers, did but little execution; whilst a continued discharge of balls from the English artillery fell in torrents upon their centre, and made dreadful havoc among their unweildy columns. It was in vain that Hafiz Rahmut, descending from his elephant, and mounting a horse, repeatedly urged the cavalry to second him in a vigorous attack upon the flank of the enemy. The terror of the unremitting, well-directed fire of the English restrained them from rushing, as they thought, upon certain destruction ; and, in a short time, seeing their gallant general fall its victim, the centre immediately began to give way, and in a few minutes the whole broke and fled with precipitation. The right and left divisions, commanded by Fizoola Khan, and the other Rohilla chiefs, when they saw the centre broken and dispersed, and the allies advancing upon them, could not by all the upbraidings and intreaties of their leaders be induced to stand their ground, but fled off at full gallop, hurrying *them* reluctantly with them ; and leaving their camp (which was still standing) with all their baggage, artillery, and an immense booty, to the victors. Some bodies of the Vizier's cavalry were dispatched after the fugitives, but, mounted on fleet horses, they fled different ways, and for the most part eluded their pursuers. The loss of the allies in this decisive action was inconsiderable, but that of the Afghans was not less than 2000 in killed and wounded, and the day was fatal to them in every respect, both individually, and as a nation.

Although Fizoola Khan was utterly unable to rally his troops on the day of action, yet, after the panic was over, and when he had retired to the famous hill-fort of Lolldong, he was joined by very considerable bodies of his countrymen, who preferred the desperate chance of that resource to unconditional submission. Their increasing numbers and resolute resistance eventually obtained for them, through the mediation of the English commander, more favourable terms than they could otherwise have expected. Fizoola was left in full possession of Rampore and its dependencies, yielding an annual revenue of more than fourteen lacks of rupees. The great body however of the Rohilla nation were compelled to retire to the west of the Ganges, and it was expressly stipulated that in future Fizoola's military establishment should never exceed 5000 men.

In the mean time Nudjuff Khan, in consequence of the agreement entered into by the emperor with Sujah Dowlah to assist him with a body of troops, had advanced to Bissoolee on the frontiers of Rohilcund, with 6000 men; but arrived too late to have any share in the reduction of the Rohillas. Having fulfilled the compact, however, he claimed the stipulated reward of *half the conquered country*, which was refused by the Vizier, on the ground of his having borne no actual part in its subjugation. On receiving, however, the imperial grants investing him with the sovereignty of the Rohilla territory, and Kinnoje, together with Corah and Allahabad, of which he had already been put in possession by the English, he remitted a handsome present to court, and reinforced Nudjuff, with some of his own troops to enable him to extend his conquests for the emperor *nominally*, but in reality for his own aggrandizement in the Dooab. Early in the following year (1775) in the midst of his triumphs and in the zenith of gratified ambition, expired Sujah Dowlah, and was succeeded both in his government and the office of Vizier by his eldest son, Asoph al Dowlah. The peishcush offered on this occasion was suitable to his rank and dignity in the empire; and thus was the royal treasury still farther enriched.

Had his ministers been sincere or disinterested, Shah Aulum might now have enjoyed the throne with some share of its ancient dignity and lustre; but the splendid victories about this time obtained by the arms of Nudjuff Khan over the Jauts, and the rajahpout chiefs, induced him almost wholly to lay aside the obedience of a subject, and treat his sovereign with a contemptuous arrogance, very unmerited by his imperial benefactor. He even refused to admit a royal officer to the command of the citadel of Agra, of which city and province, as well as the greatest part of Delhi, he had now become the entire master;

having an army of his own, and residing at Agra in almost regal state.

Next to Nudjuff himself, but far below him (in real dignity and consequence) the most prominent actor on the scene at this time was a crafty, venal, and unprincipled omrah named Mujud al Dowlah, the emperor's minister for civil affairs, highly in favour with his master, but a determined enemy of that commander, and as far as he dared, a resolute opposer of his ambitious projects. The captain-general, however, superior in genius, and commanding the army, looked down with supreme contempt both on the king and his minister. After long abusing the emperor's unlimited confidence, a circumstance arose which at once proved the deep duplicity of his heart, and his utter incapacity to conduct the affairs of a great empire. The Seiks, whose efforts to become an independent state in Lahore, during the reign of Bahadur Shah, have been already noticed,* and who during the late distractions of the empire had become extremely numerous and powerful, about this time made an irruption into the province of Delhi, and extended their devastations to the very shores of the Jumna. To obviate a danger so near and so alarming, and drive the marauders back into their own territories, an army of 20,000 men was immediately raised, and in the absence of Nudjuff, Mujud al Dowlah, accompanied by one of the princes of the blood, was appointed to the command of it. It was attended by a formidable train of artillery, and was considered as a force perfectly adequate to the reduction of the enemy.

The royal army having advanced as far as Carnaul, near that city fell in with the first detachment of Seiks, which, however, being very inferior in point of numbers avoided an engagement by proposals of submission, and bought their peace by a peishcush of three lacks, and the promise of an annual tribute. They were ordered to attend the march of the imperial troops, which now pursued its progress towards the Seik frontiers, and encamped before Puttiali, a town sixty coss north of the latter, strongly fortified, and commanded by a daring chief, named Amur Sing, who, having a numerous garrison, and abundance of provisions, was resolved to sustain a siege. To this resistance he was further instigated by intelligence of the approach of a large army of Seiks from Lahore, and by his emissaries he contrived to keep up a strict communication with the chieftains of the battalions of his countrymen, attendant in the train of the royal army. By this means he became intimately acquainted with all their plans and movements; and receiving information of the venal character of the minister, he determined to turn it to his advantage, and, to carry on the delusion more effectually, affected to enter into a negociation with the latter, making him costly presents, and still more splendid promises. Commissioners were in consequence mutually appointed to settle the terms of surrender, but those on the part of Amur Sing were directed as much as possible to procrastinate the final adjustment of matters. At length having received advice of the near approach of the army from Lahore, Amur Sing suddenly broke off the treaty, and, the Seik chieftains having previously lulled suspicion asleep in the mind of the minister, made their escape at the head of their troops, and joined their comrades. The shameful supineness and inaction of Mujud al Dowlah, during these transactions, corroborated the strong suspicions that prevailed throughout the army of his having been bribed to betray the royal cause; but, whether or not he was guilty of actual collusion with the enemy, the result was the same. The immense host of Seiks that had marched from Lahore having been joined by the fugitive battalions, and the troops that composed the garrison of Puttiali, formed together an irresistible army, and at the first onset the king's troops being overpowered by numbers, and the impetuosity of their attack, were thrown into irretrievable confusion, and every where dispersed and put to the rout. The powerful and well-directed fire of the artillery, stationed in the rear, alone saved them from total destruction.

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* See Chapter IV. page 511.

When intelligence of this fatal disaster reached Delhi, the whole city was thrown into the utmost consternation, and more especially so when it was found that the triumphant enemy, following up their victory, had crossed the Jumna, and in their usual ferocious manner were plundering the northern districts of the Dooab. Messengers were instantly dispatched by the terrified emperor to Nudjuff Khan at Agra, urging the necessity of his immediate return with the army under his command to Delhi, and the summons was chearfully obeyed by a chief sufficiently confident in his own merit, and who had now a fair opportunity of crushing for ever his inveterate enemy. Mujud al Dowlah, in the mean time, with the remnant of his discomfited army, had returned to the capital amidst the execrations of the people, and in vain endeavoured, by a multitude of fallacious statements, to justify himself to his insulted sovereign. That sovereign heard him with deep but silent indignation, as his palace was surrounded by his troops, and himself wholly at his mercy. On the approach of the captain-general to Delhi, Mujud al Dowlah, and one of the princes of the blood, under the pretence of doing him honour, were ordered to march a few coss to meet him, and conduct him to the presence. The minister, though warned by his friends that treachery was designed him, confidently marched out to meet his rival. On entering his tent, however, he was arrested, and sent back under a strong guard to Delhi; and shortly after his whole fortune, amounting to twenty lacks of rupees was seized, and confiscated to the use of the captain-general. That distinguished chief himself was received by the emperor with marks of the highest respect, and under his direction early in the following year an army, ably commanded, was dispatched against the Seiks, who were defeated with great slaughter under the walls of Meerut, and the honour of the imperial army amply vindicated. From this period to his death, Nudjuff Khan resided constantly at Delhi, but became in his conduct more haughty and arrogant than ever, and left the humiliated emperor in the enjoyment of few privileges beyond that of granting empty titles, and the ratification of the acts of his imperious minister. From what he has just read, the reader will perceive that to enter, with any minuteness, into the transactions of this period of the Mogul annals would be only to record the rise and fall of ministers and favourites—to enumerate the struggles of grasping avarice and unprincipled ambition for the spoils of an expiring empire, and is unworthy the province of History. Let us hasten, therefore, to the close of this distressful scene, and contemplate, with due commiseration, the final catastrophe of this distinguished dynasty, and of this once potent empire.

From this vassalage (for so it must be called) under Nudjuff Khan, the emperor was released by the death of that chief, which took place, from a complication of disorders, in April, 1782. For his exalted situation as ameer al omrah, and his extensive domains in the Dooab and the Jaut country, there arose many and powerful competitors. The principal of these were Affrasiab Khan, an adopted son of the deceased, and Mirza Shuffee, the general, who had so successfully led the imperial army against the Seiks, and who was related, by blood, to that chief. Their contests, and those of their connections and dependents both in the male and female line, to secure the object of their ambition, were protracted and violent, but I forbear the detail of them. Mirza Shuffee proved at length the successful candidate; but he enjoyed his new-blown honours only for a short time, being stabbed in the field by Ismael Beg, a distinguished Mogul chief, of whom much will occur hereafter. Affrasiab now succeeded to the high station for which he had before ineffectually contended, but found himself unable to appease the rage of the refractory chiefs who had devoted his predecessor to death; and after in vain applying to the English for their assistance, formed an alliance with the famous Mahratta chief, Madhajee Scindia, who had already, by a rapid career of conquest, obtained possession of the greater part of the territories around Agra and in the Rajahpout country subjugated by the arms of Nudjuff Khan. He had a large well-disciplined army at his command, and from his being long practised in the field, both of Indian politics, and of war, Affrasiab from that alliance indulged the most confident hopes of complete success. Those hopes would probably have been in a great degree realized, but the dreadful knife of assassination in eastern climes is always thirsting for blood, and by that knife, aimed by the same hands that guided it before, he also fell, a very few days after he had, in a personal interview with that chief, agreed on a day jointly to attack the common foe. Scindia in this extremity was at no loss how to act. By dint of large presents, by promises of implicit obedience, and a handsome establishment for the royal household, he prevailed on the emperor to place himself under the protection of his nation, and appoint himself to the command of the army, and the governments of Agra and Delhi. The Mogul chiefs, being without a head, and divided among themselves in the choice of a successor, bribed by his presents, and awed by his army, were soon prevailed upon to acknowledge his authority, and separately made the best terms they were able with the new commander. Shah Aulum had an allowance settled upon him of 60,000 rupees per month; but a Mahratta guard constantly attended him, and, in fact, from that moment he was only a state-prisoner in the hands of Scindia.

In the short account of the Mahratta states, inserted in the preceding volume,* this very important actor in the scene before us, MADHAJEE SCINDIA, is stated to nave been the fifth son of Ranojee Scindia, the founder of the family, and to have succeeded to the patrimonial inheritance, a considerable portion of Malwa, obtained by the valour of that father, of which Oujein is the capital. By the limits of that province, however, he was by no means to be confined, and in the course of recent years, we have seen him acting as an expert and daring leader, in most of the predatory armies of his nation, that about this period overran the empire. We have remarked him gradually extending his authority over all the adjoining districts to the very banks of the Jumna, and securing to himself the conquests of Nudjuff Khan, in the Jaut country. He compelled the emperor to sanction by his presence his ambitious projects, for still more widely extending those conquests. The citadel of Agra, after a short siege, had submitted, and the stronger fortress of Alleeghur rapidly followed. He then marched with him into the country of the rajahs, and demanded an annual tribute, which was reluctantly submitted to, especially by the rajah of Jeypore, the most powerful of them, who secretly meditated a determined opposition to his claims, although the precise moment of resistance was not arrived. After this successful expedition of the new minister, the emperor returned to Delhi, and Scindia, with his army, went into cantonments at Muttra.

* Vol. II. p. 331.

Scindia was now in the plenitude of his power, and was both feared and respected. In the breasts, however, of the Mogul nobility, there burned a spark of latent jealousy, on observing the throne subjected to the supreme control of a Mahratta adventurer. An incident soon occurred which blew that spark into a flame. Towards the close of the following year (1787) a considerable body of Mahrattas having been dispatched to collect the tribute from the Jeypoor and other rajahs, was defeated and put to flight, which occasioned the immediate march of Scindia and the whole army into that country. The Rajahpouts, being firmly united, had contrived to distress him, by cutting off his supplies, and, in the confusion and distress occasioned by this calamity, Mahommed, and his brother, Ismael Beg, with other Mogul chiefs, deserted to the enemy. In a severe action which followed, Mahommed was slain, and his troops began to give way, but Ismael Beg, by the example of his heroic bravery, so animated the sinking spirit of his soldiers, that they returned with fury to the attack, and obtained a complete victory over the Mahrattas. Some days after the battle, the Sepoys, disciplined after the European manner, in whom lay the strength of his army, left Scindia, and enlisted under the banners of Ismael Beg, who, following up his victory, ultimately compelled that chief to evacuate Agra and Delhi, and retire to Deccan with the remains of his discomfited army. Such are the rapid transitions frequently occurring in India, from the most exalted state of power and splendor, to that of abject humiliation and distress.

The unfortunate emperor was now doomed, once more, to change masters. Himself and his capital were in charge of a Mahratta garrison, yet Ismael Beg, with the imperial army, was fighting against the troops of that nation, and, in the sovereign's name, had already commenced the siege of Agra. Even this accumulation of evils might be borne; but a monster deeply stained with crimes and blood was now approaching Delhi, from whom he was to suffer a series of outrages and insults, unparalleled in the history of thrones, and of such a nature that the very recital of them makes humanity shudder.

The various rebellions of that turbulent chief, Zabeta Khan, have been occasionally noticed. Owing to the false policy of the Vizier, when he expelled the Rohilla nation from his western frontier, this chief was suffered to retain his possessions, in the hope that being thus favoured, his power and influence might be exerted to check any tumultuous insurrections of his countrymen. By his own numerous forces, united with the English army stationed in his dominions, the Vizier himself was secure from his depredations, but he was a perpetual thorn in the side of the unfortunate emperor. Towards the close of 1785, Zabetah Khan died, and the ferocious chief, above mentioned, his son, without paying the slightest homage, or making the least offering to the sovereign, as is customary in Hindostan, assumed the government of the district. Incensed as the emperor was at this slight, until Scindia should return with reinforcements from Deccan, he had no arm to revenge his wrongs; and GHOLAUM CAUDIR having raised a considerable army, in the absence of the Deccan chief, meditated the accomplishment of projects of the most daring and ambitious kind. The Mahratta garrison in Delhi, was known to be neither very powerful, nor numerous; their expulsion, the plunder of the city, and the captivity of the aged monarch, might be effected without much difficulty and effusion of blood. He had already fortified in the strongest manner his principal fort of Ghose-Ghur, and in his territory were other fortresses of great strength and intricate construction, where a pursuing army might be baffled or eluded.

The immense treasures, in gold and jewels, supposed to be hoarded in the palace, inflamed his imagination ; and the possession of the person of the sovereign, who had long swayed the Indian sceptre at the will and direction of another, would, he conceived, insure to him that of all the power remaining in the empire. It elevated a petty Rohilla chief to the rank and wealth of princes. It was a prize worth contending for: and he determined to risque every thing to obtain it.

To the success of this daring undertaking there was one circumstance peculiarly favourable. The great mogul omrahs at Delhi, who, both from religious and political prejudices, heartily detested the Mahrattas, anxiously desired the emancipation of the emperior and his court from the yoke of that nation ; but as the Rohillas were of the Mahommedan faith, they were not averse to their being under the protection of that power. The Nazir, or principal superintendant of the palace, in particular, is accused on this occasion of the blackest perfidy, by not only secretly corresponding with the Rohilla, but by inflaming his hopes of the spoil to be found in the palace, with which his situation might be supposed to render him best acquainted. Ignorant, therefore, of the real character of the man whom they hailed as a deliverer, they prepared the way for the admission into Delhi of its direst scourge ; and when his army, formidable both for their numbers and ferocity, appeared before its walls, no native arm was raised for its defence: the whole Mahratta garrison, also, knowing themselves to be in every respect so vastly inferior, with great rapidity evacuated the city. The invader, however, having made himself secure of Delhi, did not immediately begin his system of massacre and depredation, but having compelled the emperor to confer on himself the dignity of Ameer al Omrah, marched away to the attack of the strong fortress of Alleeghur, where Scindia had also left a garrison; and which, after a short siege, capitulated. On the fall of Alleeghur, he marched to join Ismael Beg, then occupied in besieging Agra; but with that chief, either from jealousy, or some other motive, not perfectly agreeing, he left him, in order to pursue his career of conquest in other parts of the Dooab.

Whatever might have been the cause of their separation, it was deeply disastrous to Ismael, who shortly after was attacked by a considerable Mahratta army, detached by Scindia from Gualior, under the command of his confidential minister, Rana Khan, and utterly defeated with the loss of all his cannon, baggage, and stores. He himself escaped with difficulty, by swimming his horse across the Jumna; but, being afterwards joined by a large body of his routed cavalry, on an invitation from the Rohilla to forget their differences, and unite their forces, he obeyed the summons, and the combined armies marched back towards Delhi. Shah Aulum being informed of the recent victory gained by the Mahrattas, and dreading the rage of Scindia, now forbad their entrance into that city, and ordered the gates to be shut against the confederated chiefs. The Nazir, however, and other Mogul chiefs within, encouraging them, they proceeded to violence, and having burst open the gates, again became possessed both of the city, and the person of the emperor.

Introduced to the presence by the perfidious Nazir, they threw themselves at the feet of the insulted monarch, and begged his forgiveness of a crime founded in the virtuous wish to release him from those disgraceful bonds in which the Mahrattas had so long holden the illustrious house of Timur. If he would renounce his alliance with that infidel race, and would appoint *them* his generals, with the same privileges and absolute authority with which he had invested Scindia, especially if he would permit one of the princes of the blood to accompany them to the field with their united armies, under that sanction they made no doubt of driving the Mahrattas back to the Deccan, of restoring the lustre of his faded crown, and adding a large increase to his diminished revenue. The sceptered dupe of so many projects, the devoted victim of so many adventurers, remained for some moments in profound silence. At length, rather prevailed upon by the representations of the Nazir, who joined in their solicitations, than by their intreaties, the unfortunate monarch assented to their demands, and a treaty being drawn up, was ratified by the solemnity of oaths mutually pledged in one of the mosques of the palace.

In that mosque the doom of the empire and the emperor was sealed. The prince who sends an army to the field commanded by generals of his own appointing, becomes responsible for the charges of it; but, previously to the late treaty, the armies both of the Rohilla and Ismael Beg, had considerable arrears due to them, and from the treasury of Delhi those arrears must be disbursed. In a few days Gholaum Caudir repeatedly sent to demand of the emperor a very considerable sum for that purpose. The combined armies having as yet done no military service for the empire or himself, he refused compliance. This irritated the Rohilla, and being assured by Nazir that Shah Aulum really did possess secret hoards of treasure and jewels, he determined within himself to dethrone the unfortunate monarch and send him into confinement, when he would have the uncontrolled command of the treasures, and all the property of every kind in the palace. Having communicated this determination to Ismael Beg, and obtained his assent, early in the morning of the 26th July, 1788, these lawless ruffians, at the head of a numerous armed band, having entered the great Hall of Audience, and insolently seated themselves near the throne, dispatched that base instrument of their villainy, the Nazir, with a positive demand of a large supply of money from the emperor. His excuse was that of *inability*. Two attendants were immediately ordered to bring from the state prison of the royal family, Bedar Bukht, son of the deceased emperor Ahmed Shah. The prince being placed on the imperial musnud, received from the chiefs and all present the usual presents and salutations made to an emperor on his first ascending the throne. Shah Aulum, with nineteen princes, his sons and grandsons, was then by the unrelenting Gholaum ordered into close confinement in an apartment of the palace called Noormahal. Here himself and family were kept without victuals or drink till they were nearly perishing with hunger; and on the 28th, one of the princes of Bedar's family having sent a few cakes and a little water to Shah Aulum, was ordered to be beaten with clubs.

The two rebel chiefs now began the search for treasures, in which they were grievously disappointed, as, contrary to the suggestions of the Nazir, very little was found in the treasury. This disappointment produced a violent quarrel between the confederated robbers, and they parted at length, in very ill blood; Ismael retiring to his camp, and Gholaum Caudir continuing in the palace. The new emperor in the mean time used his utmost exertions, the price of his throne, in collecting together all the remaining valuables of the palace, and by menaces and persuasion obtained from the princesses of the haram the whole of their jewels and wealth of every kind, which he sent in trays to Gholaum Caudir; but the important secret of the concealed treasure was supposed to be locked up in the breast of the dethroned emperor. On the 29th, Gholaum Caudir having prepared five whips, obliged Bedar Shah to take one in his hands, and accompany him to extort a confession of his treasures from Shah Aulum. On the 30th, several ladies of the haram were tied up and beaten with whips in order to compel a discovery of their effects, and the whole palace resounded with lamentations. On the 31st, Gholaum, by these means, had heaped such an immensity of spoil, that, to pacify the enraged Ismael Beg, he sent him five lacks of rupees, as part of the plunder of the palace. During all this time the severest exactions were going on in the city, and among others this day, seven bankers were seized and imprisoned, in order to extort money from them. August 1st, Gholaum Caudir went again to the miserable Shah Aulum, and threatened him with punishment. "What I possessed," said the agonizing prince, "you have got; if you think I carry concealed treasures within me, rip up my bowels, and be convinced."

The aged princesses Maleka Zumani, and Saheba Mhal, mentioned in a former page as the widows of Mahommed Shah, still resided in Delhi. They were esteemed immensely rich, having not been molested during all the revolutions that had taken place since the death of that monarch. As they were related to the new monarch they were sent for to the palace, by a mandate that allowed of no refusal, and made instrumental to the purpose of plundering of their valuables the female part of its inhabitants, to whom at first some deference was paid; but the unsparing Afghaun soon forgot those distinctions so respected over all the Eastern world, and equally devoted male and female to depredation. These princesses having been made thus useful, were themselves, in their turn, plundered of their vast property, and on the ground of having still concealed treasures, subjected to the tongue of insult and to the pangs of hunger. The storm now also deservedly began to roll upon the Nazir, who became the victim of his own deception; seven lacks were demanded from him. On the 3d, the most daring insult was offered by Gholaum to his imperial pageant. Having seated himself near him, he smoaked his hookah in his presence, with his feet stretched out upon the royal musnud, insulting him at the same time with the grossest invectives. On the 6th, however, he proceeded further, and seized upon the throne itself, with all the other thrones and seats, no longer golden, as in the better days of the empire, but ornamented with plates of gold and silver; those plates were torn off, and consigned to the mint. And now the floors of all the apartments in the palace, as well those inhabited by males as females, were dug up, and the cielings torn down to discover hidden treasure; and great lots of jewels, money, and plate, buried long previous to the birth of Shah Aulum, and utterly unknown to that indigent monarch, were in fact discovered. Still unsatiated, the rapacious Gholaum went again to the dethroned emperor, and demanded the money which he had saved from the revenues of Bengal and Allahabad. The unfortunate prince in reply begged him " to put him to death, and end his troubles." On the 7th, Bedar Shah was severely threatened with corporeal correction, and even with dethronement, if more money was not instantly produced. The miserable half famished king exclaimed that he should be happy to be released from such *mock royalty*. The Nazir too was threatened with flagellation, if he did not produce more money; and had a guard set upon him.

At length the fatal *tenth of August* arrived, when, not content with starving, beating, and otherwise grossly insulting his liege sovereign, and all the *princes*, and what to an Asiatic is still more horrible! the *princesses* of the royal family, the monster, attended by five Afghans, ferocious as himself, rushed into the apartment of Shah Aulum, and repeated his demand for the treasure, the concealed treasure! The usual answer that he had no concealed hoards being returned, he ordered the attendant ruffians to seize the princes his sons, Soleyman Akber and others, to lift them up on high, and dash them on the ground with violence before the face of the agonizing father. At this refinement of diabolical cruelty, that father passionately exclaimed; "TRAITOR! forbear such cruelty to my children in my sight." The dæmon then, resolved that he should never see them nor the sun more! ordered the Afghans to cast the hapless monarch on the ground, which they did, and, falling upon him, stabbed out his eyes with a dagger. Other accounts say that he himself rushing upon the bosom of the prostrate king, with his own hands pricked out his eyes with the point of a poniard; an act perfectly credible, and entirely consonant with his bloody disposition. He then ordered the miserable princes to undergo the same fate; but from this additional piece of frantic barbarity he was restrained by the humane entreaties of an officer in his train. While these dreadful scenes were transacting, the whole palace rang with female shrieks and outcries of horror, which the menace of whips and the terror of inflicted tortures could not for a long time silence. The pale and bleeding monarch was left without medical aid in this miserable condition; but afterwards, being in exquisite pain, two surgeons of the household were upon his earnest intreaty permitted to attend him, and dress his wounds.

In the mean time, owing to the boundless rapacity of the Rohillas, the whole city continued in the utmost disorder and confusion; all the bankers and jewellers shops were shut up, and half the terrified inhabitants had fled into the country. On the 12th, more money was sent to the camp to Ismael Beg, and the apparently reconciled chiefs paid a visit to Bedar Shah in company. On the 14th, parties of Mahratta horse made their appearance in the suburbs, and Ismael Beg is supposed to be secretly in treaty with their general Rana Khan, for the surrender of Gholaum Caudir, but procrastinates, that he may obtain as large a division of the plunder as possible. On the 18th, the Mharattas approach nearer, intercept a large convoy from Ghoseghur, and, in defending it, many Rohillas are cut to pieces, or drowned in the river. Even in this extremity, unsatiated with blood and plunder, and presuming on the superior strength of the combined armies to that of the Mahratta chief, the Rohilla continued his cruelties and spoliation in the palace, where several ladies expired with famine, and Shah Aulum, in his deplorable situation, was still denied bread for himself and his distracted family. So infatuated was this monster of depravity, that while the royal family were perishing with hunger around him, he would make sumptuous banquets in the Lion Tower, carouze all night with his officers, and in the wanton excess of his intoxication would send for the young princes, to sing and play before him, excusing his conduct by observing that they were the offspring of *singers*. The Mahrattas, in the mean time are making still nearer advances towards the city, which they almost surround, and cut off all supplies from it. With the Rohillas they have frequent skirmishes; but the grand attack is delayed till re-inforcements from Deccan, daily expected, shall have arrived. The Rohilla chiefs, avaricious as their leader, now began to mutiny for want of pay: Gholaum Caudir, advancing to appease them, one of the mutineers, drawing his dagger attempted to stab him, but was prevented by his companions. They were at length appeased by his promise of advancing them two months pay immediately.

In the beginning of September, intelligence of the rapid approach of the great body of the Mahratta army induced the

Rohilla seriously to think of quitting Delhi. With this view, part of his army on the 7th of that month crossed the river, on which the Mahrattas, unable to cope with them, retreated to some distance. He had before seized upon all the elephants and horses of the royal stables, together with their accoutrements, and he now divided the royal tents and field equipage among his needy retainers. The plunder of the palace had been all previously packed up in boats, and carried off: it was doubtless the hopes of eventually sharing in this plunder that kept his numerous army so compactly together. On the 14th, having received certain information that Ismael Beg had joined the Mahrattas, and was seeking an opportunity to deliver him up to Rana Khan, the terror-struck Rohilla on a sudden left the palace, and crossing the Jumna on his elephant joined his army, incamped on the opposite bank. In a few days however he returned to that scene of his brutal devastations; and suspecting Shah Aulum of holding a secret correspondence with the enemy, grossly abused, and with his own hands severely beat that blind and aged monarch; declaring that he would take the whole of his children with him, and that if he were defeated, he would put them all to instant death. He then forced them all into a boat, except Akber, who making some resistance, he was about to cut him down with his scymitar, when that spirited prince was also obliged to submit. With these he compelled the treacheous Nazir, and the aged princesses so often mentioned, to embark, that he might have under his control the whole royal family, and having evacuated the citadel he set fire to all the combustible parts of it; an act of savage atrocity worthy of his preceding conduct! The flames were extinguished, and the city and palace immediately taken possession of by the Mahratta chief, who released Shah Aulum from his confinement, and humanely ordered refreshments to be served up to himself and the numerous persons of the haram, who for seven previous days had subsisted only on dry grain and water.

The reinforcement, so long expected by the Mahratta general, having at length arrived, Rana Khan lost no time in crossing the Jumna with his whole army, in order to attack Gholaum Caudir, and recover from his grasp the royal victims. That traitor, unable to withstand so formidable an army, immediately retreated towards his own country, but was pursued with such vigour and celerity that he was compelled to take refuge in the town of Mhirta, where he offered terms of submission as humiliating as his prior conduct had been haughty and arrogant; they were rejected by the Mahratta with indignation, and on the 21st of December a general assault was made on the place. The Rohilla and his troops defended the fort for a whole day with determined bravery; but seeing no prospect of final success, and justly dreading the vengeance that awaited him, Gholaum mounted a fleet horse, and having first carefully packed up the finest jewels obtained in the plunder of the palace in the saddle and howsings, made his escape in the dead of the following night. He had not advanced many miles when his horse fell with him, and he was so severly bruised by the fall that he lay on the ground unable to move; while the horse, recovering himself, galloped away with the treasures of Delhi, and was never after heard of. In this situation the inhabitants of a neighbouring village at day-break discovered the prostrate chief, and carried him prisoner to the Mahratta camp. Deserted by their commander, the Rohilla garrison at Mhirta on the following day surrendered at discretion. The princes of the royal family, as well as the aged princesses, were liberated by Rana Khan, treated with the greatest respect, and sent back to Delhi with a proper guard for their protection, while the perfidious Nazir was thrown into irons, and reserved for condign punishment. Gholam Caudir too, when he arrived in the camp, was heavily loaded with irons, and, being placed in an iron cage, was kept for some time suspended in the front of the army to be gazed at as a monster of vice and unparalleled barbarity. Soon after, upon Scindiah's joining the army, by his orders the former was trodden to death by elephants; and the latter, having first had his nose and ears, and then his hands and feet, cut off, in this mutilated condition was sent to Shah Aulum at Delhi; but the miserable wretch died while conveying thither.

Scindiah, in the mean time, rapidly pursuing his career of victory, soon arrived in the country of the deceased rebel, where his discomfited army, unable to make any effectual opposition, fled in every direction before him. He soon became possessed of Ghoseghur, and all the inferior forts in that district, and added those territories to his own extensive domains in the Dooab. Having left a strong Mahratta force in his new conquests, he then marched to Delhi, where, sending Bedar Shah back to his ancient state-prison of Selim-Ghur, he, with great pomp, once more raised the blind debilitated monarch to the musnud, and had coins again struck in his name. But, notwithstanding these pompous ceremonies, which, like many other transactions of recent date, by the usurpers of the supreme authority at Delhi, can only be regarded as a solemn mockery of fallen majesty, since by the ancient laws both of Persia and India, a prince deprived of sight can never legally wield the imperial sceptre, I consider the *reign of Shah Aulum as terminated*, and the INDIAN EMPIRE itself, of which I have attempted, however inadequately, to give the General History, as no longer existing. From this period I consider the glorious SUN of Timur, which had for so many ages illumined India, as set for ever! A dark and deeply ensanguined cloud had long hovered over the metropolis, and, at length, bursting upon the imperial palace, overwhelmed the last miserable sceptred descendant of that mighty race.

The most exalted state of human grandeur, whether enjoyed by kingdoms or dynasties, has its allotted period; and what more proper period can be assigned by the historian to the Indian Empire and the dynasty of Timur, than that in which all authority in the Supreme Head became annihilated, and all subordination in its dependent branches destroyed? That mighty empire, which, under Aurungzeb, reached from the tenth to the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, and nearly as much in longitude, and produced a revenue exceeding thirty-two millions of pounds sterling, was now reduced (hear it, indignant Shade of Akber!) to a ruinated city, and a scanty district around it, with only a few eleemosynary lacks of rupees, allowed for the subsistence of that Head by a vassal chief, belonging to a nation ever among the bitterest enemies of his family! It is high time to draw the curtain over such melancholy scenes, as those which have darkened the concluding pages of this volume; and we take leave of that potent dynasty that once made the proudest thrones of Asia tremble, with mingled sensations of admiration and pity; with admiration of their heroic virtues, and pity for their unparalleled misfortunes.

END OF THE MOGUL HISTORY.

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS.

CONCLUDING PORTION.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

At the conclusion of Chapter V. on the European settlers in India, in the preceding volume, the subjoined paragraph occurs.

"Having now brought the History of the European establishments, and more particularly, that of the Company in Bengal, down to the close of the year 1757, we shall in the next Book resume, and uninterruptedly pursue, the regular Mogul history to its termination, that is, to the last visit of Abdallah to Delhi, when its authority virtually expired. In an additional Book, the History of the European Establishments, or rather that of our East-India Company, in which they were ultimately absorbed, will again be continued, and the work conclude with a summary statement of the different powers among which that once mighty empire is at present divided."

The first of these promises has, it is hoped, been fulfilled to the reader's entire satisfaction, since, in fact, the Mogul History has been brought nearly thirty years lower down than the last visit of Abdallah to Delhi, which took place in A. D. 1761. The latter promise it is found utterly impossible to fulfil in the extent desired, not only from the immense field to be traversed, and the magnitude and infinite variety of the events, the details of which, on the most limited scale, it is calculated would occupy two large additional volumes; but from the proximity of the period, a period of fierce debate and high political contention to that in which we live, rendered too delicate to be entered upon; many of the principal actors in those turbulent scenes being still living, and the embers of contention and jealousy scarcely yet extinguished. After an immense labour and expence incurred in procuring the books and pamphlets requisite, most of them, unhappily, too strongly marked by the prevailing passions and prejudices of the times in which they were composed, to be perused without the most guarded caution, the project is for the present laid aside.

It has, however, been thought proper to wind up this part of the work by presenting the reader with an Additional Chapter, in which the long and ardent contests of the English and French nations on the Coast of Coromandel were brought to a final termination by the destruction of Pondicherry, and the expulsion of the French from India, in 1761, at the close of which year not a flag of that nation was seen flying on any fortress along the whole of its extensive coast. It seemed also necessary to bring down the English affairs in Bengal, which by the Shah Zaddah's irruption in 1759, began to be intimately blended with those of the empire, to the important period in which they obtained from the same prince, afterwards emperor, the office of DEWANNY, or collection of the revenues (dated 12th of August, 1765), in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, which elevated them from a chartered body of merchants to the rank of sovereign princes.

With respect to the Powers among whom India is at present divided, the elegant coloured Map of India, engraved by Arrowsmith expressly for this work, will in that respect be a surer guide to the reader than any more elaborate description which it might be in the power of the Author to furnish.

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

Affairs of BOMBAY.—*The Pirate* ANGRIA *defeated and his Forts demolished; first, under Commodore James, and finally, under Admiral Watson, and Colonel Clive.—Affairs on the Coromandel Coast.—Count Lally arrives at Pondicherry with powerful reinforcements from France.—Immediately marches against Fort St. David's.—Attacks, takes, and completely demolishes that city.—Inflamed with this success he leads his army against Madras.—His partial success.—The siege raised by the arrival in Madras-roads of a fleet and army from England.—Disgraceful retreat of the French to Pondicherry.—Thus reinforced, early in* 1758 *the English take the field.—Battle of Wandewash.—Their signal successes by land and sea.—With their united forces they besiege, and take Pondicherry; which fine city they demolish in revenge for the demolition of Fort St. David's, and thus put a period for the present to the French power and consequence in India.—Affairs in* BENGAL.—*The* SHAH ZADDAH *invades* BENGAL; *repulsed by Clive.—Jaffier deposed; Cossim raised to the Nabobship.—On Cossim's flagrant abuse of the power intrusted to him, Jaffier replaced on the Musnud.—War with Cossim, who cruelly murders in cold blood* 200 *English gentlemen at Patna.—War with the Nabob Vizier, supported by the new Emperor.—Defeated in every action with the English army, both eventually submit and throw themselves on the protection of the English.—The Nabob Vizier restored to his dominions in* OUDE.—*The Emperor issues a firmaun, granting to the English the office of* DUANNY *of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.—That firmaun the basis of their future greatness and unrivalled prosperity.*

ENGAGED in detailing and bringing to a conclusion the more splendid and interesting events that occurred in Bengal under Clive and Watson, we neglected to notice in its proper place the important service rendered to the Company's affairs on the Malabar coast and at Bombay, by the spirited and successful attack of the fleet under Commodore James and Admiral Watson, on the usurped maritime domains of the renowned pirate Angria. It forms too important a feature in the history of that settlement to be omitted, and is in substance as follows.

In the infancy of the Mahratta government, a daring individual of that tribe, grandson of Sevajee, named Conajee Angria, had been employed by the Saho Rajah* as an admiral in the defence of that coast against the incursions of the SIDDEE, or Mogul admiral. The most signal success had crowned the naval efforts of this man, and inflamed by that success, he aspired to independence of the power that made him. In pursuance of this plan he seized upon all the strong forts on that range of coast, and by the aid of European engineers rendered them impregnable against any attacks of the native powers, Mahratta or Mogul. Issuing from these rocky recesses, these maritime retreats formed by the indenture of the coasts, in vessels of peculiar construction, called grabs, strongly built, and skilfully managed, himself and his descendants, all bearing the name of ANGRIA, had now for half a century carried on a predatory war not only against the Mohammedan powers who traded to and from India, but even against the more formidable states of Europe; capturing ships of great burthen and wealth, and often, through their number and valour, victorious over their ships of war. All nations had suffered by these depredations, but the English more severely than others. To repress the insolence of these marine adventurers the presidency of Bombay had been put to an enormous expence in fitting out various expeditions, and in keeping up a constant naval force for the protection of their valuable commerce. Most of those expeditions had totally failed, and it was not until Commodore James was appointed to that station, and sent on that service, in 1755, that any impression was made on the barbarous but wary enemy. James had indeed with only four ships attacked some of the minor forts on the coast with vigour and success, and had even laid the stronger one of Severndroog in ruins; but still the business was only half done. The arrival in those seas, about this time, of Admiral Watson, with a more powerful fleet from England, seemed to afford a favourable opportunity for following up the blow and completing the long meditated conquest. After due consultation, therefore, with the admiral, it was resolved by that presidency to attempt the extermination of this race of piratical marauders.

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* See an account of the Saho Rajah in vol. ii. p. 236.

The principal fortress of Angria, and capital of all his dominions, was named GHERIA, situated on a rocky promontory about a mile and a quarter long, and at the entrance of a spacious harbour, which forms the mouth of a river descending from the Balagaut mountains. The rock on which Gheria stood, rose fifty feet in perpendicular height above the level of the water, and the fortifications erected upon it consisted of a double wall with round towers, and were of proportionate thickness and elevation; many of the massy stones of which they were composed being ten feet long, and as many broad. In short, no expence or labour had been spared to render this place impregnable; for it was the depositary of all his treasures, and the grand arsenal of all his naval stores. Adjoining the harbour were extensive docks for ship-building, and opposite to them, at this time, were lying ten of the strongest of his grabs, fastened together in such a manner that if one should take fire, all the others must inevitably be consumed with it.

So many formidable accounts of this fortress had reached Bombay, representing it as absolutely impregnable ; a little Gibraltar situated on a mountain inaccessible from the sea ; that it was resolved in council there to send vessels to reconnoitre it: and he whose daring naval efforts had caused the enemy most annoyance, the commodore himself, was immediately dispatched in the Protector of 44 guns, assisted by two other ships, on that arduous service. After having run considerable danger by approaching within cannon shot of the fort, that intrepid officer returned in December with a more accurate account of Gheria, which he acknowledged to be a place of prodigious strength both by nature and art, but neither inaccessible, nor impregnable.

As Angria was in equal hostility with the Mahratta as with the English government, an invitation was sent, as had been sent before, to the chiefs of that nation to join in the expedition against their common enemy, and recommending a vigorous attack upon him from the land side, while the English fleet battered the fortifications, and attacked his fleet in front. The proposal was acceded to with readiness, and at length, the preparations being complete, on the 11th of February, 1756, Admiral Watson, assisted by the patriotic zeal and tried abilities of Commodore James, with a fleet of nine sail, four of which were of the line, accompanied by five bomb-vessels, appeared before Gheria. On board this fleet, beside marines, was a battalion of 800 Europeans, together with 1000 sepoys, under the command of Clive. A large army of Mahrattas, under Ramajee Punt, had also marched from Choul to invest the place by land, and, thus blockaded on every side, the dreadful conflict commenced.

After the usual but ineffectual ceremony of summoning the fort to surrender, the fleet entered the harbour in two divisions, parallel to each other, and, anchoring on the north side of the fortifications, at the distance of 50 yards, began to batter them with 150 pieces of cannon, while from the bomb-vessels an infinite number of shells was at the same time discharged, some of which falling into the grabs, moored together as above described, set them on fire, and in a short time the whole were consumed. The besieged in the mean time were not idle, but kept up an incessant fire on their assailants, from near 200 cannon: being ill-directed, however, no great injury was done to the shipping; whereas, on the part of the English, every shot took effect, and before sunset the guns of the fort were entirely silenced. Angria predicting his fate, and detesting the English, had fled to the Mahratta camp, in hopes by large bribes of purchasing his peace with that venal nation. Anxious to get possession of his riches, to the exclusion of the English, they obtained an order from him to his brother, whom he had left chief in command, to deliver up the keys of the fort to the former only, and to resist the English to the last. Apprized by a deserter of these clandestine proceedings, Admiral Watson re-commenced the attack with redoubled vigour, to prevent their insidious allies accomplishing their designs, and Colonel Clive, landing in the night with his whole force, contrived to get between them and the fort. With the dawn the summons to surrender was renewed, together with the menace that if the fort were not delivered up in an hour, it would be stormed, and no quarter given. This peremptory requisition being followed up by a cannonade still more terrible than the former, had the desired effect, and in a short time the garrison surrendered. Colonel Clive, with his battalion, immediately took possession of the fort with all that it contained, which in military and naval stores, and valuable effects of every kind, was of immense amount, besides a large sum in money, which was distributed without reserve among the brave captors. The other forts in the usurped marine domains of Angria being afterwards assailed by the allied powers, were successively taken possession of; and thus in one month a formidable enemy that for 50 years had ravaged the coast, and annoyed the fleets of all nations, was not only crushed but in a manner annihilated.*

AFFAIRS OF COROMANDEL.

In a preceding page we stated that the deputation sent from Bengal, in 1756, to solicit relief from Madras, found that presidency occupied in preparing to send a detachment of 300 Europeans into Deccan to aid Salabad Jing † in getting rid of M. Bussy and the French, who completely tyrannized over him and his whole court. The destination of that force, together with 600 Europeans, and 1500 sepoys in addition, immediately ordered for Bengal, left Fort St. George so destitute of troops that nothing could be attempted for the Soubah, while the presidency itself remained exposed to an immediate attack from the French of Pondicherry, should they be tempted to violate the conditional treaty, or rather the suspension of arms, so lately only agreed upon. The presidency therefore, in order to fortify the seat of government, without delay from all the inferior dependencies in the Carnatic, called in as great a number of troops as could be spared from the indispensible duty of their respective garrisons, and, even with this additional aid, its security appeared to be at best very precarious.

With respect to affairs in the Deccan, the contention between

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* Orme, Vol. I. p. 417. Cambridge, p. 129.

† See of the preceding volume page 355.

Salabad Jing, or rather between his ministers and M. Bussy, having arisen to a great height, the latter, at the peremptory command of the Soubah, left his camp, with all his troops, and after a long and toilsome march of nearly 300 miles, conducted with great ability through an enemy's country, arrived in safety at Hydrabad, where he strongly fortified himself. At this place he continued till he was re-inforced by a detachment of 400 men, which, at his request, had been sent from Pondicherry to Masulipatam, the nearest French settlement, whence they had rapidly advanced to join him, a distance of 200 miles, and had, in their march, encountered difficulties, little inferior to his own. With this additional force he was enabled to establish himself in what are called the northern Circars, a portion of the maritime part of Deccan, which in a preceding page we observed were ceded to the French by Salabad Jing, in reward for their assistance in exalting him to the musnud, and the revenues of which are stated by Mr. Orme as amounting to half a million sterling.* He was also enabled to carry on a vigorous and successful war with the refractory Rajahs, or Zemindars in that region of the peninsula, and finally to awe the Soubah himself and his ministers into peace and submission. Having obtained this distinguished success over both the native and the Mogul forces, and having gained some intelligence of the intention of the Council of Madras to send succours to the Soubah, he now fell with fury on the English settlements in that part of the peninsula, and was crowned with success equally brilliant. Among inferior factories in its vicinity, the more important one of Vizigapatam was after a short investment reduced, and by its capture the French became masters of that whole coast from Ganjam to Masulipatam.† This was precisely the period of the proudest triumph of the French arms in India;

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* Orme, Vol. I. p. 335.

† Cambridge, p. 137.

how rapid and dreadful a change in their affairs afterwards took place will be demonstrated in no very distant page.

War being declared about this time between the two countries, in 1756 a powerful fleet was with the utmost expedition, for its magnitude, dispatched in the following year from France to India, containing an armament far more formidable, and better appointed than ever had been transported thither in one fleet. The fleet consisted of twelve ships of different rates, commanded by M. d'Achè; the land forces by General Count Lally, a man haughty and daring as Dupleix himself, and armed with unlimited powers to drive the detested English from all their settlements on the coast of Coromandel, and retaliate on their towns the unsparing vengeance poured out on Chandernagore. His orders were immediately on his arrival, which, however, owing to a most disastrous voyage did not take place until the end of April, 1758, to commence the siege of Fort St. David; and in fact the very night of his landing, 1000 Europeans, together with as many sepoys, commanded by Count D'Estaign, were seen in full march to attack that fort preparatory to the bolder meditated attempt on Madras.

Lally quickly followed at the head of all the force that could be drawn together for the attack on Fort St. David, and, before it, was soon collected an army amounting to 2500 French, the most formidable body of Europeans that India had ever seen assembled, with nearly as many sepoys, and a proportionate train of artillery. Colonel Polier commanded in the fort, and is thought not to have made all the resistance for which he was provided with the means; for though the enemy's cannon, which played furiously and incessantly, had before he surrendered very much damaged the works, no practicable breach had been made. The garrison, however, scarcely 300 in number, were utterly inadequate to its defence, the tanks or reservoirs having been injured by the bombardment, so that little water was to be had, and the ammunition was almost expended. The fort capitulated on the 1st of June, 1758. The garrison were made prisoners of war; nor could the most earnest solicitations of the commander and the governor carry the proposal that the fortifications should not be demolished during the war.

A court of enquiry was afterwards instituted at Madras, in which Major Polier's personal bravery was highly commended, but the early surrender, and the conditions, were reprobated in the most unqualified terms. The garrison were sent to Pondicherry, there to remain until their release could be effected by the delivery of an equal number of French prisoners. In strict conformity to the decided resolution formed at the court of Versailles of exterminating the English, and levelling their settlements on the coast of Coromandel, Count Lally now proceeded to the utter demolition of the works of Fort St. David. The whole were blown up and reduced to a heap of ruins. The revengeful spirit of French hostility did more than this; it led him to destroy many beautiful villas of the English in that quarter, and many handsome public structures that adorned the face of the country.

The English at Madras now became justly and deeply alarmed. They saw the storm that had ruined St. David's rolling towards St. George, and ready to burst upon the citadel. They immediately called in all the remaining troops in the garrisons of the different factories in the Carnatic; and proceeded with vigour and celerity to make the necessary arrangements for sustaining an attack which was to decide the fate of the British capital in Coromandel.

I forbear to follow M. Lally through his rapid and varied career of victories in the Carnatic, while Madras remained without adequate resources to obstruct his progress. I forbear to notice, as irrelevant, the everlasting contests in which his haughty intractable spirit, born to control rather than to submit, involved him with M. Deleyrit, the civil governor, and the council of Pondicherry, who seem to have thwarted him in all the great designs which he had formed for the aggrandizement of his country in India, and to have locked against him the Company's treasury, which contained the sinews of war. My concern is only with the great features of his administration, and, therefore, passing by minor intervening incidents, let us attend him on his march to invest Fort St. George, flushed with his triumph over St. David's, and confident that *that* imperial settlement would experience a similar catastrophe.

Early in December 1758 the grand French army, augmented by large detachments from all their settlements in that region of India were seen advancing to the attack. Their number amounted to 3500 Europeans, 2000 sepoys, and as many horse. The English force, in like manner augmented, consisted of 1750 Europeans, and 2000 sepoys: and of this force a considerable proportion, under the command of Colonel Lawrence, had encamped on an eminence, called St. Thomas's mount, distant about nine miles from Madras. It is thus denominated from an ancient tradition, that the apostle St. Thomas had preached the gospel to the Indians on that spot. It is justly esteemed for the goodness of the air, and the pleasantness of the situation, on which account a number of villas have been built on the scite by the gentlemen of Madras, surrounded with beautiful gardens and plantations. As it was not the intention of the Colonel to risque an engagement with such an inferior force, especially when a defeat would inevitably be attended with the loss of Madras, on the approach of the enemy he gradually drew off his battalions from the mount, and encamped nearer the town, on what is called the Choultry plain. The following day Lally encamped on the deserted mount, and on the 12th of December himself advanced to the Choultry plain. The English army, after about two hours cannonading, retired into the fort; and that evening the enemy encamped on the very spot which they had abandoned. At the same time their advanced guard took possession of the garden-house, and the neighbouring village, in order to invest the town

Early in the morning of the 14th of December, M. Lally marched in two columns to attack, and take possession of the Black Town, whose large extent made it impossible for the small force of the English to dispute it with the enemy. An immense multitude of black people, principally women and children, with frantic cries and gestures, now crowded towards the fort claiming protection, and imploring admission within the walls; but this favour could not be granted, and they were advised under the cover of the night, to disperse themselves over the country. While however the enemy were engaged in plundering the Black Town, and many of them were intoxicated with the arrack found in considerable quantities in its warehouses, a vigorous and unexpected sally was made by Colonel Draper, at the head of 500 men, which spread confusion and dismay through their ranks, and put the greatest part of them to precipitate flight. Being at length rallied by their officers, a severe but short conflict took place, in which the enemy lost in killed and wounded thirty officers and nearly 300 men; the loss of the garrison too was serious, being altogether nine officers, and 200 men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. This daring enterprize convinced M. Lally that he had now to contend with a very different description of men from those who had behaved so ignobly at Fort St. David's.

Immediately after, the French began to prepare their batteries, and other necessary works for the close investment of the fort. The artillery, however, which they had embarked for the siege was still at a distance on the seas, impeded by contrary winds; on the 22d a great part of it arrived in the Harlem, and on the 2d of January, 1759, at break of day, a tremendous bombardment commenced from the principal batteries, which was answered with great spirit from the fort, both with shells and shot, and the contest was continued until seven at night, with little injury to the town, and with less to the besieged. The attack was resumed on the 6th and 7th with increased vigour on the part of the enemy; but by the strenuous exertions of Mr. Call, the chief engineer, their fire was as vigorously retorted, and the damage sustained rapidly repaired. As that gentleman's regular journal of the siege is published, and may be consulted in Mr. Cambridge's work, I must refer the reader for more particular details to his authentic page. To military men they are alone important, and they are both there, and in Mr. Orme, accompanied with draughts and plans which render them perfectly intelligible. It is sufficient for these pages to record that after a severe blockade, which commenced on the 12th of December, 1758, and concluded on the 17th of February, 1759, during which interval all the energies of united skill and valour were exerted on both sides, this memorable siege terminated by the appearance of an English fleet of six sail in the road of Madras, and bringing to its aid a detachment of 600 Europeans, with a proportionate quantity of money, stores, and ammunition. The latter, however, though welcome, was not materially wanted, owing to the provident care of Mr. Pigot, the governor, who both before and during the siege had unceasingly performed all the various duties of his arduous situation.*

This long-expected fleet was first descried approaching the road, about 5 o'clock on the evening of the 16th of February, but it was near ten before, directed by lights held out in the fort, they cast anchor in the road. Consequently, on such a coast, no debarkation could take place until the following morning; a circumstance that might have been, but fortunately was not, attended with very serious consequences to the besieged. Lally had arrogantly declared that he never would relinquish the enterprize until he had tried the success of a general assault, and it was firmly expected by the garrison that it would take place that very night, before the reinforcement could be landed. Every man, therefore, capable of bearing arms, was ready at his post, and a continued increasing fire, kept up on both sides during the greater part of the night, seemed the prelude to the dreadful affray. Soon after two in the morning, however, that of the enemy began visibly to slacken, and at three it entirely ceased; nor could the motions of troops be any longer distinguished in their lines. The blaze of fires, however, in their trenches, and large piles of wood in flames were plainly perceived, as if to guide a retreating foe; and in fact at day-break the whole army was discovered at some distance, in full march towards St. Thomas's mount, on their return to Pondicherry. The hurry and confusion with which they raised the siege were evident in their leaving behind them a vast quantity of stores, above 40 pieces of heavy cannon, and their sick and wounded in the hospital, recommended in a letter by Lally to the humanity of the English governor, which was exerted in their favour. The loss during the whole siege amounted in killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, to 33 officers, and, of rank and file in the battalions of Europeans, 559; of the sepoys, lascars, and others, including deserters, nearly 700, no inconsiderable proportion of the whole garrison! The loss of the French in these respects was never exactly ascertained.*

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* Orme, Vol. III. p. 455, and Cambridge, p. 204, where see the journal of the siege.

Shortly after the English army took the field under Major Brereton. The great commercial towns of Conjeveram and Masulipatam were successively taken possession of by himself and Major Ford, so that the French trade on that extensive coast, abounding in population and rich in manufactures, was soon almost confined to Pondicherry. Near the close of 1759 Colonel Coote invested and took Wandewash, which in the following year roused the utmost exertions of General Lally to recover it. The army he collected for this purpose amounted to above 2000 Europeans, together with treble the number of black troops, and at the head of these he pushed forward the siege with the utmost vigour. He had even proceeded so far as to make a practicable breach in the walls, when Colonel Coote appeared before Wandewash with an army of 1900 Europeans and about 3000 sepoys. After an obstinate and bloody engagement, fought on both sides with a bravery which the importance of the place inspired, Lally was completely defeated and fled, leaving above a thousand killed and wounded on the field of battle. He retired with the remainder of his routed troops to Pondicherry. The English, according to Mr. Orme, lost only 200 in killed and wounded, but the death of the gallant Brereton threw a shade over the triumph of victory.† This important victory was rapidly followed up by the siege and capture of Arcot, the capital of the province. At sea the efforts of the

* Ibid. † Orme, Vol. III. p. 589.

brave Admiral Pocock were distinguished by no less brilliant success. With eight ships only he attacked and defeated the French fleet of double that number, and compelled them to take shelter under the cannon of Pondicherry. After the capture of Carical and one or two other fortresses in the neighbourhood, which rapidly followed, that city soon became their only remaining port in that part of India, and it was determined immediately to invest it with all our forces by sea and land.

That magnificent city, upon which such immense sums had been lavished by the French, extended along the coast about a mile and a quarter, and was about three quarters of a mile in breadth. It was at this period considered as the finest city, and the best fortified, of any in India. The palace erected for the residence of its ostentatious viceroys, its noble citadel, its vast magazines, its beautiful bazar, its lofty gates, and walls flanked with bastions, eleven in number, and mounted with 500 pieces of cannon, rendered it worthy to be called the metropolis of a great nation. On the land side it was inclosed, as many cities in India are, about a mile from the walls, by a hedge of large aloes, prickly pears, and other thorny plants, called the *Bound-hedge*, intermixed with great numbers of cocoa-nut and palm-trees, altogether forming a defence impenetrable to cavalry, and of very difficult passage to infantry. This *Bound-hedge* was farther strengthened by five redoubts commanding the five roads that led into the town. To enter into the particulars of this famous siege, or rather blockade, so well and so minutely detailed by Mr. Orme, is unnecessary. Suffice it to say, that after the bravest possible exertions for a period of seven months on the part of the besieged, their supplies being entirely cut off, so that provisions for only ten days more remained for the support of 2000 persons, of which the garrison consisted, the haughty

Lally consented, without any conditions, to surrender the city. As the extirpation of the English from the maritime coast of India had been the avowed object of the French councils, and of all the governors down to Lally, evidenced in the utter destruction of Fort St. David's by the latter, a rigid retaliation was on this occasion adopted; and the extensive fortifications, together with all the noble public and private buildings of Pondicherry were in a few months with much labour demolished, and the French capital of India for ever bowed the head. This important, this memorable event took place on the 16th of January, 1761. The fate of the brave but impetuous and unfortunate Lally ought not to be omitted. On his return to France, his numerous enemies prevailing, he was tried and convicted of having betrayed the interests of his country, and the East-India Company, and beheaded in the 65th year of his age; a sentence which he bore with a firmness only to be paralleled by the black ingratitude that pronounced it.

With the towers of Pondicherry fell the once colossal power of the French on the continent of India. Thiagar surrendered at discretion in February; and the strong fortress of Gingee soon afterwards capitulated to Captain Smith, with only the honours of war allowed to its brave garrison. Thus finally terminated a war which had continued to rage, between the English and French, on the coast of Coromandel, with little intermission during fifteen years. In Bengal also we have seen their commerce and their government were alike annihilated. A few daring adventurers, however, retired to Mysore, where they were received with rapture by Hyder, who had recently usurped its sceptre, had publicly sworn the destruction of the English, and was secretly meditating the accomplishment of his oath. But here a vast field, and new prospects of almost unbounded extent begin to expand to the view of the historian. That field too has been already beaten by able and patriotic writers, who are well known, and may be readily consulted. Having now gradually traced the progress, in commerce and in conquests, of the different European nations, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English, and French on the desolated shores of India, during a period of above 260 years, that is from the landing of the immortal Gama at Calicut, in A. D. 1498, down to the uncontrolled establishment of the English power on those shores by the destruction of Pondicherry in A. D. 1761, I trust I may retreat with honour from that field, and leave its future history to be recorded by the pen of others.

Previously, however, to finally quitting it, the intimate connection which affairs in the Company's principal settlement have with the preceding Mogul history, renders it necessary to take a last view of

TRANSACTIONS IN BENGAL.

in which province, and Bahar, it has before been observed, the fugitive prince, Ali Gohar, had, in 1758 and 1759, attempted to raise contributions and make conquests.* In this enterprize he was zealously assisted by Mr. Law, at the head of a French corps who had made their escape from Chandernagore, and had been permitted by the late Nabob to reside for some time on the northern frontiers of the provinces, but who afterwards was compelled to remove to Chitterpoor, as well as by several turbulent and disaffected Rajahs and Zemindars, who fighting under the royal banners hoped to obtain high distinction, and no small plunder. Among the latter, beside Mahommed Kuli Khan, Subahdar of Allahabad, who had given him protection at his capital, were Sunder Sing and Bulwant Sing, of Benares, and some partial success at first attended their arms; but Colonel Clive, who at that time commanded in Bengal, rapidly advancing from Moorshedabad together with Meerum, the Nabob's son, at the head of the English army, soon checked their progress, and as we have before seen, drove them back beyond the Carumnassa.

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* See page 591, preceding.

The prince, Hossain asserts, more than once wrote to the Colonel, offering him any terms for the Company, and himself, on condition that the English would quit the Nabob and join his army; but Clive thinking it incompatible with the English treaty with the latter, declined the offer. His proffered services being thus conscientiously rejected, in a few months he returned with a far more formidable force, and armed with all the terror of imperial authority, his father Aulumgeer having been recently assassinated; but he was defeated in various successive conflicts with the English under Colonels Knox and Calliaud, and compelled again disgracefully to cross the Carumnassa. About the same time also the Mahrattas entered the province from the southward, and penetrated into the Burdwan country, making a considerable but unavailing diversion in favour of the prince, for they also were totally discomfited by Colonel Calliaud's troops in conjunction with those of the Nabob. The particulars of these conflicts have in various publications been so amply detailed * to the public, and the result of all the prince's efforts to conquer Bengal and Bahar having been already stated to the reader, I shall not tread back the ground of history minutely to relate them; but, as usual, keep only to its great outlines, and the leading events of the period under consideration. Towards the close of the campaign the Nabob's son was killed in his tent by lightning;

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* For these details consult Gholaum Hossain, *passim;* also Holwell's "India Tracts," octavo, 1774, in which are inserted Colonel Calliaud's letters, addressed during the course of the campaign to himself, as governor.

extreme anguish for which event is said by our well informed native historian to have affected the intellects of Jaffier Khan, his father, (although nobody besides himself felt the smallest grief at his death, for he was a young man of the most cruel and profligate character) and to have been, in part, the occasion of that important change in the government, the particulars of which it now becomes necessary to record.*

For a considerable period the internal administration of the province of Bengal had been most wretchedly conducted. Both Jaffier and his son had in their high station been guilty of the most atrocious crimes, and on the slightest occasions had freely used the dagger of assassination. These excessive cruelties, added to the oppressive exactions of the father, had rendered him equally obnoxious, both to the natives and the English. By his indolence too, and the defalcations of a train of worthless favourites, the revenues were become utterly inadequate to the support of the government. The council of Calcutta had long seen and regretted this scandalous deviation, from the line of principle and prudence, in the man whom they had exalted to its musnud. After violent and protracted debates among its members it was at length agreed upon by the majority of the board, to depose Jaffier Khan, and raise to the Nabobship, his son-in-law, that Cossim Ally Khan, of whom, in the preceding portion of Mogul history, we have prematurely been compelled to speak. Colonel Clive, it should be here remarked, after repelling the invasion of the Shah Zadda in the preceding year, had early in the present year (1760) resigned the government of Bengal, and taken his departure for Europe. Mr. Holwell, as oldest in council, succeeded to the presidency, which a few months afterwards he resigned to Mr. Vansittart, appointed to succeed the Colonel from

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* Gholaum Hossain p. 399.

Madras. Soon after his arrival, the new governor, and Colonel Calliaud, attended by a body of European troops and some sepoys, towards the close of the year 1760, having arrived at his capital of Moorshedabad, announced to the Nabob the fatal intelligence of his deposition from the musnud, which his crimes had disgraced, and the elevation of his son to those honours having been determined upon at that presidency. Jaffier Khan at first fell into a violent rage, grossly abused the English, and menaced resistance; but his palace being surrounded, and the gates secured, he was compelled to submit. Boats were at hand to convey himself, his domestics, and his property in gold and jewels to a vast amount to Calcutta, which he preferred to a residence at Moorshedabad, where he would be at the mercy of his son-in-law, whom he equally dreaded and detested, and Cossim, amidst the general exultation of the people, was immediately proclaimed his successor.

In Cossim, however, the English government was deeply disappointed. With greater abilities and profounder policy than his predecessor, he pursued with vigour all the obnoxious projects of his father-in-law in respect to the trade of the Company; he greatly, but gradually, increased the numbers of his army, which he armed, clothed, and disciplined after the European manner, and rendered formidable by a well-appointed park of artillery; while, to elude the cautious vigilance and inspection of the English factory and agents of Moorshedabad, he removed the seat of his government from that capital to Mongheer, 200 miles higher up on the Ganges, which he fortified in the strongest manner possible. From this place he issued the severest decrees against both the judicial and commercial claims of the English in Bengal, and reversed all the immunities granted them by his predecessor, and confirmed by himself, when advanced by them to the musnud. Mr. Vansittart, a just and worthy man, but wanting the spirit and vigour of a Clive, anxious to prevent an open rupture, undertook a journey to Mongheer, where he arrived in November, 1762, and entered into an amicable negociation with the Nabob, which terminated by his consenting to put the Company's commerce under certain restrictions, (Hossain states it to be the payment of *nine* per cent. on articles of commerce) and he issued his orders accordingly, which were immediately circulated with avidity by Cossim through the whole province. But the terms of this treaty were thought disgraceful at Calcutta, and were indignantly annulled by the council. Unwilling, however, to come to extremities with the Nabob, a deputation of gentlemen, with Mr. Amyatt at their head, was, shortly after, dispatched to Mongheer with fresh proposals for an accommodation. In the object of their mission, however, they were completely unsuccessful; and it seemed to be the determination of the tyrant to extirpate both the English and their trade; for on their return to Calcutta, these gentlemen, though furnished by himself with the usual passports granted to persons employed in public embassy, in passing through Moorshedabad, were by his orders, basely fired upon; Mr. Amyatt, and many of them killed, and the rest taken prisoners.

Previously to this catastrophe, it was sufficiently evident that the Nabob was determined on hostilities, and Mr. Amyatt, in consequence, had written to Mr. Ellis, the chief of Patna, desiring him to be upon his guard against sudden surprise. Mr. Ellis, upon receipt of this intelligence, and in the certainty that a declaration of war would be issued when the deputation reached Calcutta, resolved, when he conceived Mr. Amyatt was arrived within the boundaries of the Company, to be before-hand with the Nabob, and after consulting the military commander, formed the bold resolution one morning at day-break, when the Mogul guard were mostly off their posts, and not suspecting an attack, with their handful of troops of seizing on the city. Having scaled the walls without much opposition, the little army marched on in two divisions towards the citadel, the garrison of which however resolutely held out, as well as the palace of the governor, in expectation of speedy relief. All the rest of the city was in their possession, but unfortunately, instead of keeping firmly together, the soldiers, allured by the riches of that great city, began to disperse and plunder the bazar and the houses of the opulent inhabitants. This imprudent step totally ruined an enterprize commenced, it must be owned, with more spirit than foresight, for detachments pouring in from all quarters soon overpowered the English, and after a short but brave resistance, they were completely routed, and pursued across the river, where they were all either destroyed or taken prisoners. Among the latter were Mr. Ellis, the chief, Mr. Lushington, and many other gentlemen, very highly esteemed in India, and very respectably connected in England. Inflamed with this temporary triumph, the Nabob immediately issued orders to the officers of the several districts for the indiscriminate slaughter of all Englishmen found in them, and it is possible that the massacre of the deputies at Moorshedabad might be the consequence of those orders; but as EMBASSADORS, in every event of peace, or war, their persons ought to have been considered as *sacred*.

When intelligence of this cruel and daring outrage arrived at Calcutta, the grief of the gentlemen of the council was alone to be equalled by their indignation. They immediately determined on the deposition of Meer Cossim, and a negociation was commenced with Meer Jaffier for his restoration to the musnud, which was speedily terminated by his assenting to all the articles dictated by them, as the condition of that restoration, except *four;* and those were of such minor importance, that at a future board they agreed to alter them according to his wishes:* he was in consequence of this assent, and a solemn promise to avoid former errors in government, once more proclaimed soubahdar at Calcutta; and on the 17th of July, 1763, attended by Major Adams, and an army small in number, but resolute in mind to revenge the murder of their countrymen, re-ascended the musnud at Moorshedabad, the ancient capital of the province. To pass over partial and less important actions, which would necessarily occupy the space destined to events of greater magnitude and moment, the enemy having collected their whole force had encamped on the plain of GERIAH, to attack which the English had to pass a *nulla*, or deep ravine, in the very face of them. That force consisted of twelve battalions of sepoys, regularly disciplined, and fifteen thousand horse, with seventeen pieces of artillery mounted in the English manner, and worked by European cannoneers. Cossim himself dreading the just vengeance of the English for his unparalleled perfidy, should he fall into their hands, was not with his army, but kept at a secure distance at Mongheer, and afterwards removed higher up the Ganges to Patna. The total amount of the British on this occasion did not exceed three thousand men. After an obstinate contest of four hours, in the course of which the English line was for a moment broken in upon, the latter gained a complete victory, and a booty adequate to the magnitude of the royal army. Pursuing their victorious career, they arrived at Mongheer, which the tyrant had made his capital. To this city, fortified in the best manner the time would admit of, they were obliged to lay a regular siege, and the defence was more than usually vigorous ; at length, however, the assailants having made a practicable breach, the garrison, consisting of 2000 sepoys, after a siege of nine days capitulated. Here the army received the afflicting intelligence that the cruel tyrant had caused to be barbarously murdered the whole of the English prisoners, amounting to nearly two hundred, except Dr. Fullarton, who, in his medical capacity, having been serviceable to himself, and some of the great men of his court, had a few days before been set at liberty.

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* Consult the treaty, consisting of thirteen articles, in Vansittart's Bengal, Vol. III. p. 340.

In fact Cossim had, in a previous letter to Major Adams, announced his determination to exact this diabolical revenge if he advanced with the army to Mongheer. The Major returned him for answer, that if he touched a hair of their heads he should have no mercy from the English, who would pursue him to the utmost extremity of the earth. The prisoners had been committed by Cossim to the care of a renegado French officer, his favourite general, named Sumroo, whose mortal enmity to the English nation seemed to render him the proper instrument of so bloody a deed, the horror of which is increased tenfold by its having been committed under the roof of pretended hospitality. The English gentlemen were invited by this base assassin to a banquet to be served up after the English fashion, for which purpose he had previously borrowed all their knives and forks. On the entrance of messieurs Ellis, Hay, and Lushington, they fell the first victims, being respectively seized by the hair by one ruffian, while another was at hand to cut his throat. Resistance was made, but it was useless, for the English were unarmed except with bottles and plates, the only weapons of offence they could procure, while the murderers rushing in upon them in-

indiscriminately levelled them with their carabines, or cut them down with their sabres; and thus, to use the words of Colonel Fullarton, "they were all terribly mangled and cut to pieces, and then promiscuously thrown into a large well, in the court of the house, which was afterwards filled up."*

Burning with revenge at this intelligence, the army with irresistable impetuosity pressed forward to Patna, where the object of their detestation was supposed to be, which after a resolute defence was taken by storm on the 6th of November, 1763. The Nabob however was too wise and circumspect to trust himself within the walls of any city attacked by the English: he contented himself with hovering near at the head of a select body of cavalry, from which he occasionally sent large detachments to harass the besieging enemy; and when intelligence reached him of its surrender, he retired with precipitation to the banks of the Carumnassa, which he crossed on a bridge of boats, and entered the territories of Sujah Dowlah, towards the close of the year.

The events that follow relative to Cossim's friendly reception at the court of Oude, the vain glory of the Nabob Vizier, the vast preparation for invading Bahar and Bengal, and the fact itself of that invasion by his innumerable, but ill disciplined battalions, together with the battle of Buxar, given in more than usual detail, as being more strictly connected with the Mogul History† —that fatal battle in which 50,000 Indians were opposed to 5000 of the company's troops, of which 1200 only were Europeans, are already before the reader. That decisive action took place, as there stated, in October 1764. No place of consequence now remained to the enemy, but the strong and almost impregnable fortress of Chunar Ghur on the Ganges. That fortress, however, after a long and obstinate resistance, which the garrison was enabled to make from the many advantages afforded them by its elevated site on a rock, projecting into the river, was at length surrendered by the governor to the English, in January 1765. It has been stated, that the Vizier in his panic, after the above victory of the English fled to Allahabad, another strong fort and city, 70 miles higher up the river, and constructed after the most approved rules of Indian architecture, by Sultan Akber, at the point where the Ganges and Jumna unite their streams. To this place he was pursued by the English general, and Allahabad, however fortified to resist an Indian army, not being able to withstand the battery of English artillery, being quickly taken, he fled for refuge to the Mahratta chief Mulhar Row, by whom he was cordially received, and promised that assistance which he so anxiously solicited. He also dispatched messengers to the Rohilla Afghan chiefs, established on the northern frontier of Oude, imploring their aid to crush the common foe.*

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* Vansittart's Bengal, Vol. III. p. 376.

† See page 598 preceding, et seq.

In the meantime his more sagacious minister, Beni Bahadur, despairing of success against a power to whom all opposition seemed unavailing, was endeavouring to open a negociation, by means of a native rajah, high in the confidence of the English, named Chittabray. General Carnac, however, who had now succeeded to the command of the troops, refused to listen to any proposals for peace, without his previously delivering up to the just vengeance of the English, Cossim and his bloody agent, in the massacre of their countrymen at Patna, Sumroo. To these conditions the Vizier would not listen, honourably declaring that he would rather lose his dominions than be guilty of such an act of perfidy, to men who had fled to him for protection in the extremity of distress. To put it out of his power, in any exigency to act thus treacherously, he immediately released them; and both, it may be here remarked, after a variety of adventures, died miserably.*

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* Hossain, Vol. II. sect. 3. p. 365.

Early, too, in the present year, (1765) expired, the victim of age and grief, the Soubahdar himself, Jaffier Khan. Upon his death-bed he had nominated his eldest surviving son Nudjim al Dowlah, then about eighteen years of age, for his successor, and the Council at Calcutta, after due deliberation, confirmed that nomination. Before his elevation to the musnud, however, in several conferences which were holden with him by some of its members, deputed for the purpose to Moorshedabad, the strict line of conduct to be observed by him as Nabob, was pointed out and impressed upon the inexperienced youth. The necessity also of very considerable changes, both in the civil and military departments of the province, was forcibly inculcated, and finally acceded to by the young Nabob, though he struggled hard to retain at the head of affairs the profligate Nundcomar, the favourite, but the venal minister of his father. His intreaties in that respect were of no avail, and a minister of their own choice was appointed to him, to serve at once as the governor of his private, and the guide of his public life. Under these restrictions, which past severe experience seemed to render requisite, he was installed Soubahdar of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, and the profound tranquillity enjoyed by those provinces after the submission of the Vizier, during his reign and that of his brother, who rapidly succeeded to his exalted station, evinced the wisdom of those precautions.

On the absolute refusal of the Vizier to accede to the conditions proposed by the English general, the continuance of the war being rendered necessary, the Mahrattas, more faithful to Sujah, than his allies of the north, who with many professions had made no preparations for the campaign, early in May 1765 took the field. Sujah Doulah had also, by great exertions, and promises of high rewards, assembled together a large proportion of the troops who fled before the enemy at Buxar, but who now united with the martial Mahratta race, thought themselves marching on to certain victory. On receiving intelligence of their approach, General Carnac, without a moment's delay, advanced to meet them. He came up with them at a place called Calpi, where, after a conflict by no means sanguinary or protracted, he entirely routed the combined armies, pursued their flying squadrons in every direction, nor gave over that pursuit until he had compelled the Mahrattas, the more formidable of the two, to recross the Jumna, and retire within their own frontiers.

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* Hossain, Ibid.

With respect to Sujah Dowlah himself, again defeated, desponding, his last stake ineffectually hazarded, he retreated with a few faithful bands to Ferukhabad, where Ahmed Khan Bunguish, the chief of that district, advised him in this extremity to throw himself, at once, on the clemency of the English, who were as generous as they were brave, and would not fail to pay every respect to an omrah of his rank and dignity in distress. With this advice, however grating to his feelings as a prince, and degrading to his character as a soldier, after due consideration, he resolved to comply; and, accordingly, the next day set out in his palanquin, with a few unarmed attendants, for the English camp. Informed of his intentions and approach, Carnac, with some of his principal officers, advanced in the front of the camp to receive him. On seeing them, the Vizier alighted from his palanquin, and after mutual salutation, the English general led his noble guest to a tent where a splendid entertainment was prepared, of which the

Vizier cordially partook, and after receiving the most solemn assurances of perfect reconciliation and future friendship, towards evening departed to his own tents, which were pitched at some distance. Impressed with a deep sense of the generosity and frankness of the English, the Vizier soon after repeated his visit, and a treaty between himself and the English was expeditiously drawn up, by which HE was re-instated in the full possession OF ALL HIS DOMINIONS upon the following lenient conditions; that he should pay fifty lacks of rupees, as an indemnification to the English for the expenses of the war, twenty-five lacks in ready money, and the remainder by assignments on the revenues of Oude; that the province of Allahabad should be assigned for the sole use of the Emperor, and its city and fortress be allotted for his residence;* that a body of English should be stationed there as a guard to the Emperor's person; and that from the day of its signature, the friends and enemies of the one party should be deemed the friends and enemies of the other, and of course that their armies should be mutually assisting, in case of war and invasion, on the express condition that the party soliciting succour should defray all the charges attendant on the troops sent to his assistance.*

Such were the leading articles of the famous treaty of Allahabad, which was mutually signed and ratified on the spot by the contracting powers, but expressly stated at the time, to be subject to the final determination of Colonel Clive, who, about this time was expected in India to resume the government, with enlarged and almost unlimited powers.

For a considerable time back, indeed, dissensions had arisen to a very great height, both in England and at Calcutta, in respect to many of the transactions, which we have thus rapidly sketched, dissensions that went almost to shake the existence of the Company; and no man was esteemed better able, from his profound knowledge of Indian affairs, and the concern which he had had in the exaltation of the Company to their present state of opulence and prosperity, to rectify errors, and settle matters on a permanent basis than that great warrior and statesman. Upon that account, powers thus vast and unprecedented were entrusted to him; and whatever objections may, in other respects, be urged against that great man, he certainly in this instance did not abuse them, but acted with equal circumspection and wisdom, and at the same time with a firmness and vigour that entitles him a second time to the splendid denomination of the Saviour of India. On his actual arrival shortly after, Colonel, now Lord Clive, expeditiously hastened to Allahabad, and deing decidedly of opinion, though so victorious a commander, that to extend our conquests beyond certain limits, that is to say, beyond our powers of keeping possession, both in respect to the vast expense incurred, and the number of troops necessary to be maintained for its defence, was inconsistent with sound policy; also esteeming the Vizier's dominions the firmest possible barrier against the incursion of Afghans, Mahrattas, and other barbarous hordes who had so long desolated the northern frontiers, readily consented to ratify the above treaty. Of the fifty lacks stipulated as the price of peace, one half was in a few days paid down in money, and for the security of the remaining portion, jewels of very high value were pledged with the English commanders.

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* Hossain, sect. xi. p. 371.

Repeated interchanges of civility and mutual assurances of lasting friendship between the two parties had taken place, and the Vizier, in proof of it having given up the strong fortress of Chunar in exchange for Allahabad, which had been assigned for the residence of the Emperor, the latter set off on his return to his own dominions; while the former remained at Allahabad to transact the important business of the DEWANNY, which has been detailed in a former page, and by which a chartered body of merchants became, in rank and wealth, equal to sovereign princes. Nor, though the daring rapacity of some individuals, and the unprincipled ambition of others, may, in a few instances, have brought disgrace upon the English character in Asia, have they ever forfeited their title to those distinguished honours; for, making those due allowances which by candour will ever be made for human passion and human frailty, and taking into consideration the magnitude and intricacy of their concerns, it may be truly affirmed that, as a body of men, their conduct has been such, AS REFLECTS CREDIT UPON THEMSELVES, AND DOES HONOUR TO THEIR COUNTRY.

FIRMAUN FROM THE KING SHAH AULUM, GRANTING THE DEWANNY OF BENGAL, BAHAR, AND ORISSA, TO THE COMPANY. DATED AUGUST 12TH, 1765.

AT this happy time, our royal firmaun, indispensably requiring obedience, is issued: that whereas, in consideration of the attachment and services of the high and mighty, the noblest of nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, we have granted them the DEWANNY of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, from the beginning of the Fussul Rubby of the Bengal year 1171, as a free gift and Ultumgau, without the association of any other person, and with an exemption from the payment of the customs of the DEWANNY, which used to be paid to the court; it is requisite that the said Company engage to be security for the sum of twenty-six lacks of rupees a year, for our royal revenue, which sum has been appointed from the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowlah Bahader, and regularly remit the same to the royal Sircar: and in this case, as the said Company are obliged to keep up a large army for the protection of the provinces of Bengal, &c. we have granted to them whatsoever may remain out of the revenues of the said provinces, after remitting the sum of twenty-six lacks of rupees to the royal Sircar, and providing for the expences of the Nizamut: it is requisite that our royal descendants, the Viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttaseddees of the DEWANNY, the managers of the business of the Sultanut, the Jagheerdars and Croories, as well the future as the present, using their constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said office in possession of the said Company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever; looking upon them to be insured from dismission or removal, they must on no account whatsoever give them any interruption, and they must regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the DEWANNY, and royal demands. Knowing our orders on the subject to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar of the 6th year of the Jaloos,
(the 12th of August, 1765.)

FINIS.

London: Printed by W. Bulmer and Co.
Cleveland-Row, St. James's.

THE

HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN;

ITS

ARTS, AND ITS SCIENCES,

AS CONNECTED WITH

THE HISTORY OF THE OTHER GREAT EMPIRES OF

ASIA,

DURING THE MOST ANCIENT PERIODS OF THE WORLD.

WITH

Numerous Illustrative Engravings.

BY THE

AUTHOR OF INDIAN ANTIQUITIES.

VOL. III, and PART FINAL.

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AND SOLD BY

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1819.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

To answer the urgent and reiterated demand for this last portion of the Ancient Indian History, of which a considerable less number was printed than of the former parts, the Author has at length been prevailed upon, though at a very heavy expence, to remedy the deficiency by reprinting it.

Of the collective work, having been nearly *twenty years* out of print, he would, also, have been happy to have given a new edition; but the charge to an unaided individual would have been ruinous, and it must, therefore, still remain among the *desiderata* of Ancient Indian Literature. Instead of the *third part*, it is here entitled the THIRD VOLUME, to which its magnitude lays claim, and any future edition cannot be comprized in less than THREE VOLUMES.

British Museum, 1st January, 1819.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

THE farther the reader proceeds in the Life of the Eight Avatar, the more he must be convinced of the absurdity and impiety of the comparison, which has been so insidiously attempted to be made by M. Volney, between the Christian and the Indian *Preserver*. As he has already, in the two introductory chapters, been sufficiently prepared to form a proper judgment on the subject of Creeshna, I have permitted the sportive young deity to continue acting his romantic exploits on the plains of Mathura; only throwing an occasional veil over the more licentious parts of the conduct of this Apollo Nomius of India, whose amours are certainly not less numerous than those of the Greek; of whom, in many respects, he appears to have been the studied exemplar.

It cannot be denied, however, that, amidst all this licentiousness which the Brahmins, in fact, are anxious to explain away, as if the whole were a sublime allegory, resembling the Greek story of the loves of CUPID and PSYCHE, there often issue from the lips of Creeshna maxims and precepts worthy of a deity; while many of the apologues, occasionally introduced into it, impress the noblest lessons of piety and philanthropy. Among these may be enumerated, Akroor's noble apostrophe to Creeshna, while bathing; Odhoo's instructive theological discourse with Nanda; his subsequent sublime address to Ram; the impressive relation intended to inculcate the omnipresence of God, which represents the prophet Nared visiting the golden palace of Creeshna, in Dwaraka, and ranging its spacious apartments in search of its Lord, whom he finds absent from no part of it; and the powerful dissuasive against the baneful effects of INEBRIETY, by which a whole race becomes exterminated, towards the conclusion: these, with many other weighty moral truths and affecting observations, interspersed throughout the work, will, it is hoped, make the reader amends for much puerility blended with them, and the magical machinery, so congenial with the practice of remote and barbarous ages. For the style being sometimes less accurate and elegant than I could wish, the only apology in my power to make is that first offered, viz. that the Life of Creeshna, is in great part, a literal translation from the SRI BHAGAVAT, by Mr. Halhed, preserved among his MSS. in the BRITISH MUSEUM, and not originally intended for the public eye.

The two remaining Avatars will be found, I trust, detailed and explained to the complete satisfaction, at least, of that numerous class of my readers, who do not think the theological disquisition the least important portion of this historical retrospect on the most ancient events transacted on the great theatre of Asia, events which carry us back so near to the æra of the venerable patriarchs. To that respectable, but less numerous, class of my readers, who, less ardent for theological research, seek for historic truth amidst the darkness of those early ages, I flatter myself the final portion of this volume, which discusses the connection of the Tartars, Persians, and early Greeks, with the Indians, will not be wholly unsatisfactory: they will candidly remember the remoteness of the æra, and the scanty materials yet in our possession for the full investigation of events then transacted. When more ample materials shall have been discovered, with adequate encouragement I shall not be reluctant to resume the investigation; and, since all theological discussion is now finally terminated, to present the public with a volume of *purely historical fact*, relating to the invasions of India by Greek, Persian, and Mohammedan, conquerors, down to the death of Aurungzeb in the present century. A considerable part of this vast and interesting history has been long written by me, but disquisitions thought by my friends more important have superseded its appearance. The event has justified their advice; and the learned reader who may have perused the ingenious and elaborate, but dangerous, work of M. Dupuis, on the *Origin of all Religions*, alluded to in the preface to the former part, a work comprised in three large quarto volumes, with two additional volumes of plates, illustrative of his chimæras, must be convinced of the necessity which existed of the previous appearance of a work like mine; however inferior in point of execution. He will there see with what determined hostility the noble science of ASTRONOMY, which I have endeavoured to render subservient to the cause of Christianity, has been employed on the Continent to *subvert*, and, if possible, to *eradicate* it from the earth.

For denominating, as I have done, in the subsequent pages, the Indian prince, who most vigorously opposed Alexander, PAURAVA, I beg permission to produce the authority of Sir William Jones, in a letter addressed to me, from Bengal, on my first making known to him my intention of commencing this History, and soliciting his support and patronage in India. As it is not long, I insert it unabridged, except in that part which confided to me the opinion which I ought to entertain, but which I shall never divulge, of certain persons who have not since proved the most zealous friends to my literary labours. Yet have those labours succeeded beyond my utmost hope, and persevering exertions have at length trampled upon every difficulty.

Chrisha-Nagar, 10*th October*, 1790.

Dear Sir,

It is not possible for me to forget the pleasure which I have received from your conversation, and the opinion which I always entertained of your parts and industry. The arduous undertaking, of which I have just perused the plan, fully justifies my opinion; but I am so oppressed with a heavy arrear of business, that I cannot write at large on the subject of it. I will desire my agent in London to subscribe for me, and will do all I can to promote the subscription here. Such is the expense of printing at Calcutta, that it would cost thirty pounds sterling to reprint the pamphlet; but the proposals shall be reprinted, and carefully circulated. I am confident that you might learn Persian in six months, (if you have not learned it already,) so well at least as to read the original text of Ferishtah, whose work, with submission, is very *highly esteemed* by all learned Indians and Indian scholars. To an historian I must express every truth, even though friendship might induce me to conceal it; * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *. Let me, at the same time, exhort you not wholly to rely on *my* authority; for, though I have diligently avoided errors, yet I have made many: for instance, *Por*, a word which I found for *Porus* in the Shah-Nameh, is, I now find, pronounced *Pur*, or *Poor*, by the native Persians; and I have reason to believe, from Sanscrit authorities, that the true name of that prince was PAURAVA. If you read Persian, Mr. Boughton Rouse will, I dare say, lend you the *Modern History of India*, by Gholam Husain. Farewell, my Dear Sir, and believe me to be, with great regard,

Your ever faithful humble Servant,

WILLIAM JONES.

Rev. Thomas Maurice.

THE

LIFE

OF

CREESHNA,

THE EIGHTH

INDIAN AVATAR,

FROM THE

BHAGAVAT POORAUN.

PART THE SECOND.

DETAILING THE EXPLOITS OF CREESHNA, AFTER THE
DESTRUCTION OF CANSA, TO THE DEATH
OF JARASANDHA.

THE LIFE OF CREESHNA.

PART THE SECOND.

WHEN Creeshna found that the eyes of Vasudeva and Devaci were opened to his real character, as Perebrahme, or Universal Lord, while there still remained so much to be performed by him on that earth, which, as an Avatar, he had condescended to visit, he again plunged them into forgetfulness. In consequence, they once more thought him their son, and beheld him and Ram standing before them in a posture of the utmost respect. Creeshna now began to bewail aloud the many evils to which they had been exposed on his account: he lamented that they had not even enjoyed the common gratification of parents in the company of their own children, the care of their education having fallen to the lot of Nanda and Yasodha. "Formerly," says he, "when men were infinitely more long-lived, their whole existence on earth was passed in the service of their parents; and now life is so short, your maternal comforts, O Devaci! have been, to my shame and regret, abridged of that little, but I hope to obtain forgiveness from parental commiseration." Thus did Ram and Creeshna comfort Vasudeva and Devaci, who most heartily rejoiced in the sight of their children, insomuch that even the milk started from the breast of Devaci, throbbing with transport. After this, the crown of the city and kingdom of Mathura was placed on the head of Ogur Sein, to whom, by right, it belonged; when Creeshna thus addressed him: "O rajah! do not refuse the government from the hands of a youthful destroyer of an usurper. May your reign be long and fortunate, and all rebellion and faction be for ever crushed! Be assured, that those of the tribe of the Yadavas, who have left Mathura through the oppressions of Cansa, will all speedily return. Govern them with wisdom, and do not increase the tribute beyond that of former times, nor delight, like Cansa, in aggrieving thy subjects." From that very day, Ogur Sein took upon himself the government of Mathura, and, by Creeshna's aid, his reign prospered exceedingly. Wherever Creeshna resides, prosperity must necessarily ensue; thus it was, while he abode in Gokul and Bindreben as the son of Nanda and Yasodha, and when he had cleansed Mathura from the filth of injustice and oppression, his parents Vasudeva and Devaci became most happy and exalted in their new-found progeny. One day Creeshna sent for Nanda and Oope-Nanda, and all the Gopas, or shepherds, and cow-herds, and, in a posture of reverence, presented Nanda with his and Ram's thanks for all the favours bestowed on them by him and Yasodha; more, in fact, than could have been expected from natural parents, and then told him that it was necessary that *he* (Nanda) should go to Bindreben to console Yasodha and the Gopias, or shepherdesses. He then gave Nanda mighty presents in money and goods, and dismissed him with the other Gopas, who all returned to Bindreben in tears. Soon after, Vasudeva and Devaci, in council with the heads of the family and wisest of their Zennardars, reflecting that they had not hitherto been able to give Ram and Creeshna an education suitable to Khettris, and, according to the rites of the rajah tribe, desired that the Zennar might be duly conferred on them, and the ceremonies of the nuptial festival were now performed in a fortunate hour; they were bathed in the holiest waters, and were taught the Proheete and Gayatree, and invested with the Zennar. On that day, innumerable cows and vast quantities of gold were given away Vasudeva then sought for a complete tutor for his son; and, having heard of a famous Zennardar in Avengtee, he determined to send Ram and Creeshna thither. They went accordingly to Avengtee, and entered into the discipline of the tutor, and, by their extreme attention, so rivetted the esteem of Sendeepen, that he presently taught them the whole science of the Vedas. Although, to save appearances, they staid some time in Avengtee as his pupils, yet, in fact, Creeshna learnt all the sciences in one day and night, and perfectly knew all the sixty-four Kela, to the great joy and equal astonishment of Sendeepen, who had been used to see his pupils employ months and years upon only one book. Creeshna, after acknowledging his obligations to Sendeepen, desired him to demand what he wished for most, as his tutors's fee. Sendeepen begged leave to consult his wife before he determined on his request. The wife entreated, that, if it were possible to raise her two sons to life, that might be the boon bestowed. Sendeepen accordingly requested of Creeshna to restore his two dead sons. Creeshna said it should be done; and then, with Ram, went to the sea-shore, when the Sea, assuming a human shape, came before him, and most submissively asked his pleasure. Creeshna demanded the two sons of Sendeepen. The Deep replied, he had them not; but, if Creeshna commanded, he would demand them of PANCHAJANYA, the great Shankhe, or shell-fish, who was in his belly. Creeshna immediately leaped into the sea himself, and, seizing the Shankhe, tore it open. When he found them not there, he brought the Shankhe up with him for the purpose of using it as a trumpet, and going thence to the abode of Dherme Rajah, the god of justice, or Pluto, he there sounded the Shankhe. Dherme Rajah immediately appeared, and, making most profound submissions, entreated to know his commands. Creeshna demanded, as before, the two sons of his tutor Sendeepen; and, by this command of Perebrahme, these two young men became alive again, and Dherme Rajah presented them to Creeshna, who, with Ram, immediately took them to Sendeepen, and, presenting them to him, said, "O Gooroo! demand of us something yet more, for our wish is to serve thee." But Sendeepen answered, "O Ram and Creeshna! I am delighted with you to the soul; nor have I more to ask, but receive at least my blessing; and may the sciences you have learned of me remain for ever fresh in your memories!" Creeshna and Ram then taking leave of their tutor set off from Avengtee, and soon came to Mathura, and the people there received them like lost wealth restored.

Creeshna having, as we have seen, thus rapidly learnt the whole circle of sciences from Sendeepen, and being returned to Mathura, on a certain day called to him his kinsman Oodhoo, and, taking him aside, requested of him to go to Bindreben, and bear his salutations to Yasodha and all the Gopas, and particularly to the Gopias whom, most of all, his absence grievously afflicted; announce to them his intended return the instant his affairs permitted, and, in the mean time, until they could obtain his personal presence, to exhort them to be constantly employed in YUG, which is his spiritual presence. Oodhoo, having accordingly received Creeshna's instructions, set out for Bindreben on the following morning, and arrived the same evening. He found all the Gopas and Gopias sitting in a melancholy attitude, and meditating on Creeshna; the Zennardars at prayer, and the secular persons engaged in charity and other pious works, to obtain his presence. Nanda carried Oodhoo to his own house, and there refreshing him after his journey, anxiously asked him the news of Creeshna, of Mathura, of Vasudeva, and Devaci, and whether Creeshna meant to keep his former promise of coming to see them. In short, he became extremely garrulous, running over all Creeshna's miracles while a little boy, and declaring, that, from what Garga had told him, he knew Creeshna to be Bhagavan, Perebrahme, Pooran-Pooroosh; who was born for the protection of Devatas and Zennardars, and the relief of the oppressed; as was clear from the destruction of Cansa, who had the strength of a thousand drunken elephants; and of Keishee Assoor, who was also strong as a thousand elephants; and from his breaking the bow, which was beyond the power of man. Yasodha then took her turn to speak, and said, she thought it very hard, that when Creeshna was little, he permitted Nanda and Yasodha to be called his parents; but now Devaci was become Nanda, and Creeshna was called Vasudeva: still, however, from having had the care of Creeshna's infancy, she thought her prerogatives greater than those of Devaci. Oodhoo silenced them, by saying, that whoever is constantly night and day thinking of Creeshna becomes exalted above all the three worlds; and that it is pronounced in the Vedas and Smreete, that whosoever, at the time of expiring, shall retain Creeshna in his remembrance, he will infallibly become Peremookte, or thrice-blessed; that Nanda and Yasodha were at the pinnacle of their desires, and that he knew even them to be Avatars of Devatas. Nanda again earnestly demanded if Creeshna would keep his promise in returning to Bindreben? And Oodhoo replied, that Perebrahme was at all times present every where, just as fire, though concealed, is always present in wood: that it was not for a moment admissible, that, because he now called Vasudeva and Devaci his parents, he should forget Nanda and Yasodha; for that the Preserver of the world has no parents, nor can be called the particular *parent* of any one, but is Creator of the universe. In the state of his present existence he is to be considered as an Avatar, like that of Matsya, Kourma, Varaha, Nara-Sing, and others, which are all emanations of that tremendous power who is at once the Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, of all things. "We short-sighted men," exclaims Oodhoo, "resemble a child, who, having turned round till he is giddy, thinks the heavens and earth also turn round with him, and does not consider that the rotatory motion is all in his own brain. Thus, O Nanda! are we bewildered in prejudices, thus are we grown giddy with pride, and know not the Creator. Now, therefore, O Yasodha! think no more of Creeshna as your son, but as a being who is father, child, husband, wife, brother, and whatever you can think of that is dear among human beings, all centring in one object, and without that object there is nothing!" Thus did Oodhoo pass the whole night in discourse with Nanda and Yasodha; and, at sun-rise, next morning went to bathe in the Jumna, dressed in a shining robe set with lovely jewels. As he drove along in his splendid carriage, in all houses which he passed, he heard the inhabitants at their different employments singing the miracles of Creeshna. He beheld all the Gopias in profound affliction for his absence; and, as most of them were ignorant of Oodhoo's arrival, they said to each other, "Ah! there is Akroor's carriage! he is returned; but, if Cansa had lived, he would have been devoted to instant destruction." Another supposed Creeshna had sent some other herald to inquire after them. A third observed that Creeshna had now other affairs to mind than to send after *them;* while a fourth insisted that Creeshna did most certainly recollect them. Innumerable discourses of this kind met the ears of Oodhoo, all the result of affection and grief; and he was astonished at the universality of the theme.

By the time Oodhoo returned from the water, the Gopias had learned that some one on the part of the Yadavas was arrived, but it was not Creeshna, and they all hurried to Nanda's house to learn news from Mathura. A sense of modesty, added to intense grief on account of Creeshna's absence, kept them for some time silent, but at length they broke silence, and overwhelmed Oodhoo with the multiplicity of their inquiries. Oodhoo, after many panegyrics on their fidelity, delivered Creeshna's message to them, desiring them not to mourn his absence, for, that there was no absence where there was mental *union*, as was the case between him and them. "Therefore, O Gopias! betake yourselves to Yug, or devotion; for that is the point at which no such thing as absence takes place." The Gopias, on hearing this, said to Oodhoo, "What manner of conduct is this, or what justice does Creeshna use, to give *Yug* (mental union) to us, and *Bhook* (corporeal union) to the women of Mathura? Alas! there is no mention made of *us* in Creeshna's assemblies? Does he ever recollect that night in which we forsook our husbands and children to share his beloved embrace? Will he ever mitigate the torments of separation which we now suffer? As for ourselves, we do not for a single moment forget those nights wherein we obtained our hearts desire, and surely, O Oodhoo! you will not fail to tell Creeshna of our inexpressible misery." Oodhoo stayed some months in Bindreben, to console and comfort the Gopias, and satisfied them greatly by again and again repeating the words of Creeshna, insomuch, that, to the people of Bindreben, his stay appeared but for a moment. Transported with passion, they shewed Oodhoo the places in the wood and by the water-side where they had tasted happiness with Creeshna. Oodhoo was infinitely pleased with their constancy, and assured them, in his turn, that Creeshna never had so much love and attachment to Lakshma, whose pure body is all one fragrance, and the bedam (almond) beneath whose foot for ever blows, as for them: that Lakshma had never known, even in a *dream*, that entire satisfaction which they had enjoyed with him *awake*: that, for himself, he only wished God would make him one of the happy Gopias; and that, as Creeshna was to him a deity, so he esteemed them also to be Devatas; for, that they were never separated from that sublime *Pooran-Pooroosh.* And now Oodhoo, with difficulty, obtaining leave to return to Mathura, Nanda, Yasodha, and all the Gopas and Gopias, sent separately their congratulations to Creeshna by Oodhoo, who, as soon as he arrived at that city, delivered an account of his mission; of the exact state in which he had left Nanda, Yasodha, and the Gopias, and presented the congratulations of each separately by name. Creeshna was not insensible to these tokens of their regard; for, on hearing the report, his eyes were moistened with tears of sympathy, and he resolved to seize the first opportunity of revisiting the scene where his childhood and youth had been so delightfully passed.

Creeshna recollecting that he had promised Koobeja a visit, in pursuance of that promise he one day went to her house, accompanied by Oodhoo. Koobeja was overjoyed, and, with her own hands, presented him the clothes, jewels, necklaces, betel, and sweetmeats, which she had prepared for the occasion. Oodhoo was greatly amazed at her beauty; but she, with a conscious shame, beheld Oodhoo as an intruder, for Creeshna was the idol of her heart. Creeshna, observing the ardency of her passion, took hold of her hand, and, gently drawing her towards him, placed her by his side, and she was made happy as a Yogee is by the completion of his Yug. What the devotee and the penitent often seek in vain (union with Deity) Koobeja easily obtained, and she persuaded Creeshna to stay some days at her house. Some time after, he went, according to promise, to Akroor's house with Ram, where his reception was equally warm and respectful. Akroor made him a most devout and submissive speech, and prophecied that he should slay the army of eighteen Kshoonees (or Kshouheenees) now he had assumed the full splendor of his Avatar for lightening the burthen of the earth Creeshna answered him with great tenderness and respect, as head of the Yadava family, and requested as a favour of him that he would go to Hastanapoor to bring certain intelligence of the state of affairs at that capital, where he had heard that, after Rajah Pandoo's death, Doorjoodhen oppressed his five cousins; Judishter, that ocean of modesty and tenderness; Bheema, strong as the mountain Sumeru; Arjoon, the famous bowman; Nacul, renowned for his beauty; and Sahadeva, the wise and penetrative; in short, that he looked with an eye of extreme jealousy and ill-will on all the Pandoos.

Akroor, exceedingly happy at this commission, chose a fortunate moment for his journey, and went to Hastanapoor. There he first respectfully visited Bheekheem, and Dhreetrarashtra, and Doorjoodhen, and his brothers. He then went to the abode of the Pandoos, where he paid the profoundest reverence to Koontee, and severally embraced Judishter and his brothers, and made a proper obeisance to Dropeda, their sister, endeavouring by every means in his power to comfort the Pandoos. For the purpose of learning a true state of affairs, Akroor stayed some months at Hastanapoor; but, such was the general fear of Doorjoodhen, that no one ventured to tell him the truth. At last, Koontee had a private interview with him, and at that interview informed him of the secret of Dhreetrarashta's weakness and Doorjoodhen's jealousy of the Pandoos, who were every where well spoken of, but against whom his fury had risen to such a height, that he had some time before presumed to put a venomous snake into their victuals and poison into their water. Koontee pleaded to him her near affinity with Creeshna, as sister to Vasudeva, and sent a message to Creeshna, complaining that Doorjoodhen, like some fatal eclipse of the sun and moon, obstructed the rising glory of her sons, and imploring his assistance, since she herself and all her family placed their reliance solely on Bhagavan. Akroor comforted her as well as he could, and took an early opportunity of remonstrating with Dhreetrarashtra on the glaring injustice of his own and Doorjoodhen's proceedings. Dhreetrarashtra answered, that he felt the force of Akroor's arguments, but that his heart was blackened by the intense affection which he bore his children, and could not assume the colour of his good advice, which, like lightning, had, for a single moment, flashed upon the obscurity of his mind; that he knew, however, Bhagavan had been born for the purpose of relieving the burthens of the earth, and for the protection of his friends, and paid him all due reverence. Akroor, after having given his advice to Dhreetrarashtra, and hearing his answer, took leave of him, and Koontee, and the Pandoos, and returned to Mathura.

Akroor, on his arrival from Hastanapoor, communicated all he had heard to Creeshna, and immediately that all-wise Being resolved within his mind what should be done. Now the two wives of Cansa, Asep and Peranet, daughters of Rajah Jarasandha, monarch of the kingdom of Maghada, had continued in a state of the most profound grief ever since the death of their husband, and went weeping and wailing to their father. Jarasandha was exceedingly grieved at the intelligence, and, being moved with extreme pity for his daughters, swore an oath and performed sacrifice that, if he did not slay every one of the Yadavas in revenge for the death of his son-in-law, the guilt of the murder of Cansa should lie upon him. Accordingly he levied an army of three Kshouheenees,* and set out for Mathura Creeshna on hearing it, said to Ram, that, as he was come for the purpose of lightening the burthens of the earth and punishing the wicked, he would slay Jarasandha, but not at that time, having other affairs to transact of more immediate importance. In the mean time, there descended from heaven two carriages, the shining of whose jewellery was like the splendor of the stars, and in each carriage was a collection of various kinds of arms. Creeshna looked towards Ram, and asked his advice, as they two were the only protectors of the Yadavas, and as it was necessary to lighten the overburthened earth of Jarasandha's army. Creeshna then ascended one of the carriages, and made Dareke his driver, while Ram mounted the other carriage. Taking with him a few chosen troops, Creeshna sounded the dreadful shell Panchajanya, whose roar re-echoed from earth to heaven, and both went to meet Jarasandha, whose army was affrighted and confounded with the sound of that wonderful instrument. But Jarasandha himself, advancing before his army to the sound of trumpets and clarions, exclaimed, " O Creeshna! it is improper for me to meet you in battle, since I know you to be invincible by any hostile weapon of mine. How, therefore, can I possibly, on any equal ground, engage with you, since the very attempt to combat with an Avatar must infallibly draw down upon me a severe and just punishment. I will fight Balhadur. Now, therefore, O Balhadur! take care; for, with a single arrow, I shall dispatch your mighty spirit to Deva Loke." Creeshna desired Jarasandha not to praise himself, as he and Ram knew not each others strength; and wherefore did he glory, since his relation Cansa had just obtained the merited fruits of his baseness? Jarasandha now became violently enraged, and overwhelmed Creeshna and Ram with a shower of arrows, like the sun in a cloud. The women of Mathura stood on their balconies anxious spectators of the battle: when Creeshna was obscured by arrows, they were oppressed with grief, but rejoiced exceedingly when by the flash they beheld the standard on which was the figure of Garoor. Jarasandha exhausted all his strength, and that of his army to no purpose; he could by no means obtain the victory. Creeshna then strung the all-conquering bow, and, drawing it, shot one arrow. With the stroke of that one arrow all the chariots, with the chiefs they bore, and the elephant-drivers, and their horses, with their riders, and the infantry, were all discomfited and slain. The blood streamed from the heads of elephants like rivers of red water from the mountains in the rainy season; the carriages were dashed about like ruined houses: the light of the standards was like the wood of a burning jungle; and there was a sea of blood flowing around, in which the heads of young warriors floated, while the jewels on their plumes resembled the shining of the sands, and the noble victims expiring, exclaimed aloud, Jeye! Jeye! Those that escaped, fled in the utmost trepidation; but Ram pursued them, and with his Moosel, (mace) pounded to atoms all the bones of his adversaries. When Jarasandha alone remained alive, Ram seized him as a lion seizes a kid, and was going to strangle him; but Creeshna took hold of Ram's hand and prevented him, saying, that he himself would slay Jarasandha hereafter, when other more weighty affairs were finished. So they left Jarasandha at liberty, and returned to Mathura, where great rejoicings were made, and the Devatas rained flowers from the sky. Thus did Creeshna return triumphant into Mathura; and Jarasandha, defeated and ashamed, went alone to his own kingdom, resolving, as he journeyed, that he would immediately commence most severe austerities, and by that means acquire the power of taking Creeshna and completing his revenge. As he went along, some of the neighbouring rajahs, his allies, comforted him; reminding him that conquest and defeat were accidents; that it was the business of recluses to pray and mortify, and that of a monarch to fight. Stimulated by these and similar expressions, Jarasandha went into his own country, again levied a mighty army, and, in pursuit of the determined revenge he had vowed, came seventeen times more to Mathura with so powerful a force, that no human efforts seemed able to oppose it; but he was each time defeated by the Giver of Victory, and fled each time with precipitation. On the eighteenth attack be brought, to assist him in its reduction, Kalee-Jeven: at which time Nared came to the latter, and acquainted him with Creeshna's delightful colour and fine dress, and all the marks and celestial appurtenances of the divine Bhagavan. This last time, when Kalee-Jeven came to Jarasandha's assistance, he took an army of three Crores of his own with him, and with that force came to Mathura and invested the city. Creeshna, on this, said to Ram, "O brother! since the Yadavas suffer extreme hardships on my account, this time I will kill Kalee-Jeven, and afterwards Jarasandha: but, as the men of Mathura are so dispirited and alarmed, I am resolved to relieve their apprehensions, and to place them in a state of security while you and I are employed in battle." On that same day he commanded Vesookerma to found a city in the midst of the sea; and in obedience to his commands, a city was instantly built all resplendent with jewels. In it were to be seen bazars with beautiful shops richly decorated, and gardens adorned with the trees Pareejatek, the houses shining with chrystal, the stables for horses composed of iron and silver, golden vases over the door of every house, and innumerable temples, whence clouds of incence perpetually ascended. In one moment every thing was ready, and now Bhagavan took all the living creatures of Mathura and carried them thither as a Yogee enwrapt in his Yug. Having thus placed *them* in security, he advanced, together with Ram, to give battle to the invader.

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* This is the word which often occurs written in Mr. Halhed's manuscript; but, in Ferishta, it is written COHEEN, and is there said to be a military body, "consisting of twenty-one thousand eight hundred and seventy elephants of war, an equal number of chariots, six thousand six hundred and ten horsemen, and one hundred and nine thousand three hundred and fifty foot!!!" *Credat Judæus.*

While Creeshna pressed forward to meet the enemy's army, Kalee-Jevan recollected the description given him by Nared, viz. Narayen, with the Kemel, and Chacra, and Geda, and Shankhe, in his hand, and rejoiced when he saw these signs that he should take this conqueror, shining like the sun. Kalee-Jevan ignorantly presumed to hope that he should take Bhagavan, whom even the Yogee by Yug, and the devotee by devotion, and the penitent by mortifications, cannot reach. Shree-Bhagavan now advanced; but, having formed his resolve in respect to the rajah, fled from him. Kalee-Jeven pursued him with celerity, telling him all the time it was unworthy of one, who called himself a Khettree, to flee; and that certainly he would bring shame on Vasudeva, and lose all the renown he had already acquired. At length Bhagavan came to a wood where the Reyshee Metsye Gundhe was sleeping; on whom he threw his robe, and retired into the thicket. Kalee-Jeven, in close pursuit, soon arrived at the same place; and thinking he had now caught his prey, drew in a hurry the yellow robe of Bhagavan from Metsye Gundhe's head, and spurned the sleeper with his foot: at which the Reyshee awoke, and the fire of his eye falling upon Kalee-Jeven, who stood before him, instantly reduced him to ashes. This Metsye Gundhe was the son of Rajah Mandhata, who conquered wheresoever he turned his arms; for which reason Devatas and men besought his assistance in their wars with their enemies. As Metsye Gundhe was extremely fatigued by the toils of war, and had not slept for a number of nights, Eendra and the other Devatas thanked him for the satisfaction he had procured them, and desired him, at length, to retire, and enjoy the refreshment of a long repose. They told him they had the power of conferring on him Dherme, Arthe, or Kam, but that, without the favour of Bhagavan, they could not give him Mookt, or beatitude; that, however, Shree-Bhagavan would one day bestow it on him. They entreated him, for the present, to repair by sleep the fatigues of war, and denounced, that, whoever should disturb and awaken him, should instantly by his look be reduced to ashes. Under these circumstances, Kalee-Jeven awoke the sage, and suffered the fate denounced. Creeshna then came forward in all the splendor of the Divinity, and was respectfully asked by Metsye Gundhe who he might be, and how, with his tender and beautiful feet, he arrived at that thorny place. Then, suddenly, as if in reply to his own question, he exclaimed, "Thou art the sun! the moon! Bhagavan! Gopal!" adding, that he knew him from the splendor of his countenance, which had exchanged his darkness for light, that he acknowledged him for the superior of the three Devatas; and, after again asking by what earthly appellative he was known, told him that himself was Metsye Gundhe, son of Rajah Mandhata. Creeshna replied, that his names were like his bodies and his actions, *innumerable:* that even those who could count the grains of the universe could not number them. But that *now*, when he was come to lighten the burthens of the earth, to comfort the good and punish the wicked, he was called Vasudeva, after his earthly progenitor; that he had slain a number of Rakshas, and, lastly, Cansa: that there were reasons why he had brought Kalee-Jeven to that fate; and, as the Devatas had told him he should obtain Mookt from Bhagavan, and as in a former life he had been a sincere devotee to him, (Creeshna,) he bid him ask what he desired. Metsye Gundhe, recollecting that Garga had cast his nativity, and told him that he should one day enjoy a sight of Bhagavan, was elated with joy, and said, "O supreme Lord! how can MAN, who is the prey of Maya, (delusion,) praise THEE properly? Blinded by the passions, he spends the precious moments of existence in their service; and, like a frog secluded in a well, who knows nothing of the external state of things, is lost in oblivion. But now, by the advantage of beholding thee, my understanding is enlightened, and I know thee to be Bhagavan!" Creeshna replied, "O Metsye Gundhe! I know what is your desire, and it is granted, although the giver of the throne of the Chekrewertee cannot obtain it. He who gives up his mind to me and seeks no other support, I am his *possession* and *treasure*." Metsye Gundhe, after praises and thanksgiving to the Almighty, being aware that the influence of the Cali Yug was apparent, wherein men would become very short-lived and be immersed in depravity, thought it better to withdraw his mind altogether from the world. Taking leave, therefore, of Creeshna, he set out towards the north, and, going to the mountain Gundhemaden, gave up his mind to the recollection of the Almighty Creator, beheld the Splendor God, and became so absorbed as to lose all self-consciousness.

Creeshna, after this, came down by the way of the mountains, defeated the entire army of Kalee-Jeven, and sent all the booty and prizes to Dwaraka. Jarasandha set out in search of Creeshna, and, when he saw him, Creeshna and Ram went before him as if in flight. There is a mountain called *Nevedroog Naghen*, into the defiles of which they retired. Jarasandha rejoiced at this, assuring himself that no road was now left for their escape; collecting, therefore, a great number of faggots, and blocking up all the avenues of retreat, he set fire to them all at the four sides, and concluding that both Ram and Creeshna were certainly burnt, returned triumphant to his own dominions. This mountain was eleven Yogans high above the earth, but Creeshna and Ram leapt over it in safety, and came to Dwaraka.

Rajah Bhekhem was monarch of Redeeme, and had five sons, Rokem, Akrej, Rokemrethe, Rokemmahoo, and Rokemmalee, and one daughter, named Rokemenee, who, having heard much of the miracles and praises of Bhagavan, became almost frantic with love for him, and was dying for a sight of him. She made a vow, with heart and soul, never to accept of any other being for a husband than Bhagavan: he, too, having been variously informed of her beauty, was equally in love with her. Rajah Bhekhem and four of his sons were content to unite Rokemenee with Creeshna, but the eldest, Rokem, was utterly averse; he thought Creeshna beneath them, and preferred Rajah Seesoopal both for his dignity and qualities; so, in compliance with the recommendation of his eldest son, Rajah Bhekhem commenced the nuptials of his daughter with Seesoopal, son of Rajah Demkhookhe, monarch of Chendeperee, but always in despight of Rokemenee, who abhorred the union. When the time of marriage approached, she dispatched a Zennardar to Dwaraka with an account of her melancholy situation. The messenger soon arrived, and, going to the palace of Bhagavan, was ushered in, when Creeshna immediately descended from his embroidered throne and performed Dendevet, and received him with all possible marks of respect, to the surprise of the Yadavas, who did not think him worthy of so much honour, and spoke slightingly of this behaviour: but Creeshna rebuked them, and very highly advanced the character of Brahmins as heirs of Brahma. "O Swamee!" said he to the Brahmin, "in whatever kingdom you reside there is peace and prosperity. O Brahma-Mooret! this day is fortune indeed propitious, since an elevated character like yourself is come to my city. Speak openly and truly for what purpose are you come that I may fulfil it." The Brahmin, greatly pleased with his reception, said he was from Gundenpoor, and delivered Rokemenee's message, informing him how fervently that princess was attached to him, and that she had vowed with heart and soul to put herself under no protection but his, and that it was incumbent on him not to let the jackal seize on the food of the lion; that, for his sake, she had worshipped both Devas and Devatas, and now, perhaps, the son of Demkhookhe would obtain her, for the day of marriage approached; and, to celebrate the nuptials, Seesoopal had brought with him, to Gundenpoor, Jarasandha, and Sal, and Denteblicktra: "Come, therefore," she added, "and slay these enemies, and release me from the anguish of suspense; contrive to get me out of my father's house, or remain concealed near Gundenpoor, *(but how can the sun be concealed?)* and, when the women of my tribe bear me forth out of the city to worship the Deva who presides over marriage, you may then easily bear me away. It is for you that I have long worshipped that Deva already: without your assistance I shall perish, and my blood will lie at your door; but nobles like yourself never soil their hands with the blood of youth and innocence." Creeshna, on reading this Patee, and hearing the message of the good Zennardar, determined to satisfy Rokemenee's inclinations.

Creeshna took the Brahmin by the hand, and ordering Dareke, his driver, to prepare his carriage immediately, desired the Brahmin to be seated therein. The horses were so fiery and unruly that Creeshna was obliged to seat *him* first and afterwards himself; he then again took hold of the Brahmin's hand that he might not be alarmed by the rapidity of the motion; for, distant as it was from Dwaraka to Gundenpoor, they performed the journey in one night. In the mean time, Rajah Bhekhem had made magnificent preparations for Seesoopal's approach. Learned Brahmins read the Vedas, the bridal women sung hymns, and intelligent sages consulted the Yejoor Veda for a lucky moment to perform the ceremonies and bind on the bracelets, while magnificent offerings of gold, silver, cows, rice, &c. were made in Rokemenee's name. Demkhookhe, also, on his part, had made equally splendid arrangements, and set out with his nobles for Gundenpoor, besides elephants, and fine horses, and carriages, and numberless attendants on foot. They were met by Rajah Bhekhem, who with much ceremony conducted them into the city, and the whole cavalcade were provided with lodgings suitable to their rank. Among these, Jarasandha, Seesoopal, Sal, and others, enemies to Creeshna, were in hopes that the Yadavas would attend this marriage, that so they might seize Creeshna and Ram. Creeshna set out first alone, and Ram followed with a puissant army: but, as they did not arrive when the day of marriage came, and Rokemenee's Brahmin was not then returned, she went to her balcony, and, with great anxiety, stretched her longing eyes towards Dwaraka, bewailing her lot, ardently addressing Bhagavan, who knows the heart, and weeping exceedingly. At this time her left arm began to start, at which she rejoiced much, taking it for a happy omen; and, after a little time, looking again towards Dwaraka, she beheld an army approach, and recognized the standard for that which she had heard belonged to Creeshna, and soon after espied her Brahmin returning. At this moment her exultation exceeded all description, and she gave him a most gracious reception for having so well performed her commission. Soon after, Rajah Bhekhem heard the news of Creeshna's coming from Dwaraka to Gundenpoor, and then recollected how desirous himself had been for an union between him and Rokemenee, if Rokem had not opposed it. In consequence, he went out to meet Creeshna with all possible civility and respect, and attended him into the city with every offer and office of hospitality. His arrival occasioned a prodigious ferment through the whole town; for neither man nor woman was ignorant of the wonderful feats of Creeshna, and they all ran forth to behold him, with one voice exclaiming, "O Vidhata! make this a day worthy of conquest and victory for Rokemenee, for whom Seesoopal is by no means qualified." On the day of marriage, after various preceding ceremonies, the women led Rokemenee out of the city to worship Ambeka-Deva amid a multitude of singers and musicians, and guards ranged on all sides. When they came to the place of worship, the guards, &c. remained on the outside of the temple, and the musicians, &c. with a vast crowd, stood before the door. Rokemenee and the women went in, the former praying to Deva Bhavani to unite her with Bhagavan, as had been the incessant tenor of her prayers. Then she washed her hands and feet, and went through all the preparations for the Pooja; but, when she bowed her head in the Dendevet, she said, in her heart, "O Deva Bhavani! to thee I bow for the desire of my soul, which is Creeshna." With Rokemenee all the women joined in that ejaculation who were present and assisting in the preparatives of the Pooja. On that day Rokemenee fasted the whole day, remaining in profound silence, and, on going away, bowed her head to the ground on the Deva's threshold. Rokemenee had then a lotos-flower in her hand, and a ring of valuable jewels on her finger, so resplendent, that the Apsaras beheld it from heaven, and said, "This cannot be Rokemenee? it is Ambeka-Deva herself." In short, her beauty and elegance struck even æthereal spectators with astonishment, and the guards, in a transport, fell down before her, unconscious that their bows escaped from their hands. Rokemenee, in hopes that Bhagavan would appear, walked very slowly forward; and, as the procession for the performance of the Pooja was of great length, her hair was wet with perspiration, resembling the morning dew in the cup of the hyacinth. Looking on all sides earnestly round, she soon perceived an army approaching, which she immediately conceived to belong to the monarch of her heart; and, in the excess of her joy, her feet refused to move forwards. Creeshna, like a ravenous lion, (with Balhadur before him) burst through the throng, and, taking Rokemenee by the hand, placed her instantly on his own carriage, and carried her triumphantly away. Numbers of the guards, mounted on the fleetest horses, beheld the scene with amazement and stupefaction; and, when the news came to Seesoopal, and Sal, and Denteebektree, and Poorende, they were overwhelmed with grief and vexation. But Jarasandha was more inflamed with anger than all, and, in his rage, exclaimed, "This is surely most astonishing, that, in the presence of so many crowned heads as are here assembled, this cowherd should make so bold an effort, and succeed in taking away Rokemenee."

The several rajahs, however, immediately set out and pursued Creeshna with their respective armies; and Creeshna and Ram, aware of that pursuit, drew in their reins, and waited for them in serene composure. Then all at once began to rain a storm of arrows upon Creeshna and Ram, which Creeshna parried with his arrow; but Rokemenee, who had never seen a battle, was exceedingly terrified at the shower of arrows that fell around her, and clung close to Bhagavan; who bid her be of good courage, and observe how quickly he would slay them all. Balhadur took his weapons, the *Kel* and *Moosel*, and with them slew the elephants, broke the chariots, and levelled with the dust both horse and horsemen, while, with his foot, he spurned all the infantry to death. Only Jarasandha, and Seesoopal, and Sal, and Denteebektree, and Poorende, remained alive, and attempted to save themselves by flight; but Creeshna caught Seesoopal alive, and, after much scoffing and ironically declaiming on the fickleness of fortune, observed, that he himself, after defeating Jarasandha seventeen times, was worsted the eighteenth; although he gloried not in victory nor despaired in defeat; and even now he did not vaunt, though he had carried away Rokemenee from so numerous an assemblage of monarchs. After these bitter taunts he gave him his liberty, and Seesoopal slunk away with downcast and sorrowful looks, while the Yadavas acquired prodigious booty from their routed enemies. Rajah Bhekhem soon heard of this defeat and of the slaughter of the armies, which made Rokem all on fire with rage and jealousy, and taking his arms, he swore in presence of all the rajahs, that, if he did not take Creeshna and Ram prisoners, he would no longer be accounted a man. Immediately assembling an army of one Kshouheenee, and, filling his quiver with arrows, he set off to give them battle. When he approached them, he exclaimed with a loud voice to them to stop, and not consider him as another Seesoopal. Creeshna immediately checked his horses, and Rokem again began to threaten what Rokemenee's five brothers, so well known throughout India for their valour, would do, and declared that those whom Creeshna had hitherto conquered were not true Khettrees. After vaunting for some time in this manner, he discharged three arrows successively. Creeshna parried them with his own arrow, and then shot six others: with four of those he killed the four horses of the carriage, with the fifth he extended the charioteer senseless, and the sixth cut away the flag of his standard. Rokem instantly launched at his foe five arrows, but they all missed. With another arrow Bhagavan broke his bow, and Rokem then had recourse to his other arms, and alternately used his spear, his gun, his battle-axe, and every other weapon he possessed, all of which Creeshna broke with his arrows, so that Rokem was reduced to a state of inactivity and disgrace, and with grief and rage approached Bhagavan as a moth flies round a taper, irresistably attracted by its splendor. Creeshna drew his sword, and was going to cut off his head, but Rokemenee started up trembling and affrighted, which averted Creeshna from his bloody purpose, and made him smile. Rokemenee acknowledged her brother's guilt, but pleaded successfully for his life; so Creeshna only tied his hands behind his back, and, with another arrow, struck off all the hair from his head and beard, while Ram and the other Yadavas slew the whole Kshouheenee of troops. Ram laughed exceedingly when he came to Creeshna and saw the unfortunate plight to which Rokem was reduced, and said, it would have been a thousand times better for him to have been slain in battle, when he would have gone instantly to paradise, than to be reduced to such a disgraceful figure; for that even his own wife must now desert him as an object of disgust and horror. Then turning to Rokemenee, he said, "Be not angry with me, for JOY AND GRIEF ARE BORN TWINS FROM THE WOMB OF ETERNITY." And now he ironically remonstrated with Creeshna for his *cruelty*, while the warrior's best attribute was *mercy*. In the mean time Rokem was tortured with anguish; and, in despair, reflected on the oath he had taken in presence of all the rajahs, he himself being now a captive instead of Ram and Creeshna; and, dreading to shew his face among his friends, stayed where he was. Rajah Bhekhem presented to Creeshna the accustomed presents for the marriage-portion, and took leave. Thence Creeshna went to Dwaraka, where very great rejoicings were made for his return. They had all heard the account of his carrying away Rokemenee in the presence of so many crowned heads, and of the flight of Jarasandha and the other noble warriors, as well as of the state to which Rokem had been reduced. Devaci met Creeshna and Rokemenee at the palace, and conducted them to the bridal apartments.

Creeshna, about this period, from his great affection and friendship for the Pandoos, returned to Hastanapoor, and they, like dead men revived, went out to meet him. Creeshna acknowledging Judishter for his senior, went forward to salute him with his eyes fixed on his feet, and laid his head at Judishter's feet and also at Bheema's, and took Arjoon in his arms, while Nacul and Sahadeva kissed Bhagavan's feet. After seeing the Pandoos, Creeshna waited upon Koontee, who, covering his head and eyes, took him in her arms and wept. Bheema, at the same time, smiling, told her it was a day to rejoice in and not to weep. Koontee then spoke for some time of the difficulties to which her children had been reduced, and that all her alliance was placed upon Creeshna. After her, Judishter opened his mouth in praise of Bhagavan, and said, "Surely I have performed some extraordinary acts of piety in a former life, since your august foot, which neither the Yogee by Yug, nor the *Tepeswee* by *Tepe*, can obtain, hath vouchsafed to come to me!" and recommended himself to his divine protection. Creeshna staid a full year in Hastanapoor to gratify the Pandoos: and one day he mounted Arjoon's carriage as driver, and they went together to the forest, and in Arjoon's ensign was the figure of an ape. On that day Arjoon hunted, with great success, lions, tigers, bears, boars, and transfixed very many stags with his arrows, so that he sent some of the venison to Rajah Judishter; and, being dry with the fatigue of the chase, he went to the bank of the Jumna to drink of the sweet and clear water, and they sat there some hours looking at the waves, when, by chance, they saw a beautiful girl who seemed earnestly looking after some person. Arjoon, by Creeshna's desire, went up to her and asked what she sought after, thus wandering alone in the desert? She answered, "Koorneste, I am the daughter of the Sun, and am in search of a husband, being determined to have none but Creeshna: and, if you should say that Creeshna will not have me, alas! alas! that granter of the desires of the world, and understander of the situation of his suitors, will surely at some time be propitious to me. *Kaleenderee* is my name: my father made me a place here in this water to stay till Creeshna should arrive." Arjoon, coming to Creeshna, began to laugh exceedingly, and wished him much joy of the adventure; for, that the girl had been in search for him, and now she had found him; and how happy his destiny was, that, wherever he went, the handsome girls followed him. Creeshna then placed Kaleenderee in the carriage, and they went to Hastanapoor, where he ordered Vesookerma to build her a fine house, which was finished that same day, and Kaleenderee resided in it, and he indulged her in all the wishes of her heart. Creeshna thus staid one year in Hastanapoor, which seemed but a single day to his friends. When that year expired, Kama-Deva presented him with a bow, with two white horses, with a quiver that was never empty; and a shield for Arjoon; and Maya, the Ditya, whom Arjoon had preserved from the fire, built him a Devankhaneh, or council-chamber, all of chrystal, which the jealous Doorjoodhen beheld with rage and envy. Creeshna having thus powerfully manifested his protection of the Pandoos, returned to Dwaraka, taking Kaleenderee with him.

Rajah Koosele, monarch of Kooselya, who was also called Mekhenjeyt, had a daughter named Seeta, and in his circar were seven bulls. He had made a promise, that, whoever should overcome these seven bulls, he would give his daughter to him. Creeshna having heard of this promise went to Kooselya. Seeta had knowledge of his coming, and said to herself, "My felicity will then only be complete when the son of Devaci shall make *Pangrehen* with me. The print of the foot of that Yadoopetee is like the flower on the head of Brahma who sprang from the lotos, and Roodra Mahadeva is ever in search of that place; the honour, therefore, of kissing that foot is reserved for the fortunate alone. Neither is it repugnant to his mercy to attend to my prayer: for, although that august personage hath no desire for any beautiful women, yet it is his peculiar excellence not to be forgetful of any one that seeks him. O! I shall feel myself raised to the state of a Devata could I but be enrolled in the list of his attendants!" Creeshna, arriving at Kooselya, told Mekhenjeyt, that he had long been desirous to see him; and, as he had recently heard of his promise concerning the conquest of the seven bulls, he was come to combat with them. "Although," said he, "O Mekhenjeyt! I am not on a level with monarchs, and have no intention to make myself equal with the mighty, yet, as in this case no difference is expressed between high and low, chance must decide the event." Rajah Mekhenjeyt answered, that the truly great never praised themselves, that Creeshna's fame was not unknown to the world, that he was very happy to see him; and that, if he had visited him sooner, the proclamation for a public competition and contest should never have been made. Creeshna then asked where the seven bulls were. The rajah told his servant to prepare a place for the conflict, and great numbers of rajahs and rajahpoots were collected to behold it; while Creeshna prepared himself to attack them. The seven bulls were brought in bound with chains of iron: the very sight of them diffused a general terror, and it was difficult to loose their chains. Creeshna, dividing himself into seven distinct persons, intrepidly approached the bulls, and, like a child taking a goat by the ear, caught them all seven, put a halter into each of their nostrils, and made them perfectly submissive and tame. Rajah Mekhenjeyt rejoiced exceedingly that the performer of this feat was Yadoopetee; the Devatas in heaven, as well as men on earth, were all gladdened by the event, and, in a fortunate moment, Rajah Mekhenjeyt married his daughter to Creeshna At that happy marriage Devatas and Vidyadhers attended in transport: the mother of Seeta too was at the summit of bliss. Rajah Mekhenjeyt gave as a marriage-portion 10,000 milch-cows, 3,000 pounds weight of jewels, with very valuable chains, 9,000 elephants, 90,000 carriages, ten times as many horses as carriages, and ten times as many slaves as horses, and, besides these, other articles out of number; after which Creeshna departed. The other rajahs all conceived extreme envy and jealousy that so very beautiful a princess with such prodigious wealth should be taken away by Gopal; therefore, collecting their troops together, they pursued Creeshna; but, such was their appearance, that one would say they were a parcel of vagabonds and beggars come out of the city to demand charity; and when they came near, they all hung their heads down upon their breasts. Then Arjoon, who was with Creeshna, turned about, and strung his famous bow Kandeva, when they all fled away from that renowned warrior like a huge flock of kids from a wolf, and Creeshna, by gentle and easy stages, proceeded on to Dwaraka. There was a rajah named Soot-Keret, who had a daughter named BHEDERA, whom he married to Creeshna in spight of his sons, who opposed the match. There was also another rajah who had a daughter named LECHMEENA, who had been adopted by Sooneter, and from him Shree-Creeshna had her in the mode of Pangrehen. These are the eight NAYEGA whom Bhagavan first espoused; and now will be given an account of a great number of rajah's daughters whom he released from the captivity in which they were kept by Bhoom Assoor Ditya.

Bhoom Assoor Ditya, son of the Earth, was so mighty and powerful, that he threw even Soorg-Loke into confusion, and drove Eendra from Eendra-Pooree, and set up his own government there, after grievously harrassing Eendra. Then leaving a deputy of his own in Soorg, he returned to his own city, which was called Prag-Jothek; and he had round his castle a defence of fire, and water, and poisonous snakes, and a white mountain like quicksilver. One day, Seete-Bhavani expressed a wish to see the trees of Soorg; and Creeshna, immediately taking her along with him upon Garoori, said, "We must first see the person who has driven Eendra out of Soorg;" so they went to the city of Prag-Jothek. Bhagavan first, with the arrow of his might, threw down the quicksilver mountain, and Garoori, by his command, devoured all the castle of snakes.

He commanded the rain also to descend in so violent a manner, that the castle of fire was reduced to ashes; while, from the fierce look of that Lord of the three Lokes, the castle of water was dried up. Then he sounded the great shell Panchajanya, and the hemisphere re-echoed with the noise: at the sound thereof, the hearts of all the pious persons in that city were turned towards Creeshna, while those of the guilty were struck with fear and amazement. Bhoom, with his five heads, was at that time asleep; but, as the noise awakened him, he began to reflect that on earth he had left no mighty warrior alive, and that in Soorg no one was greater than Eendra, whom he had thrust out from Eendra-Pooree. He, therefore, came forth in a great rage, terrible as the sun of the last day, with a Treesoole (tridental weapon) in his hand, and, seeing Creeshna, struck Garoori on the breast, at the same time bellowing with a mighty voice from each of his five mouths. Treesenek Ditya, one of his servants, now came forward and represented to him that he demeaned himself in this paltry engagement, and offered to take it entirely upon himself. Treesenek had a Geda in his hand, which he struck with all his might at Bhagavan, who shivered it with his Van. Treesenek took another Geda, which Creeshna parried, and asked Seete-Bhavani if she was afraid, adding, that there was no cause for alarm or grief. Creeshna then urged Garoori a few steps forward, at which time he cut off Treesenek's three heads, and turned them round, as Eendra, with his Kothare, cut off the tops of the three branches of Soomeeroo. Treesenek had sons, whom he called Reheeberwen, who, being exceedingly affected with their father's death, and knowing Bhoom for their lord and protector, came to the conflict and prepared to fight with every species of weapon; but they wasted their strength in vain, their utmost efforts were of no avail, for Creeshna broke all their weapons like a grain of Sesame. He then severed each of their heads from their bodies: and, by the efficacy of Creeshna's omnipotence, the hands and feet of all the soldiers fell from their arms and thighs. Bhoom, now, in great anger, driving his elephants before him, advanced towards Creeshna; and at that time, in the sight of Bhoom Assoor, clouds and thunder only appeared. Bhoom Assoor, with the assistance of Maya, sometimes rose up like a fire, sometimes like water, sometimes like a burning wind, and sometimes like a violent rain, and thus discharged his arrows. But Creeshna so collected his own Maya that the mightiest exertions of his art were entirely fruitless. Those, who were mounted on elephants, Garoori, with his wings, hurried up into the air; those who were in chariots or on horseback, with his talons and claws, like a file, he grated to pieces; while those who were terrified sought their safety in flight. Bhoom, however, did not once turn his back; but, fixing his foot firmly on the ground, and taking a spear in hand, he whirled it over his heads, and threw it at Creeshna. Now, though the spear was more ponderous than was ever before hurled from a human arm, yet it fell on Creeshna's body lighter than a flower; and, when Bhoom Assoor had exhausted all his rage and strength, Creeshna, taking a Treesoole, cut off all Bhoom's five heads as he sat upon his elephant, and threw them to the ground. All the Devatas rejoiced at the slaughter of Bhoom, and rained down flowers from heaven. The earth, which was Bhoom's mother, came to offer service to Creeshna, and presented him with a Koondel of great cost, and a Vingenee-Mala, and other very valuable articles, and made a long speech to propitiate Creeshna; entreating, that, although Bhoom had been most criminal, yet as his Avatar took place for the express purpose of lightening her burthens, that still he would let her behold with her own eyes the extent of his mercy to the defunct. The Earth, indeed, was with heart and soul devoted to Creeshna, and he in return gave her son Mookt. Bhoom Assoor, by force and violence, had carried away every rajah's daughter who he had heard was beautiful, so that each day when any of those ladies came before him, he beheld her, indeed with his eyes, but immediately thought no more of her. Perasere, the Reyshee, hath observed that he had collected 16,000 of these girls, and other Reyshees say they exceeded that number. Creeshna, after slaying Bhoom, entered his house, and at last came to these young ladies, who, having heard of Creeshna's miracles amid all the calamities of their captivity, had rested their whole reliance upon him for their release, and had heard his person described; so that, the moment they saw him, they conceived him to be the deliverer of the world. They all respectfully rose up and most submissively addressed him, praying for relief; adding that, though they were not Hooris, they were desirous at least to be the slaves of his palace, and wives, and the very Dasees (slaves) of his Dasees. Creeshna sent these 16,000 girls, and prodigious wealth, and the elephant Iravet with four teeth, and 6,400 white elephants, and besides them very many other elephants and carriages without number, and horses of the first race, to Dwaraka; and himself, with Seete-Bhavani, proceeded to Eendra-Pooree, whither Eendra had gone after the slaughter of Bhoom-Assoor. Eendra, with all his thousand eyes, could not be satisfied with beholding Creeshna, but saluted him with mingled joy and reverence, and prostrated himself seven times before him. Creeshna gave the ear-rings and necklace which he had received from Bhoom's mother to the mother of Eendra. Eendra, with his hands joined before him, said he had brought the tree of Pareejatek according to order, and he laid it on Garoori's back; so, when Creeshna returned to Dwaraka, the tree was planted in Seete-Bhavani's court. Thither came the bees of Soorg attracted by the blossoms of Pareejatek; and Creeshna in an instant, multiplying his own person into 16,000, went to the palace of each, and, by joy and pleasure, dissipated the grief and pining of them all. Those young and modest creatures knew not at first how to behave, but hung down their heads with mingled shame and bashfulness. Creeshna saw their confusion, and taught them how to look and how to laugh; he behaved with such kindness to them, as greatly increased their affection for him; and, in a short time, instructed them in all the rules and ceremonies of the haram, and in all such qualifications as are expected from their sex and condition.

The Creator of the world, who had come into existence for the protection of the Devatas and his devotees, for the nourishment of milch cows, and for the destruction of Cansa, had built Dwaraka with unspeakable magnificence. All the walls were so studded with brilliant jewels that there was no need of lamps in the night. The canopies to all the houses were suspended by strings of pearl, whose lustre illuminated earth and heaven; and, by the odour of the flowers of Pareejatek, the courts and gardens of Dwaraka were all scented. To describe the full splendor of Dwaraka would be an endless labour. One day Creeshna was sitting in his magnificent palace among those who conceived themselves his relations; one his father, another his son, another his brother, &c. &c.; and Rokemenee, dressed in all her richest jewels and choicest habiliments, exhibited the full display of her beauty, when Creeshna, to try her temper and give her charms a new mode of lustre under the influence of anger, began jocosely to taunt her with having refused so excellent a match as Seesoopal, and for having been so forward as to send her Brahmin to him at a time that he had made her no advances, and certainly was not in love with her. In this style of keen but good-humoured satire he tormented her so much, that at last she turned pale and descended from her seat: she stood for some time before him in the utmost shame and distress, unable to utter a syllable, and at length fell down senseless to the ground. Creeshna found by this that she could not bear the pressure of grief, and, pitying her situation, rose up with his hair dishevelled, and, taking her to one side, pressed her to his breast, and dried her tears with his robe. By these means he brought her to herself, and told her that all he had said had been in jest, and only to try her affections, of which he now had no sort of doubt. By much gentleness and many soft expressions he at length completely restored her peace of mind, and she then entered into a full and clear explanation of every thing which he had objected to her, assuring him that she had not the presumption to conceive herself the *wife* of him, the dust of whose feet, not only men and Devatas, but Brahma and Roodra, the most exalted of Devatas, sought with earnest devotion: that she considered herself as the *slave* of his slaves; that she knew him for the Creator of the world, and that Seesoopal himself was but a creature of his: that, had she been wife to Seesoopal, she should still have been subject to the miseries of transmigration, from which, by her present connection, she flattered herself she was for ever liberated. That his black colour, which, to men of dark conceptions, appeared merely sable, in her sight was the brilliant pupil of the eye of the universe: that, undoubtedly, all that he had said to her was just, and she bowed submissive to all his censures; and she concluded with again declaring that she did not call herself his *wife*; but the meanest of his *slaves*. Creeshna again assured her that his fondnees for her was undiminished, that he had only tempted her in jest, and that the gold of her fidelity was now tried on the touchstone of experience, and found pure. That her patience and forbearance were most exemplary in never having given vent to improper or harsh language, even when he had bound her brother Rokem's hands behind him and cut off his hair, but had confined herself to supplication and submission; nor even when Balhadur cut off his head did she suffer the violence of her anguish to get the better of her discretion, and that he had come to her assistance the moment he had received her letter, not because of her beauty, but on account of her excellent temper. Thus the affair ended; and in the same manner did Creeshna behave to all the 16,000 to promote mirth and pleasure. He was assiduous to fulfil all the customs and duties of domestic life, and from morning to evening acted as became a Greheste.

Each of these eight Nayega* bore Creeshna ten sons; so also each of the 16,000 bore him ten sons: Rokemenee, however, was the chief favourite, the others never really inspired him with love notwithstanding their exquisite beauty: but neither Brahma, nor Roodra, nor Eendra, could attain to the rank and dignity which the eight Nayega acquired by their fidelity and attachment. Their names are as follows: ROKEMENEE, SETEE-BHAVANI, JAMOOMETA, KALENDEREE, LECHMEENA, SEETA, BHEDRAVETEE, MHIRBINDA.

In the mean time, Ram, recollecting Nanda and Yasodha, and his former pleasures with the Gopias, one morning early set out for Bindreben On his arrival there, all were overjoyed: Nanda and Yasodha kissed him, and were eager to tell him that his long absence had appeared to them a whole YUG: then they anxiously solicited tidings concerning Creeshna. They had heard of the wonderful splendor and magnificence in which he lived, and lamented that he was removed to Dwaraka, whither their occupations and age equally prevented them from going: and, in respect to Vasudeva, whom, however unhappy he had been while in confinement at Mathura, they at least had some opportunities of seeing, they could now hope to see *him* no more, since he also was removed to Dwaraka. Ram made himself acceptable to all, both old and young, and particularly endeavoured to comfort and console the Gopias, who were quite overpowered with joy at again beholding him, and began to talk altogether concerning Creeshna, and at once to blame and lament his absence; then they asked after the children of the eight Nayega and of the 16,000 Rajaguees, and wished them all manner of happiness. Others desired to know if those 16,000 were all dutiful and obedient wives? and thus by degrees they worked themselves into an agony of passion, and all wept and wailed exceedingly. Balhadur endeavoured to pacify them; and, at last, seeing there was no remedy but patience, and that he consoled them to the utmost in his power in the name of Creeshna, they began to be more tranquil. Balhadur stayed there the two months of spring, and one morning he went to the banks of the Jumna, the Gopias accompanying him. The soft wind blowing cool and perfumed from the water, and its flowers playing a prelude to desire, Balhadur, sometimes bathing in the stream and sometimes recumbent on the bank, enjoyed all sorts of pleasure and delight with the Gopias. Varuna, the Devata, now brought him a musical instrument, and Ram and all the Gopias became intoxicated with the melody which issued from that jungle; they indulged in violent fits of laughter, the effect of excessive pleasure, and sang without any fear or restraint, till at length, what with singing, dancing, and a thousand sportive gambols, they were all in a profuse perspiration, and it shone upon their cheeks like drops of dew on the flowers. Ram, in his fit of intoxication, stretched out his hand to the Jumna several times, and called upon the River to come personally to him. After waiting some time, and receiving no answer from the water, he grew angry, and said, "Jumna, thou wilt presently appear when I shall have cut thee into seven pieces." Then he rose, and taking up his weapon, the Kel,* he placed it on the bank. The Jumna was exceedingly alarmed and trembled with fear, and, appearing before him, said, "O Balhadur! thou Avatar of Seshanaga, who has the earth on his head, to thee I bow with reverence. Thou art Creeshna! and before thee, as Creeshna, I now appear: do with me as seems good unto thee." Thus did the Jumna humble itself before Ram, who then became appeased, and taking up his KEL, went back to Bindreben. Then Varuna Deva presented him with a Neelamber, and a precious chain, and a string of pearls. Thus did Balhadur remain two months, with all manner of satisfaction, in Bindreben.

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* Perhaps the word NAYEGA is the feminine of NAIG, formerly a title of HYDER ALLY. — Halhed.

Nared one day felt himself extremely perplexed when he considered that Creeshna should be called Bhagavat-Perebrahme, and yet that he should be so much *attached to women.* Again he reflected that, whereas, a man has more than enough with one wife, how could Creeshna conduct himself with 16,000? Does he enjoy them in rotation, or by his power and might, has he all of them always with him? This Nared determined to see for himself, and learn the truth; accordingly he went to Dwaraka. On arriving at the skirts of the town he was delighted with the sight of the gardens full of flowers in fresh bloom; and round all the environs were houses for devotees, which added beauty to the city like amulets against malignant eyes tied round the arm. Learned Brahmins were every where chanting the Vedas, like intoxicated bees buzzing around aromatic Nenuphar. Geese and Sares's *(called by us Cyrus's)* adorned the banks of the water, and Lotos's beautified its surface. He beheld houses for 300,000 men, all of lofty architecture and built of chrystal, the windows of diamonds and precious stones of every colour, and embroidered canopies before all the houses. All the streets and lanes were entirely free from dust and filth: there were also many curiously-painted temples adorned with water-gilding. The shops in the bazars, with pillars on every side, were all set out to the best advantage, and the palaces of the great were superb beyond all description, uniting magnificence with elegance. The houses of the eight Nayega and 16,000 wives of Creeshna were built in a line by themselves with the utmost symmetry, beauty, and splendor. Nared, on approaching them, beheld the pillars of every house formed of coral, and the courts and Serais embellished with jewels; canopies of cloth of gold were every where suspended with valuable strings of the finest pearl; beautiful children were playing in the courts; while charming slave-girls were diligently attending their several mistresses. The peacocks on the house tops were rejoicing and singing in the exhalation, which arose, from the constant burning of aromatics, in such quantity, as to form a cloud that resembled the rainy season, and numberless rubies that were distributed about the buildings preserved a constant light over the place. Nared, with all his curiosity of inspection, could not distinguish between the slaves and the mistresses. In the first house which he entered he beheld 1,000 maids, perfectly handsome, standing with their hands joined before them round their lady, who, with a fly-flap, the handle set with jewels, was preventing Creeshna from being molested with flies. When Nared came in, Bhagavan spied him at a distance, and, immediately rising from his Musmud, went to meet him, laid his head at Nared's feet, and welcomed him. Nared was ashamed of so great an honour, and made an apologizing speech. Creeshna then *washed Nared's feet*, and poured that water on his own head; after which, he seated Nared in the place of honour, paid him worship, and made the mistress of the house do the same. Nared, in a transport of wonder and delight, exclaimed, "O Natha! no one can fathom thy mercy and benevolence! thy Avatar is for the purpose of protecting the good and punishing the wicked. If it be thy august will to perform services to Nared, it is as a father and mother perform service for their children, out of their own voluntary affection and good-will. Men, who are submerged in the pit of their passions, have no possibility of escaping from their control, except by thy mercy, in being born again in this transient world." Thus did Nared utter various praises and thanksgivings; yet did his mind still misgive him, and he determined to go to another house to see if he should find Creeshna there, or if he would take the first opportunity of going thither. He went, therefore, with speed to the next house, and there he found Creeshna sitting and amusing himself with the mistress of it. On seeing Nared, Creeshna rose up as before, received him with the utmost reverence, respectfully thanked him for the honour his house received from his visit, and hoped he would stay there some days. Thence Nared went to a third house, where Creeshna was looking at the children at play; and, in a fourth house, he was bathing. Nared suspected that Creeshna had come by some secret way from the former house with such haste as to get before him, and therefore determined that he would hurry as fast as possible to another to ascertain the fact: so he ran with all expedition to the next house and there he found Creeshna sitting at a banquet. At another he was giving alms to the Brahmins; at another he was practising at his weapons; at another he was reviewing the ordinary elephants and horses; at another he was in conference with Oodhoo and Akroor; at another he was sitting and hearing the songs of the beautiful slave girls; at another he was distributing milch cows in charity; at another he was hearing the Pooraums; at another he was laughing and joking with the mistress of the house; at another he was performing the Howm: at another he was exercising Dherme; at another he had set the women to quarrel, and was amusing himself with looking on; at another he was pacifying a dispute among them; at another he was sitting with Ram; at another he was preparing a marriage-portion, or Dheek; at another he was rejoicing at being returned from his son's wedding; at another he was digging a well or tank; at another he was preparing for the chase. In this manner did Nared enter the houses of the eight Nayega and of the 16,000 wives, and in every one of them he found Creeshna differently engaged, so that he was altogether astonished and confounded. Creeshna, at length, appeared, and thus addressed him: "O Nared! these secret doubts and suspicions which have so perplexed thee are no fault of mine but of thine own mind. On subjects where the wisdom even of Devatas is confused, what can be said of man's limited understanding? Ask each of my wives separately whether she ever thinks me absent from her; she will answer that I am never for a moment from her sight." Nared humbled himself and confessed his weakness, that he was bewildered by Maya, and submissively implored Creeshna's mercy in his behalf. Creeshna answered, "O Nared! I am the sole Kerta. My acts are inscrutable; nor must any suspicions be cherished, nor any distraction of mind be endured, on account of them, nor any idle fancies and curiosity be indulged. Perplex not thyself farther, but quietly pursue thine own affairs, and make mankind happy with thy presence and conversation." Nared, however, was several times subject to the same distraction; but, at length, calling on the name of Narayen and playing on his Veena, he departed. Creeshna, in the mean time, employing himself in the functions of a Grehecharee, regulated the affairs of his families and children, while each of his wives conceived that Creeshna preferred none to herself, and that he wished for no other.

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* KEL means a *scythe*, *i. e.* the blade of it, the third Ram being considered, in India, as the patron of agriculture. Cyrus is, in the same manner, said to have cut the River Gyndes into small portions, out of revenge for one of the horses sacred to the sun having been drowned in it. The one story is probably a copy of the other.

Creeshna acted in all his domestic concerns precisely according to the institutes of the Vedas for masters of families, and daily increased in confidential intercourse with his respective wives, who severally returned it. Rokemenee, however, enjoyed the preeminence of esteem. This was Creeshna's way of life: he rose every morning at the time of Brehmenee Mhooret, and went punctually through the various ceremonies and devout exercises prescribed by the Brahmins, and all those purifications appointed for the purpose of Prachheete for the actions proper to human nature, which every day are committed. If it be asked how could there be supposed any necessity for Prachheete in that pure essence, the answer is, that it is by reason of his coming in a *material* form. After the Prate-Sendhya, he washed, and then went to salute and pay Nemeskar to his father and mother and the elders of the family. At mid-day and at evening he again performed the prescribed devotions and ablutions; and, at the time of each Sandhya, as well as at his meals, he spoke to no one, because this is recommended as profitable to every one by the rules of the Vedas; for, the good of the speaker at such times is transferred to the person addressed, and *his* evil reverts to the speaker. He performed Terpen in respect of the Devatas, Reyshees, Muni-Eswaras, and Zennardars; after which he distributed cows with gilt horns to the Brahmins; and necklaces of pearl, and silver, and silk clothes, and much Sesame, to Zennardars of good conduct and learning. But of young milch-cows, having calves of beautiful forms and good tempers, he every day gave a certain number more than the day before, and uttered Mantras and Slocas: afterwards he went to dinner. First he set apart one morsel from each meal in respect of Jegedeish, and performed Dyhan, and called to mind his own figure. The second morsel he took into his mouth in the name of Perebrahme ; for every day certain Zennardars were appointed who gave him his food. After eating, he dressed and put on fine garments, and rubbed himself with sandal and other perfumed waters, and regaled himself with the odour of them, first giving some to the Zennardars and then serving himself. Every day he beheld the reflexion of his own face on Ghee, with gold and silver vessels, and gave orders for supplying victuals and clothes for his wives, and children, and dependants of all kinds. His carriages and horses were always in readiness. Sometimes he rode in his chariot with Satek, sometimes with Oodhoo, and sometimes alone. When he went from his palace, his jewel-studded carriage glistened like the sun, and the women of the city mounted on their roofs to behold it as long as it was visible. Dareke, the charioteer, guided the reins. When he sat with the Yadavas in his assembly, which surpassed the council of Eendra, it would be degrading it to compare that assembly to the moon and stars shining in midnight glory.

One morning after public devotion, there arrived at Dwaraka a messenger, who, on being admitted to the palace, thus delivered his charge: "O thou who givest kings their thrones, hast thou not heard of Jarasandha how he boasts his superiority over all other men of renown! Whensoever he sallies forth for the purpose of conquest over the four points of the world, he leaves to those who submit and become his subjects their rank and property, and grants them peace; but whosoever opposes him is taken prisoner and kept in confinement. I come an embassador from those wretched state-prisoners; who, having heard of thy glory both on sea and land, have sent me to thy august presence to sue for protection. Therefore, O thou destroyer of the unjust! forget not us miserable captives, but free us from the chains of the tyrant. Man is stricken by outward circumstances, and, mistaking evil for good, becomes forgetful of thee; but he who knows and remembers thee is free from all error. We, too, ignorant and short-sighted mortals knew not thy truth, but thought Jarasandha the chief and head of the kingdoms of the earth; but now we are better acquainted with thy mighty and miraculous acts, and that thou wert born in the world to protect the good and punish the wicked. We, therefore, are also under thy protection, and our loss of honour falls on thee. Our faults and crimes doubtless are many, but look not on them while we are under misfortune; consider thy own name, which is THE PARDONER!" After the messenger had uttered this, and much more to the same purpose, Creeshna comforted and dismissed him. In the mean time Nared came into his presence, with his Veena in his hand, calling on the name of Narayen. Creeshna immediately rose from his throne, saluted him with great respect, and placed him in the seat of honour. Nared then played so delightfully on his instrument as to ravish all the hearers. When he had finished, Creeshna demanded of him news of the Pandoos, and how they fared under the tyranny and oppression of Doorjoodhen? Nared answered, "O my lord! with what astonishment am I seized to hear thee ask news of the Pandoos! What being is there in the circle of existence of whom Shree-Creeshna has not the most complete knowledge? But as thou hast had the condescension to *ask* for information, I am bound to impart it. O Creeshna! at present the Pandoos, relying on thy benevolence, entertain a design to celebrate the Raisoo-Yug;* but, for myself, I am amazed to think where they will be able to make the arrangements for so grand a festival. Yet there are very many rajahs assembled in Hastanapoor, whose expectations are all turned towards Dwaraka. Now, since thy favour is more particularly extended towards the Pandoos than others, certainly thou wilt have the goodness to go thither. O Natha! he who lives in remembrance of thee, be he prince or beggar, assuredly obtains *Peremekete*, for thy name is equivalent to happiness." Thus did Nared utter Creeshna's praises. Creeshna spoke kindly to him in return, and, calling Oodhoo, asked him his advice if it were not right that he should go to Hastanapoor, since the Pandoos had already commenced the Raisoo-Yug in reliance upon him: and, since it was time that those rajahs, who, being prisoners to Jarasandha, had put themselves under his protection, should be released; in short, whether he thought the journey could not be so contrived as at once to accomplish the two desirable objects.

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* The Raisoo-Yug, or feast of rajah's, could only be performed by a monarch who had conquered all the other sovereigns of the world.

Oodhoo, by his prophetic spirit, knew what was the wish of the principal among the Yadavas, and therefore he answered, "That certainly there was great difficulty in procuring and arranging the necessaries for a Raisoo-Yug, and that Judishter ought to have first weighed his own strength, and have considered how it would be possible for him to reduce to subjection the rajahs of all the eight sides round him, as well as to have consulted his great support, Creeshna, on the subject; but that his present conduct proceeded entirely from his firm reliance and full confidence in Creeshna's friendship, who would indisputably interfere, and bring his expectations to a fortunate issue. He therefore counselled Creeshna to go to Hastanapoor, whence the distance was not very great to Jarasandha's kingdom; who, in consequence of his violence and strength, which surpasses that of 10,000 elephants, thinks no one on earth able to cope with him, yet Bheema is full as strong as Jarasandha. He advised, therefore, that Bheema, should present himself in the habit of a Brahmin, and demand alms of Jarasandha, who, being himself a Brahmin, would not fail to say he would give him whatever he should ask. Let Bheema then require Dhermejoodhe, after which, by his own strength and your favour united, he will infallibly conquer him. The journey to Hastanapoor is a good pretext; for, Jarasandha will think it undertaken on account of Judishter's Yug." It should here be remembered that Creeshna, on a former occasion, did not himself crush Jarasandha, and that, by his order, he was not slain by others. In fact, he was fated to die by the hand of Bheema-Seen, and could not be slain until Bheema and Creeshna should be together hostilely inclined in the place where he was. Oodhoo knew this prophetically, and therefore made this proposal: at the same time he reminded Creeshna of the message of the rajahs who were in prison, and whose wives had no other comfort to give their disconsolate children than the hope of relief and release from him. Oodhoo subjoined, that there was no injustice in destroying Jarasandha to release the others; for that, by this very act, his liberation, from alternately living and dying, would be ensured, and the Yug of Rajah Judishter could proceed only in the event of Jarasandha's subjugation or death. The Yadavas all applauded Oodhoo's advice, and Creeshna ordered a fortunate moment to be chosen for sending forward the advanced baggage: Balhadur, the beauty of the Yadavas, was appointed to accompany it. Predemne, and others of his august sons, who stirred not without a signal from Creeshna, were honoured with the permission to be of the party. On the day of march, heaven and earth re-echoed with the sound of the kettle-drums. The eight Nayega all went with them in Palekees, Doolees, &c. and the baggage was mounted on elephants and camels, or conveyed in large waggons: crowns, and thrones, and litters, and armour, and Hejas-Meekhee, or weapons with a thousand spikes, were all conveyed in great quantities in the field-armory. The spears in the hands of the young warriors glittered like fishes sparkling in the sea. Select messengers went before and comforted the imprisioned rajahs with assurances that Creeshna was approaching to release them: and Nared, having obtained favour in the sight of Creeshna, returned joyfully home.

Creeshna set forth in all pomp and splendor from Dwaraka; and, passing through the kingdom of Soorethe, came to the confines of Meevat. Judishter came out several stages to meet them, taking with him Brahmins learned in the Vedas, and pious Acharyas, with music and singing, to swell the procession, and express his joy at the meeting. Creeshna, as younger than Judishter, would have kissed his feet; Judishter anticipated his intention, and fell at Creeshna's feet in tears of rapture. In the records of mankind, beauty and loveliness of person are first numbered from Rajah Bali, from Nacul, and Sehedeva; hence most of the Yadavas came eagerly from Dwaraka on purpose to see the two latter. Creeshna, after having saluted the Pandoos, the Brahmins, Acharyas, &c. went forward, surrounded, preceded, and followed, by music and singing. Every inhabitant of Hastanapoor, male and female, rejoiced at his arrival, and crowded the roofs, windows, and doors, to see him enter, and had bedecked all their houses for the triumph. Great crowds stood in the road to receive him, and the women presented him with flowers of five colours as he passed. All the streets were cleansed from dirt and dust, and sprinkled with perfumed water. The bazars and squares were all new beautified with golden plaster, and odoriferous woods were burning in all the houses. The brilliant jewels which adorned the doors of the Pandoos shone like lamps, as if they had been placed there for the purpose of shedding their combined lustre on Creeshna. The women all praised and envied the happiness of the eight Nayega, and flocked round Creeshna in adoring multitudes. When Creeshna entered the palace of the Pandoos, Koontee (the mother of three of the five sons of Pandoo) rose up at a distance, and with the tenderest maternal affection held him a long time to her breast, and wept; while he several times laid his head at her feet. Drouacharye and Kerpacharye were there, whom Creeshna saluted with Nemeskar; and the eight Nayega were introduced to Koontee and to Dropeda, &c. Rajah Judishter appointed magnificent lodgings and entertainment for all the Yadavas,* at the same time making many apologies for the inadequacy of accommodation, and saying that he was exalted to heaven by their arrival. Thus they passed some months in pleasure and delight, *but the moments of happiness are never counted.*

During this period, Rajah Judishter held an assembly, in which he seated Creeshna above himself; and many famous Gooroos and all the four casts were there also. At this assembly Judishter reminded Creeshna of his intention to perform the Raisoo-Yug with his aid, of which he did not doubt from his constant kindness to him; although he sometimes *did* entertain doubts whether one man could be preferred to another in the eyes of him who was the Creator of the world: still, however, he conceived, that, as *here* there was this difference, that one man necessarily had occasion for another's assistance, and with Creeshna there could not possibly exist the want of aid from any one, so those who faithfully addressed themselves to him obtained the completion of their desires. Creeshna desired him to make himself perfectly easy and satisfied on the subject; that, since he had now expressed publicly his wish to perform the Raisoo-Yug, and his enemies had notice of his intentions, the Creator would certainly make the matter easy to him. That, certainly, though preparations for that Yug were exceedingly difficult, yet he was to be commended for the intention; since Devatas, and Reyshees, and Muni-Eswaras, and Peetrees, were all anxious for that Yug, which ennobles the name of the celebrator for ever. "Now, then," said he, "the necessaries for the Yug must be prepared; and, first, the monarchs and warriors of all the four quarters must be reduced to your subjection. Your four brothers, who excel the Devatas in glory and renown, will soon cause your authority to be acknowledged in all the four quarters; and even I, who am confined by no one, yet hold myself bound by friendship and esteem for you. Take courage, therefore, and commence the Yug." Judishter, elated by Creeshna's kindness, sent his brothers to the four quarters accordingly; and, in a fortunate moment, Bheema took his way to the west; Arjoon to the north; Nacul, bright as the sun, to the east; and Sehedeva drew his sword to the south. In a small space of time they subdued the rajahs on every side, except only Jarasandha, and brought back with them prodigious booty. After these atchievements, Judishter, in conference with Creeshna, stated the difficulty of overcoming Jarasandha; that, without his submission, the Yug could not properly be denominated Raisoo, and begged his advice. In this interview Oodhoo gave it as his opinion that Jarasandha was superior to all the other monarchs, and that Judishter could not subdue him by *force*. He proposed, therefore, to make use of stratagem, and recommended that Creeshna, and Bheema, and Arjoon, should go to Jarasandha in the habit of Brahmins: he said that Jarasandha had no rival in liberality, so that if any religious mendicant should demand even his life, he would instantly lay it down for him: that, when those three addressed him in the habit of Brahmins, and demanded Dhermejoodhe, he would not turn away from their request. "Liberality," said he to Judishter, "is the first duty of monarchs; *all that we behold will perish, but the name of the liberal man will endure for ever!*" Creeshna, Bheema, and Arjoon, accordingly set off from Hastanapoor in the dress of Zennardars, and addressed themselves to Jarasandha in the name of Narayen. Jarasandha, the instant he saw them, knew by their speech, the marks of their bodies, and by Arjoon's thumb, (worn by the bow-string,) that they were not Brahmins, but princes of some kingdom; yet he said to them, "O Brahmins! whatever ye desire, whatever the hand of mendicity can grasp at, be it a Geda or even a whole kingdom, I shall not turn from your demand: but, as Rajah Bali was driven by the foot of the Bamun-Avatar beneath the earth, yet did not turn his face from Dherme, although warned by Sookra that his suppliant was not a Brahmin; so I, too, fully persuaded that ye are not Brahmins, will yet bestow on you whatever you request." Creeshna stepped forward and demanded Sengram: "And if," said he, "thou dost not perfectly know us, lo! this is Bheema, and this Arjoon, and I am their cousin." Jarasandha looked towards his courtiers and smiled, bidding them admire the insolence of this cowherd, whom he had already so often caused to run away, happy to have saved his life, and who now demanded another battle. "Well," said he, "I will give you Sengram. You formerly escaped from my hand, and saved your life in the sea; but whither will you now go to save it? Yet it is a disgrace to me to fight with one whom I have already defeated. As to Arjoon, delicately formed as he is, he will certainly never pretend to cope with me in battle; but Bheema seems in vigour and good case, if he hath but courage to meet me." Jarasandha then summoned his whole army, and, divesting Bheema of his Brahmin's dress, asked him with what weapon he chose to engage. Bheema chose the mace. Jarasandha immediately put one into his hand and armed himself with another: and now, first addressing Nemeskar to himself, (as to a god,) and then kissing his hand, he advanced towards Bheema, and the engagement commenced. They were equal in strength, and their maces so violently crashed together as they fought, that the concave of heaven was rent by the sound.

Creeshna and Arjoon thought Bheema would soon conquer: Jarasandha's people thought the same of their master; but they still kept their equality, and saved themselves from the blows of the battle-axes, which were all broke to pieces by their hands of adamant. After the maces, they tried their strength with other weapons; and, at last, when the armory was exhausted, they fought with their fists. It appeared as if they had both learned the science of the pugilist under one master, so equal was their skill. In this manner they passed twenty-seven days, fighting the whole day and in the evening performing Sendhya, eating together like brothers and sleeping under the same roof. Bheema, by signs, gave Creeshna to understand that he thought it hard to be exposed to all the danger and mischief, while Creeshna himself remained a quiet spectator; that this contest with Jarasandha began to be too much for him, his ribs being all bruised and broken with the blows of his fists, while Creeshna suffered no inconvenience whatever; and that he would very willingly retreat, but a sense of shame restrained him. Arjoon, on this, was in great terror; his face became of a yellow paleness, and he said, in his heart "Would to heaven that Rajah Judishter had never thought of this Yug!" Creeshna answered Bheema's signs by others as expressive, signifying that it was wrong to grieve or repent now a difficult affair was actually on his hands: then rising from his seat, he took up a blade of grass, and, in his view, split it in two down the middle; meaning, in this manner you must rend asunder the body of your antagonist. Bheema was overjoyed at this: his strength became suddenly augmented, and he felt that he had got the remedy in his hands. Thus inspired with new vigour, he seized Jarasandha by the foot, and threw him to the ground. If it be demanded by what means Bheema now became so superior in strength to Jarasandha after they had for so many days been an equal match for each other, the answer is, that Jarasandha perceived his death to be approaching by Creeshna's signals; he found that his adversary had comprehended the means of his speedy destruction, and that, in consequence, a weakness had seized all his limbs, as is always the case with men before their death. Bheema was the conqueror, and we must praise the acts of the Creator. Thus then it was: Bheema put one of Jarasandha's feet beneath his own foot, and took the other foot in his hand, then, with one prodigious effort, tore him in halves from the base of the chine to the crown of the head, so that one half fell bleeding to the ground, and the other remained quivering under his foot. Creeshna and Arjoon applauded Bheema, and the Devatas hailed him with a shower of flowers from heaven, while men remained astonished spectators of the event. Creeshna, for the purpose of completing the Yug of Judishter, crowned Sehedeva, the son of Jarasandha, immediately in his father's place, and did all he could to console him. He descanted on the fickleness of fortune and the rapidity of human vicissitudes; observing to him that it was the decree of fate that Jarasandha should thus perish, and that he ought rather to grieve for his own continuance in life than for his father's death, since he too must at some time go the same road. "Now, therefore," said he, "ascend thy father's throne, young prince, and release the many rajahs whom he kept in confinement."

THE LIFE OF CREESHNA.

PART THE THIRD.

TWENTY thousand and eight hundred rajahs of eminence, who had been taken by Jarasandha, as men take beasts of the chase, were now released from confinement. They had long indulged secret, but vain, hopes that their children and friends would have come to their aid; but, finding none able to help them, they had at last looked up to Creeshna, whose name and miracles they had heard of while in prison, as their only resource. On obtaining their liberty they immediately recognized their benefactor from the description they had heard of his person, viz. the Incarnate, conspicuous with Geda, and Chakra, and Kemel, with a brilliant Koondel in his ear, and valuable chains of pearl around his neck, a yellow robe circling his waist, and a crown of peacock's feathers on his head; and, all squalid as they were and overrun with unseemly hair, they threw themselves at his feet, uttering the most lively expressions of gratitude, and calling him, amongst other titles, Madhoo.* Creeshna expressed himself perfectly satisfied with their repentance from the errors of their former pride before their misfortunes, assuring them that he had more regard for those who *turned their minds towards him after wicked conduct, than even for*

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* Madhoo means slayer of Madhoo Ditya. See Mahabbarat, 13 perb. p. 474.—Halhed.

*devotees and penitents who had passed their whole lives in prayer and austerity.** He then dismissed them free and happy to their several provinces, and himself proceeded leisurely on to Hastanapoor. Rajah Judishter came out and conducted him with all honour into the city, and Koontee praised him exceedingly for having thus secured the celebration of Judishter's Yug; but Bheema, smiling, told his mother that Creeshna had set very quietly by in a corner, while all the hardship of combating Jarasandha had fallen upon himself. Creeshna admitted the fact, but mentioned the hints he had given Bheema for tearing Jarasandha asunder. Judishter, in the mean time, could not contain his satisfaction, which found its way through his eyes in tears; while Creeshna, as the younger of the two, laid his head at the feet of Judishter.

Judishter endeavoured to express his thanks to Creeshna, since now, by the exertions of his friendship and benevolence, he beheld all the wish of his heart accomplished: wherefore, he summoned from every quarter Brahmins learned in the Vedas and skilled in the rites of Yugs; as well as many rajahs from the most distant countries, some brought thither by force of arms and others in the way of friendship, with their sons and suite; and of Brahmins, Khettrees, Vysyas, and Soodras, an innumerable multitude. The vessels for the celebration of the Yug were all of gold. Rajah Judishter, throwing off the clothes from his breast, remained covered with a single piece of cloth, *i. e.* he became Pootree; and, giving into the hands of the Zennardars a string of gold, began the Yug. All mankind were astonished at the profusion of gold and wealth that was displayed, but the wiser few knew that wherever Creeshna was present, there could be no deficiency whatever. Rajah

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* Here is evidently another imitation of the *genuine Gospel;* for, it contains a sentiment not congenial with the theological code of the Brahmins; in which, although repentance can obtain heaven, the most brilliant rewards are assigned to persevering austerity.

Judishter, with his head bare, and holding in his two hands the sacred grass *Cusa*, performed the Pooja; then, calling on the name of Narayen, turned towards Creeshna and smiled, expressively intimating that all this was entirely the fruit of his kindness, and that all he did was for HIM. Judishter addressed the elders of his family, requesting of them to give their advice in a matter of such infinite consequence as this Yug, to *whom* Pooja should be first addressed. No one had yet spoken to the subject; when Sahadeva, Judishter's youngest brother, rose, and, with great modesty and respect, observed, "That this was a question which had been asked by one who well saw and knew the proper answer; that there was no room nor necessity for a question; that the Pooja should certainly be first addressed to Creeshna; that, as well by the institutes of the Vedas as by the decision of all the learned, Pooja to Shree-Creeshna was the same as Pooja to all the Devatas, just *as watering the root of a tree affords moisture to the whole plant.* That He was the Creator, the Preserver, and the Destroyer, all in one, and that, merely on hearing the Shree-Bhagavat, the soul was purified from all its crimes; therefore, when *he* was present, none else could be worthy. That the earth was in the nature of a body, of which *he* was the soul; and that, for his own part, he should worship none but *him.*" Creeshna requested Sahadeva not to proceed in this adulatory strain; but the audience all applauded and encouraged him. Rajah Judishter was overjoyed that this proposition had succeeded exactly in conformity to his wishes, *washed Creeshna's feet, and threw that water over his own head and eyes;* after that, he washed the feet of the eight Nayega and of Oodhoo, and, in the same manner, cast it on his head; and, arranging before him the finest clothes and precious chains, with all the other apparatus, performed the Pooja, and humbled his head in the dust of Creeshna's foot. After this he performed Pooja to all the Devatas and all the Yadavas. While Judishter was thus performing the Pooja to Shree-Bhagavan, it rained flowers from the sky, and Devatas uttered praises, and men proffered Aservad, for his sake. But Rajah Seesoopal, son of Rajah Demkhook, burnt with grief and anger, and, with fiery eyes, starting up from his seat, made a long philippic against Creeshna; first inveighing against the Brahmins and others for listening to the proposition of one of the youngest in the assembly; then adding, "that he did not advise the Pooja to be addressed to himself, but to some of the noble persons or learned Reyshees, of whom there were many present infinitely more worthy than the object of their choice: that they did not offer the Ahoot Howm to the fire and the Zennardars, but brought it to this crow (alluding to his black colour): that the person who forsook the Vedas, to choose a different religion for himself, was not to be ranked among their objects of veneration: that they must have heard that the Yadavas were under the Srap (curse) of a holy Reyshee, which denounced they should never wear the diadem; how then could they be addressed with Pooja? That a man who could quit such holy places as Mathura, Gaya, and other Teerthes, to make a settlement on the sea-side, and establish there a seminary of plunder and robbery, from which to dispatch banditti to other kingdoms and provinces, could not be allowed to possess any sort of nobility." In these, and other words of a similar malignant purport, did Seesoopal vent his rage, while Creeshna, by signs, prevented all the persons present from interrupting him. However, his insolence was no longer to be borne, and most of them got up and retired to one side, as not thinking it decent or worthy of them to hear such abuse of Creeshna, nor choosing to participate in the crime incurred thereby. Bheema and his brothers, rising hastily, seized their arms, and attempted to kill Seesoopal, who, on his side, prepared for the conflict; but Creeshna interfered and prevented a battle, lest it should throw the Yug into confusion, and desired Bheema neither himself to interrupt him nor to suffer others to do so. After Seesoopal had thus a hundred times vilified Creeshna, the latter cut off his head with his Chakra; a flame of fire then issued from Seesoopal's head, which for a time hovering about in the air, at last entered Creeshna's mouth, where it subsided; and his army fled away in the greatest consternation. Rajah Judishter, after the close of the Yug, made great presents to the Brahmins, and from that day became rajah of rajahs. Creeshna staid some months in Hastanapoor, and at length took leave and went to Dwaraka, which Judishter consented to with much reluctance.

Judishter's younger brothers were all very dutiful to their senior, performing whatever he enjoined, whether it were agreeable to them or not, without repining; every thing of difficulty that was undertaken was by Creeshna's directions; the care of less important matters devolved on Bheema. Arjoon had the department of attending to the great men and all the rajahs, in whatever concerned them. Dropeda managed the affairs of provision, by the consent and agreement of her brother. Beder had the arrangement of the assembly, and Kerne the care of the expense. On the day that the Yug was completed, Creeshna, in the fulness of his beneficence, was present in one place with all the Devatas, and Reyshees and Brahmins, and Rajahs, and they carried Rajah Judishter to the banks of the Ganges. Brahmins chanted the Vedas, and Rajah Judishter bathed, while flowers rained from heaven upon his head. There was an endless variety of music and singing. All men rejoiced, and dressed themselves in their most sumptuous apparel, and perfumed themselves with sandal, and saffron, and sweet waters. The women, who, buried in Harams, were seldom permitted to see the sun, came out on that day to view Rajah Judishter. Even the inhabitants of Soorg were all delighted with the news of that Yug; and so prodigious were the crowds which were collected together in Hastanapoor, on account of it, that the earth groaned beneath their weight; while all, with one voice, gave glory to Creeshna, for having procured the celebration of so magnificent a festival. The Yadavas were struck with astonishment at beholding the beauty of the inhabitants of Hastanapoor, having before conceived that nothing in the world was equal to Dwaraka. The assembled rajahs were deeply grieved to quit Rajah Judishter, but one necessity or another at length carried them all to their own homes. Every individual of the human race has some desire or other ungratified; but Judishter, by the kindness of Creeshna, attained to the completion of all his wishes. Doorjoodhen was fretted to the soul at his celebrity and renown, and was for ever nourishing ill designs against him. Creeshna, to torment Doorjoodhen the more, ordered the eight Nayega to pay all kind of respect and service to Dropeda; and, on her sitting down or rising up, the Devatas became mad with admiration at the tinkling that proceeded from the golden bells that adorned her feet and ancles; while the reflection of every colour of jewels on her polished cheeks, whereever it fell, exhibited a variety of beauty. All these circumstances greatly incensed the jealous mind of Doorjoodhen, but his fury was wrought to the highest pitch by the following incident: The lofty edifice which formed Judishter's council chamber was erected by Maya the Ditya; it consisted entirely of polished chrystal, embellished with jewels, so that, from the clearness of the chrystal, those parts, which were perfectly dry, appeared full of water; and, where there was really water, in vast chrystalline recesses, all appeared dry. Rajah Judishter one day holding a council in this magnificent apartment, Doorjoodhen with his brother came thither; and, imagining he was approaching water, though the place was perfectly dry, started back, and extended the golden wand, which he held in his hand, to explore if it really were water before him. Bheema at this instantly burst out into a loud laughter, nor could all Judishter's authority restrain him, so ludicrous was the spectacle. Doorjoodhen was exceedingly ashamed and affronted, and went away from the council in great wrath. All this was Creeshna's sport; but, as it was his intention to put to death altogether in one place a number of those wicked tyrants, by whose weight the earth was oppressed, he for the present overlooked it, while Doorjoodhen, by his secret destination, grew daily more inveterate in his malicious and treacherous designs.*

At the time that Rajah Seesoopal went to Gundenpoor to marry Rokemenee, and when Creeshna stole her away from the midst of all the assembled rajahs, among the number was Rajah Sal, a particular friend of Seesoopal, who swore, that if he did not root out the very name of the Yadavas, he would be no more a Khettree. He too was one of those who, with Seesoopal, pursued Creeshna, and who, on dire experience of Creeshna's might, turned back and fled, glad to escape with his life. But this oath always remained at the bottom of his mind; and, when Creeshna slew Seesoopal, Sal was again exceedingly irritated, and felt the weight of his former oath like a mill-stone round his neck, esteeming life itself no longer tolerable, if he could not revenge his friend's death. But how to effect it was the question. After much consideration, he concluded, it could only be done by the assistance of the Devatas; and as Mahadeva is the chief of them, he began a most rigorous course of mortification, in which, after fasting the whole day, he took no other sustenance in the evening than a handful of earth. This austerity lasted a whole year; and then Mahadeva appeared to him, and bid him name his desire, and it should be gratified. He demanded revenge on his enemies. Roodra promised it, and vanished. After this, Rajah Sal built a city, and fortified the castle of it in the most complete manner, to serve as an asylum in the day of danger; and then, taking with him a great army, went to Dwaraka. The first effort of his fury was to cut down all the trees and plants in the suburbs; then, forcing the city-gate, and raising a lofty (temporary) structure that commanded the city itself, he began to practice all the arts of sorcery, in which he was an adept. He caused it to rain stones from heaven, he raised tempestuous hurricanes that bore down every thing before them, houses, temples, palaces; and, by these means, he threw all Dwaraka into confusion. Predemne, in Creeshna's absence, was governor of the city, and exerted his utmost endeavours to soothe and tranquillize the inhabitants, telling them, that all their troubles would certainly be assuaged by the blessing of Him who had taken on himself a mundane existence, for the purpose of lightening the burthens of the earth. Predemne then mounted his chariot, and after him came Satek, and Chardeshe, and Behane, and others, followed by a very great crowd of warriors. Sal, then, by his magical power, rendered the air so completely dark, that a man could not see his own hand. Predemne, on this, discharged a fire-dart, which instantly dissipated the obscurity. Sal and Predemne then recognized each other; and Predemne, on seeing him, shot an arrow, which felled his standard-bearer to the ground, while the driver met the same fate from another. After that, he struck the horses of the carriage, and wounded his troops, so that rivers of hostile blood began to flow; and Sal, who could not find a moment to return the discharge, with grief and amazement discovered that Creeshna's sons were even more courageous than their father. Sal was now again obliged to have recourse to his magic and incantations instead of the sword, and made himself one moment a dwarf, the next a giant; now visible, now invisible: one moment he was in the sky, another on earth; now raining down water, and now fire. Predemne demolished the force of all his spells and sorcery by his own superior skill in the black art. Sal had a particular friend, named Dereman, whom, at his first effort, Predemne had stretched senseless on the ground with an arrow. When he came to himself, he grasped his battle-axe, and, running up to Predemne, with a furious blow deprived him of sensation.

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* This incident is differently related in Baldæus, with the addition of a most cutting speech to the eldest son of the blind and feeble monarch of Hindostan, who, in fact, by that blindness, was legally incapacitated from reigning; and the throne of which, therefore, by right belonged to the oppressed Yadavas.—"It had happened some time before, that Doorjoodhen, being in Judishter's palace, looked into Dropeda's apartment, which, being paved with glass, (a thing he never had seen before, he took it for water, and would not venture to go in. Dropeda, perceiving his error, exclaimed, 'How! are the sons like the father! Is the whole family BLIND?' which put Doorjoodhen into such a rage, that he swore he would revenge it the first opportunity." Baldæus, p. 881.

Predemne's companions, on his being thrown down senseless, had been cast into utter despair; but, on his recovery, which was instantaneous, new life seemed to have entered their bodies. Predemne, now, with four arrows, slew Sal's four horses; next his driver: he then cut away his standard and canopy, or umbrella, and so terrified his army, that most of them fled and plunged into the river. The battle lasted twelve days. All the Yadavas applauded Sal; for, no warrior before him had been able to keep on the engagement with them for more than five days, and he had fought twelve. About this period, Creeshna took leave of the Pandoos, and returned to Dwaraka. On the road he discovered that great mischief had been done in Dwaraka, and concluded that Rajah Sal had gone thither. Although he knew that Predemne had learnt the arts of Maya, yet he thought Sal his superior in that science; so he made his charioteer Darek make all possible expedition, and they quickly arrived at Dwaraka. Sal's troops spied Creeshna's standard, and told their master. When, therefore, Creeshna came nigh, Sal stepped forward, and meeting him, and lifting on high a glittering spear, was on the point of aiming it at Creeshna's driver; but he had not yet launched it, when Creeshna snapt it in his hand with an arrow. Sal, violently enraged, shot an arrow, which broke Creeshna's bow with a crash that resounded to heaven, and he now began to triumph as in certain victory, exclaiming aloud, "O Creeshna! dost thou remember the day when thou didst steal Rokemenee from Rajah Seesoopal, my beloved friend, and afterwards how thou didst stain Judishter's Yug with his blood? For these acts I am this day going to take revenge. It is useless for thee to bemoan thy inferiority; stand firm, nor attempt to flee, for there is no road open for retreat." Creeshna rebuked him for his idle boasting, and taking his Geda, aimed it so forcibly at Sal, that he vanished away, and for two hours was utterly invisible. At the expiration of that period, he appeared before Creeshna in the dress of a messenger, having changed his natural form for another, and, with his hair all clotted with dirt, and speaking with the voice of one out of breath, he said, "O Creeshna! Vasudeva, your noble father, sent me hither to acquaint you that he knows you came into the world for the relief of the oppressed and the support of the weak; yet, in spite of this, Rajah Sal has taken that father prisoner, and is carrying him off." Creeshna was wonderfully struck with this event, yet thought that perhaps it was true. This mistake, indeed, is not reconcilable with Creeshna's omniscience, but *it is a mark of his taking on himself the exact state of human life, that such opinions should occupy his mind.* In this interval, Rajah Sal, by Maya, formed a counterfeit Vasudeva, and caused him to appear upon that spot, making him utter these words: "O Creeshna! with so godlike a son as you, is it not lamentable that your father should be in so wretched a plight?" Sal, in his own shape, exclaimed, "Now, Creeshna, will I slay your father before your face!" Accordingly, drawing his sword, he instantly cut off the counterfeit Vasudeva's head. Creeshna was dreadfully perplexed, and in doubt whether this was all real or by the force of Maya; and for the space of one Mhooret, his understanding was utterly confused; but, on coming to his reflection, he assured himself that it was all Maya-Vee-Maya. So he pursued Sal, who took to the air, and Creeshna went through the air after him. Creeshna soon overtook Sal, and annihilated all his Maya; from thence he went to his city and castle, which he had also fortified by the power of Maya, and, with a heavy battle-axe, softened all Sal's bones, and broke in pieces his city and castle. In this manner did he strike Sal a hundred times with his battle-axe, and he, at every stroke, broke Creeshna's weapon. Several times Sal fell down with the force of the repeated blows, but again rose up, and returned to the charge. At last, Creeshna struck him so violently with a spear, that, pressing clean through one arm, it fixed in his chest, and even pinned down his other arm: after which, he cut off his head with his crown on, and a shining Koondel in his ear, and threw his city into the river. The Devatas in Deva-Loke made great rejoicing at his fate. Denteebektre, who had been exceedingly affected with his brother Seesoopal's death, was now doubly enraged at the slaughter of their dearest friend, Rajah Sal, and made mighty preparations, and levied a strong army against Creeshna.

Creeshna had not yet set out for Dwaraka, when Denteebektre, vowing vengeance, came to the very place where Rajah Sal had been slain. The Yadavas, aware of his prowess, were all exceedingly alarmed, and Denteebektre, with a battle-axe in his hand, coming close to Creeshna, began to upbraid him with the fate of his brother and his friend, and, collecting all his strength, aimed a blow at him; but Creeshna, at that instant, struck him so violently on the breast with his Geda, that his soul immediately parted from his body; and a flame of fire issuing from his head, ascended into the air, whence it came back and went into Creeshna's mouth, where it was quenched. Denteebektre had a younger brother, named *Vederoothe*, who also attempted to risk a battle, but Creeshna cut his head off with Sodharsan-Chakra. After the death of these three persons, the Devatas launched out in praise of Creeshna, and the Muni-Eswaras and Reyshees were unbounded in their panegyrics; and all the intelligent were fully convinced that he was Perebrahme-Pooraun-Poorash, while those of confined understandings, whose ideas were circumscribed by the mere limits of the senses only, conceived that he had gained a victory, (as any other mortal might have done,) and that there might exist another who would have vanquished him; but, in fact, whatever exists is HE, and all these notions are the fantasies and sport of Maya, or self-delusion.

Soodaman, a poor Brahmin and fellow-student with Creeshna under his tutor Sendeepen, by the instigation of his wife, about this time paid a visit of respect to Creeshna at Dwaraka, having nothing with him for a present except one handful of rice. Creeshna received him most affectionately, and, in his absence, transformed his cottage to a palace, and his wife to a beauty; gave him a large sum in money, and, at his death, rendered him Mooktee (beatified).

One day, Dropeda requested the eight Nayega to give her an account of their several marriages, which they did in their turns, relating their history as in the former chapters, except that of Lekshema, which is not there inserted, and is as follows:—Lekshema informed Dropeda, that she had one day heard Nared give a description of Creeshna to her father, and he had painted him in such lively colours, that, from the same moment, she fell violently in love with him, and was determined to marry no other.

Her father, however, erected a Soombere (a pavilion) for her, and in the middle of the Soombere was placed a butt or target, and on the top of the butt a fish, with this express condition, that whoever should make his arrow hit the fish, by taking aim through a vessel of water, should have her for a wife; and all the rajahs and chiefs, who came to court her, were introduced into the Soombere, and a bow and arrow were put into their hands. Rajah Magende, and Bheema, and Doorjoodhen, and Kerne, and others, exerted their strongest efforts in vain. "Creeshna, the master of all hearts, knew the secret wish of my heart, took his aim through the vase of water, and easily hit the fish. When I put the Mooktee-Mala round Creeshna's neck, all the others burnt with rage; but Creeshna lifted me into his carriage, and Darek drove us away with the utmost rapidity. His rivals followed us in chariots and on elephants, and their fleetest horses; but, on his very first attack, they all faced about and fled. Thence Creeshna, like the sun bursting from Oodachel to perform his western journey, went to Dwaraka, the beauty of which is not now to be described. My father sent a magnificent portion after me, but I do not presume to call myself his wife; I am one of his humble attendants and slaves."—After this, the other 16,000 wives related, one by one, the history of their captivity under Bhoom-Assoor, together with the death of that tyrant by the hand of Creeshna, and added, that, from that time, they were become the lowest of his slaves.

Towards the close of Creeshna's sojourning among mortals, Vasudeva and Devaci began fully to comprehend the divine character of Creeshna, and acknowledged him for the Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, of the world; for, before they had been prevented from understanding by the power of Maya. After Creeshna had one day satisfied Vasudeva on this head, he went with Ram to see his mother Devaci, who received them with the tenderest affection, and told them, she had heard how they had raised the two sons of their tutor Sendeepen to life; that she, too, had at least the pretensions of their tutor with three times the loss; that she now required of them the six sons which Cansa had slain, and who had left six deep wounds in her heart, which nothing but their presence could heal. Creeshna and Balhadur, smiling, told her, that they would bring back her sons upon one condition, which was, that she should not set her heart too strongly on them, but be satisfied with seeing them once more. Thereupon, in sight of their mother, they went into the earth, and, passing through, came to the nether world. Rajah Bali, hearing of their approach, met them with great ceremony, and accommodated them with all possible attention; and, after every testimony of reverence and respect, requested to know the cause of his being honoured with the visit of the Lord of the three worlds. Creeshna now began an account of former times, and informed him, "that, in the house of Mereechee, had been born of the seed of Brahma six sons; and, a second time, the same six sons were born in the house of Hiranyacasipu. The same were also again born in the house of Kal-Neeme, and in that life inflicted much vexation and infinite troubles on holy men and Devatas, who therefore fixed this curse on them: 'As ye now give so much molestation to us, may your own father be your murderer!' Kal-Neeme was an Avatar of Cansa, and these six sons did Devaci, the sister of Cansa bring into the world, who have all been slain by Cansa. Devaci is our mother also, and has obtained of me permission once more to behold her children. I have heard that they are in your kingdom, being now released from the curse of the Devatas. These are their names: Semer, Kehe, Bergoon, Chhoodre, Derkheren, Tebeek. Inquire after them, that I may shew them to their mother, and that, after a sight of her, they may go to paradise." Rajah Bali instantly dispatched some servants to look for them, and in one hour they were all brought to Creeshna, who, taking them under his arm, and kindly accepting all Rajah Bali had set before him, came up from beneath the earth to the place in Dwaraka where Devaci was sitting, in anxious expectation to behold her children, and presented the six little ones to their mother. The instant she saw her sons *the milk began to flow from her breasts*, and, after gratefully thanking Creeshna and Balhadur, she hugged them to her bosom, and kissed their foreheads, and suckled them with milk *from the very same breast which had once nourished Creeshna*. All that she had formerly promised as the condition of seeing them was now overturned, and Creeshna was obliged to desire her to suspend her fondness, and be calm, that they might take their departure for paradise. Devaci acknowledged his kindness in having procured for her a sight which *it was not otherwise possible to behold*, and submitted. The children having drunk of Devaci's milk, and having Creeshna's hand also passed over their bodies, became immortal, and all appeared in the figure of Creeshna, with a shining Koondel and Mookete. They then mounted on an eagle, resembling Creeshna's; afterwards, falling at his and Ram's feet, and paying Nemeskar to Vasudeva and Devaci also, they set off for paradise, in the sight of all the people. Devaci exclaimed, that, having now seen her dead sons revived, and on the way to paradise, she was well assured that she also herself should speedily go thither.

Distinctly to mark the equal regard with which the Deity observes all his devout worshippers of every rank and class, Creeshna one morning set out with a great suite of Devatas for TIRHUT, for the express purpose of exhibiting the marks of his divine favour to Bhoolamen, the rajah of that place, and also to one Mhooret-Deva, a poor Brahmin inhabitant of the same city, both of whom where his most zealous devotees. When he arrived there, knowing that their faith and religious merits were upon par, although their station and circumstances were widely different, he was solicitous not to appear to give the one a preference above the other, nor let either feel himself slighted. He, therefore, made a double representation of himself, both Avatars exactly similar, so that the rajah, who received him with all the pomp and splendor of royalty, and with magnificent presents of exquisite clothes, chains, and strings of pearls, &c. conceived *himself* the most favoured of mortals, in having the divine personage under his own roof; while the humble Brahmin, no less overjoyed, was laying his unaffected offerings of the choicest fruits and strings of sweet flowers before the very same Creeshna at the same moment in his own house. Creeshna, at the earnest instances of the rajah, stayed some time with him in his magnificent palace to fortify his devotion, and all the inhabitants of Tirhut were eased of their doubts and perplexities by his presence: at the same time he was daily present in the lowly cottage of Mhooret-Deva, receiving grateful prayers and thanksgivings, with the greatest condescension and benevolence. After some time thus employed, Creeshna returned to Dwaraka, and the Brahmin accompanied him a considerable way on the journey.

Terek-Assoor one day demanded of Nared, which of the three Devatas, Brahma, Veeshnu, and Mahadeva, was to be propitiated with the least worship? Nared answered, Mahadeva; who presently grants whatever is desired by those who worship him with their whole heart. Accordingly, Terek-Assoor became a most zealous worshipper of Mahadeva, to obtain his own particular purposes. But Mahadeva shewed him no signs of encouragement; the Ditya, however, redoubled his austerities in such a manner, that, in the space of seven days, he cut off all the flesh from his own body with a knife, and burnt it in the fire; and, after those seven days, was preparing to cut off his own head also, as a propitiatory sacrifice. Mahadeva at length appeared to him, and took hold of his hand, by which his flesh was instantly restored to its former state, and told him, that, whatever was his wish, it should be granted. At the same time he demanded why he had proceeded to such severe austerities, declaring, that, whoever in sincerity sacrificed to him, even with water, obtained the object of his desires. Terek-Assoor demanded, "that on whose head soever he should lay his hand, that person might be reduced instantly to ashes." On hearing this extraordinary request, (which of course was immediately granted,) fear came on the world, and Mahadeva himself also recollecting the story of the black snake, who prepared to bite his benefactor on the very day he had fed him with milk, and concluding the Ditya had a mind to make experiment of his power, by laying his hand on Mahadeva's own head, fled hastily away. Terek-Assoor following him at full speed, Mahadeva made the circuit of the seven stages of the earth and the seven stages of heaven, but no one was able to protect him from his pursuer, so he urged his flight back again to paradise. There Narayen, taking pity on his situation, came immediately forth to comfort him, and assuming, by the force of his Maya, the figure of a beautiful woman, met the exasperated Ditya, and, with a delicate voice, asked what was the reason of his running so fast? adding, that if he had placed any confidence in Mahadeva's promises, he was woefully deceived; for that, ever since the day when that deity had interrupted Dekshe's Yug, Dekshe had uttered a curse against him, and from that time Mahadeva's words never produced any effect. That he had only to put his hand on his own head, and he might depend on finding Mahadeva's promise to be utterly false. On hearing the soft speeches of this enchanter of the world and its inhabitants, Terek-Assoor put his hand on his own head, and was instantly reduced to ashes by the touch. Jeye! Jeye! resounded through paradise on his death, and it rained flowers from heaven, since the evil which he destined in his heart for another fell upon himself. Mahadevà, overjoyed at his escape, came out from his lurking-place, and retired to his palace at Kylass.

A similar question was once proposed by the Reyshees and Muni-Eswaras, as they were at a certain time performing a Yug near the river Saraswatty. These holy men demanded of Bhreegoo, whether Brahma, Veeshnu, or Mahadeva, were most worthy to be worshipped, that they and all the people might address their devotions accordingly? Bhreegoo said, he would first try all the three, and then inform them. In consequence, he went first to Brahma, and addressed him with the salutations proper from a son to his father,* to see what kind of temper and patience he possessed. Brahma at first grew angry, and accused him of want of ceremony, but was soon appeased; and his son perceived he was like fire and water, alternately hot and cold. Bhreegoo, in the second place, went to Mahadeva's abode: Mahadeva rose up, and was going to embrace him, but Bhreegoo would not let him approach, and made use of very disrespectful language. Mahadeva drew himself up in wrath, and, snatching up his trident, rushed forward with intent to kill him; but Parvati interfered, and falling at her husband's feet, pacified his anger. Bhreegoo hastily retreating thence, went to the place called Vaicontha, the lord of which is Veeshnu. Him he found sleeping on the lap of the universe, or Leckshmeen. Bhreegoo, on seeing him, struck him forcibly with his foot on the breast. Veeshnu started up, and taking hold of the foot, said, "This breast of mine is extremely hard, and your foot very tender; un-

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* Bhreegoo was one of the sons of Brahma, and the promulger of the Vedas.

undoubtedly it must be much hurt." With these and other kind words, mollifying his wrath, he entreated Bhreegoo to stay a little time, and honour his abode with his presence, adding, that he was sorry he had been taken unawares from being ignorant of his approach, entreated his pardon, and hoped his foot would not be injured by so violent a blow. Bhreegoo, weeping for joy at this kind reception, went away, exclaiming, "This surely is the true Lord of the three worlds!" He now returned to the Reyshees, and told them, "Veeshnu for certain was the deity most benignant and worthy of adoration; that he was the Omnipotent, and that, whosoever with heart and soul should address his vows to him, would obtain all he desired." This same Veeshnu is Creeshna; the same who exhibited to Arjoon his own exalted might on the following occasion.

A Brahmin of Dwaraka, who had lost eight sons in their youth, was so transported with grief, that he went one day into the assembly where Creeshna, Arjoon, and the other Yadavas were sitting, and, without the least ceremony, boldly accused their crimes as the cause that the children of Brahmins died so immaturely. Creeshna said nothing; but Arjoon exclaimed with a loud voice, "O Brahmin! is there none here skilful at the bow? That rajah is not a true Khettree, in whose city a Brahmin should have such cause of mourning. What is past, indeed, cannot be recalled; but I myself will guard your children in future. In my time no such event shall take place, and I will throw myself into the fire if I cannot prevent it." The Brahmin told Arjoon, that he talked very presumptuously, since he certainly was not so able a bowman as Balhadur, Creeshna, Predemne, and others, who had not hitherto succeeded. Arjoon replied, that neither Creeshna, nor Predemne, nor Aneroodhe, nor any other Khettree, could prevail against his own famous bow Gandeeva; that he had compelled Mahadeva himself to acknowledge his superior skill in shooting, and should have no difficulty whatever in opposing Yama (the king of Hades). The Brahmin on this returned home, and, when his wife was again in labour, failed not to inform Arjoon, who, bathing himself, and calling upon the name of Bhagavan, and taking up his bow Gandeeva, so completely nailed up the Brahmin's door with arrows, that, on all the six sides, there remained not a single opening where even the air could enter: and there he stood watching with his bow and arrows ready in his hand, but could see nothing. On the former occasions the child came out (of his mother's womb) when dead, but now even the dead child was vanished through the air. The father wept and mourned, and, going to Creeshna, abused Arjoon in the most unqualified terms for his idle boasting; and Arjoon was so much ashamed, that he said he would go and fetch the Brahmin's son away from Yama himself. But though he went thither, and also to Eendre-Pooree, and other Poorees, he could get no tidings whatsoever of the child; so, coming back to the earth, after a fruitless search in extreme affliction, he collected a heap of faggots, and, setting them on fire, was going to cast himself into the flames. Creeshna seeing this, took him by the hand, and said *he* had news of the Brahmin's son, and that they must go together and fetch him from a place whither neither his own hand nor Arjoon's could reach. So they mounted a carriage together, and went towards the west, and, passing all the seven climates and all the stages of the universe, came to that profound and palpable darkness, where there is no admission of the sun, or the moon, or fire. As they had now no other means of proceeding, Soodharsan-Chakra* was ordered to go forward, that the horses might get on by means of its light. When Arjoon beheld that light, which is the light of God, he could not turn his face towards it; but, covering his eyes, to preserve them from the dazzling glare, remained in deep and awful reflection. When the resplendent brightness of that light overcame them, they entered an expanse of water, where a cold wind reigned. Within that, they observed a splendid palace and throne, whereon sate Seshanaga, the snake, who had a thousand heads, and who seemed in magnitude to resemble Kylass, while his thousand eyes shot terrific flames. There they beheld the Being undescribable, who is pure and all-sufficient. His countenance was like the flower of the lotos, and he wore a yellow robe on his body, and golden earings, and a profusion of jewels; a string of the finest pearls adorned his neck, and the Kowsteke-Men blazed on the middle of his breast, a figure beautiful in its proportions, and resplendent with Shanka, and Chakra, and Geda, and Padma. Creeshna and Arjoon, perceiving him to be the true object of worship, stood with their hands joined before them in adoration. That sublime Being, which was purity itself, spoke these words: "It was I, who, taking on myself the form of Yama, bore away the

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* "In the Persian translation of the Bhagavat," meaning the present, says Sir William Jones, "Creeshna is said to have descended with his favorite Arjoon to the seat of the Stygian Jove of India, from whom he instantly obtained the favour which he requested, that the souls of a Brahmin's six sons, who had been slain in battle, might re-animate their respective bodies:

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and SESHANAGA is thus described: 'He had a gorgeous appearance, with a thousand heads, and on each of them a crown set with resplendent gems, one of which was larger and brighter than the rest; his eyes gleamed like flaming torches; but his neck, his tongues, and his body, were black; the skirts of his habiliment were yellow, and a sparkling jewel hung in every one of his ears; his arms were extended, and adorned with rich bracelets, and his hands bore the holy shell, the radiated weapon, the mace for war, and the lotos.' Thus Pluto was often exhibited in painting and sculpture with a diadem and sceptre; but himself and his equipage were of the blackest shade."—Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 43.—Thus far Sir William Jones, whose translation of the above passage seems to be more general and laboured than Mr. Halhed's, which, though rapid, appears to be minutely correct, from his particularly mentioning the "flower of the lotos" and the "*Kowsteke-Men*," which latter I ought before to have acquainted the reader from a note of the translator on a passage not printed, is a most resplendent jewel, worn on the breast as a talisman, and like the carbuncle, dissipating midnight darkness.

Brahmin's son, because I had an earnest desire to see you. You have done what was your function to do, and have released the earth overladen with her heavy weight. Your incarnation was for the purpose of illuminating the darkness of the world: both of you are Avatars of Narayen, and have well performed your appointed functions." On beholding these wonders, Arjoon totally forgot every thing that had passed in his mind, and now fully comprehended that Creeshna was Lord of heaven and earth, and that *all that he saw was* HIS FORM *and* HIS LIGHT. They then took the Brahmin's son away with them, and came back. Arjoon, astonished and amazed, totally laid aside his former presumption, and felt both Creeshna's might and his own weakness. The Brahmin, in great joy, received back his son, praising them for the miracles they had wrought and the toils they had undergone.

One day, in Dwaraka, which is a second Vaicontha, Creeshna was enjoying himself with his relations, and sons, and grandchildren, and his 16,000 wives, and all his wealth: his elephants, his horses, his carriages out of number, were arranged in order. In the midst of his golden castle extended his apartments on all the four sides. His gardens were of golden earth, wherein were trees of paradise full of variegated fruits. Peacocks, and cocelas (Indian nightingales), and other birds, were sporting therein. Creeshna on that day was surrounded with his 16,000 wives, AS LIGHTNING WITH A CLOUD, and they gathered innumerable flowers as offerings to Creeshna, like the Devatas presenting flowers to Eendra; and, in all the licence of joy, they and Creeshna were sporting together, and throwing the flowers at each other. In the garden was a river, whose banks were all gold and jewels, the water of which, from the reflection of rubies, appeared *red,* though perfectly *white;* it was the WATER OF LIFE: and thousands of lotoses floated on its surface, among which innumerable bees were humming and seeking their food. In this river they bathed and played, Creeshna always in the midst of them. At length, in the very height of all their revels and enjoyments, he suddenly disappeared!!! His principal wives, which were the eight Nayega, remained for some time in profound astonishment: then they all burst out into the most passionate exclamations, crying, "Whither is he gone?" One demanded of the birds if they had seen him; wondering they could sing till he returned.—Another asked of the four-footed beasts why they made such loud moanings, as if Creeshna had left and deceived them too.—One addressed the sea, "Thou ocean! who art night and day roaring, hath not Creeshna taken thy fourteen Reten, or precious things, also, as well as our hearts, and is it not therefore thou grievest?"—Another addressed the moon, "O thou Lord of the stars! why dost not thou draw on the world the veil of darkness? Art thou not affected by his absence? at which every one must be heartless, like us wretched creatures, who know not what is our fault to be thus forgotten and forsaken."—Another spake to the passing clouds, "Ye, too, are impressed with the colour and figure of Creeshna, and, as he has taken his departure, so ye also are ever on the wing; and ye, like us mourning for his absence, overspread every quarter with gloom."—Another asked the cocela why he had lost his fine notes? "Is your mate also fled?"

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Mr. Halhed's copy of the Mahabbarat was imperfect and ended abruptly; but he has added in the manuscript these words: "Few events of any importance occur in the history of Creeshna between this period and that of his going to Hastanapoor to assist the Pandoos, just before the breaking out of the war of the Mahabbarat, which ended in the destruction of the Kooroos."

THE FATE OF THE YADAVAS, AND DEATH OF CREESHNA, FROM THE MAHABBARAT.

After the completion of the war of the Mahabbarat, and the victory over Doorjoodhen, Judishter reigned in triumph and profound peace with his brothers thirty-six years. After that period, commenced their calamities and bad omens of every kind. Great storms of wind, accompanied with hail and stones, fell upon the city. Those animals, whom it is reckoned fortunate to meet on the right side, met them on the left, and the contrary. The sky rained fire, and ashes, and half-burnt coals; and, sometimes, without any wind, such a dust was raised, that the sun was hidden at mid-day; while, at other times, his disk appeared without any light, and figures of men, without heads, appeared on all sides of the sun, or there was a black halo encircling it. The Pandoos, and indeed all human beings, were astonished and alarmed at these prodigies, and expected some most extraordinary and dreadful event to follow. In the midst of these horrors, on a certain day, as the Pandoos and nobles were all sitting together, arrived a person from Dwaraka, who brought news that the Yadavas had quarrelled among themselves, and had all cut each other to pieces. Rajah Judishter immediately, in the utmost anxiety and apprehension, sent off a messenger to learn the truth of these melancholy tidings.

Rajah Jenemejeye here requested of Vyshempayen to give him an account of this calamity that had befallen the Yadavas, which he accordingly commenced as follows:

Viswamitra, Dervasa, and Nared, three most perfect Reyshees, were sitting one day together, when Sarane, Son of Vasudeva, with Sanete, one of Creeshna's sons, and a multitude of other young persons, all extremely merry, came to the place where they were; and, dressing up Sateebe in women's clothes, brought him to the Reyshees; and, telling them it was the wife of Beber-Jaroone, begged to know (as *they* were so exceedingly wise and prescient) what she was likely to bring forth. The Reyshees answered, that they very well knew what person it was thus disguised, and that he should bring forth an iron club, which would be the death of the whole family of the Yadavas. That for their contemptuous insolence to the poor, and their general pride and arrogance, no one should escape the effects of the iron club, out of the whole tribe of the Yadavas, except Creeshna and Balhadur. That Balhadur should quit his present body, and go away into the river, and that Creeshna's time was come to forsake this world. After having said this, these Reyshees took up the skins of Cheeteks on which they sat, and, throwing them over their shoulders, hasted away out of Dwaraka, and went to Rajah Judishter at Hastanapoor. The news of all this was presently spread over the whole city, and caused a general consternation. The next day Sateebe brought forth an iron Destehavenee, or club, such as those of wood which are used by athletics in their exercise, with a view to increase their strength. Ogur Sein, who had heard the whole affair, ordered his smiths to grind and pulverize this club, so that a morsel of it should not remain; which they did, and strewed it, when thus ground, to dust, by the river-side: and it was all thus reduced to impalpable powder, except a piece less than the palm of one's hand. From the dust thrown away by the river-side sprung up a great quantity of reeds, and, after the order for grinding away this club, another order was issued, strictly forbidding all the Yadavas to drink wine in future, on pain of death. From that time they left off wine out of fear, and did not even venture to name it. After this, Death appeared in Dwaraka in a human shape, the colour of his skin being black and yellow, his head close shorn, and all his limbs distorted. He placed himself at men's doors; so that all those who saw him shuddered with apprehension, and became even as dead men from mere affright. Every person, to whose door he came, shot an arrow at him; and the moment the arrow quitted the bow-string, they saw the spectre no more, nor knew which way he was gone. At the same time adverse winds blew so violently, that all the trees were thrown down; and the tempest was so fierce, that men and brutes were carried away by it. Besides this, innumerable quantities of mice swarmed in every house, so that the moment any thing was set down, if it were not closely watched, the mice carried it away. Swarms upon swarms of these vermin ran about the market-places; and men's doors being entirely torn away by the dreadful winds, the mice came and gnawed off all their hair and beards while they slept. Nightingales and shareks lost their own notes, and squeaked like mice or hooted like owls, and never left off moaning day or night. Multitudes of owls, also, entered all the houses by night; or, sitting on the roofs, continued hooting and screeching till the morning. In that dreadful period, cows brought forth ass-colts; mares, the foals of camels; bitches, kittens; and weasels, mice. The Yadavas, too, became addicted to all sorts of wickedness and depravity, and were perpetually abusing and reviling the poor and the good; and left off paying all kind of respect to their spiritual guides and men of science, while the order of nature was reversed, and women got the better of men. Fire gave no light; the flames burnt dusky and livid; and, at the time of sun-rise and sun-set, there appeared near the sun thousands of human figures in the air, with weapons in their hands, skirmishing together, and these appearances were visible to every body. The Yogees and the Reyshees, and the devotees, and all the religious, whatever skin they spread upon the ground to sit on, after a few minutes, found in the place of it nothing but worms. *The moon was eclipsed on its twelfth day, and the sun on the twenty-seventh of the moon.* This same prodigy had happened there once before, at the time of the war of the Mahabbarat. Creeshna, when he saw this miracle, said, "It is now thirty-six years since this same portentous sign was seen in the war of the Mahabbarat, and at that time did Kandharee utter her curse against us; the very same ill omens then appeared at the *extinction of all the Kooroos;* and, as they portended the death of all the Kooroos at that time, so they now forbode the *death of all the Yadavas.*"

One night Creeshna ordered the heralds to proclaim, that, on the next day, all men should go to the banks of the river in pilgrimage to a famous place of worship and bathing; and that same night there suddenly appeared in Dwaraka a woman of the very blackest complexion; she was also dressed in black attire, and was hideous, with yellow teeth. She entered every house grinning horribly a ghastly smile, and all who saw her were stricken with dread. The moment any person attempted to catch her, she vanished, and immediately appeared in some other house; so that on one and the same night she was seen in almost every house at Dwaraka; and, in places where they were celebrating Yugs, such heart-appalling terrors arose, that no one could possibly go thither. Dæmons also came, and carried away the ornaments of the women and the arms of the men, and no one could impede them, or recover the things they seized. In the midst of this dreadful tumult and distraction, the heart of Creeshna, taking its direction through the air, ascended to heaven, so that all men saw it, and, with a confused clamour, exclaimed aloud, "Lo! Creeshna's heart ascends its native skies!" Every one followed it with their eyes till distance rendered it completely invisible. Dareke, too, the driver, having put the horses to the carriage, they took fright, and wildly ran away with the carriage into the pathless regions of the air, far beyond the ken of mortals. The figure on the standard of Balhadur being a falcon, and on that of Creeshna being Garoori, the eagle, left the standards of themselves, and went up to heaven. Apsaras hovered about in the air, and were continually wailing, and crying out, "Arise ye, and flee!" and this voice resounded through all the houses. On the next day, being that whereon Creeshna had ordered an universal visitation to a certain holy Teerthe on the bank of the river, the people sent down thither great quantities of provision and wine, and took with them all their finest dresses and richest ornaments: immense was the multitude that flocked thither of men, women, and children, some in carriages, some on horseback and elephants, and other means of conveyance. The retailers carried down their shops thither, and the people all got such accommodation as they could, either in tents or under the trees. When every body was gone to the Teerthe, one Oodhoo, a Yadava, who, for learning, piety, and exalted merit of every kind, had no equal, took leave of Creeshna, and went away towards the northern countries. This man, from the brightness of his devotion, had acquired so luminous an appearance, that wherever he went, the road for a long way shone, as if with fire. When the people had all taken their places, Creeshna ordered that they should first prepare a variety of victuals and drink for the Brahmins; and while they were doing so, a drunken Yadava, who happened to have a pitcher of wine in his hand, spilt some of its contents on the provision, and contaminated the whole, so that the Brahmins would not touch a morsel of it; and Creeshna commanded the whole to be thrown to the monkeys. As this was a great festival, all the first musicians, dancers, &c. began their amusements; and men, having been so long deprived of wine, were now eager to indulge in it even to satiety, while Creeshna arranged in order the various guests. All the elders and nobles of the family, of whom Ogur Sein was the first in age, and Balhadur, Creeshna's elder brother, and Beber, and Satyekee, and Keret-Brema, and the sons of Creeshna, Predemne, Neset, &c. were all present in that assemblage, and every one of the Yadavas of note to a man.

When they were all duly seated, Balhadur, who was impatient for liquor, called to the attendants to bring some pitchers of wine, and set them before each person, while the master of the ceremonies took especial care to place those persons together who were known to be particularly intimate, that they might quaff the sparkling beverage with more hilarity. Balhadur and Keret-Brema were thus in one party; Predemne and Satyekee in another; Veere, or Beber, and Creeshna's younger brothers, in another. Satyekee soon became extremely intoxicated, and, looking towards Keret-Brema, cried out, "See that Khettree, my friends, who vaunts so much of his manhood: he, with the concurrence of Aswesthame, went by night to attack a parcel of inoffensive young people, and killed all the poor innocents most unjustly! Yet he boasts of his courage." Predemne exclaimed, "Bravo!" Keret-Breme, who was also very much intoxicated, said, "Do you, Satyekee, upbraid me? you, whose merciless sword has perpetrated so many murders?" Creeshna now hinted to Satyekee to reproach Keret-Brema for killing Sete-Rajeete, and carrying away his jewel. [Here the story of Sete-Rajeete is related, as in a former page,* see 56 Adhyaye.] When Setebame, Creeshna's wife, heard her father's name mentioned, she began to weep exceedingly, and asked Creeshna how he could suffer those men to live who had killed her father? but Creeshna gave her no answer. Satyekee then rose up, and desired her not to grieve, assuring her that he would revenge her father's blood on that villain who was the very assassin that, in confederacy with Aswesthame, basely murdered the sons of Dropeda, and Sookemeda, and Drestedoomne, and so many thousand others: but that his life should instantly terminate in expiation of all those bloody deeds. Then, drawing his cimeter, he flew towards Keret-Brema, who also got up to draw his sword, when Satyekee, at the first blow, cut off his head. The relations of each party immediately engaged in furious contest, and several were presently killed on both sides. Creeshna, seeing the violence of the fray, rose up, endeavouring to appease them; but all his exclamations and endeavours were fruitless. Keret-Brema's relations lanced upon Satyekee; and Predemne, having spoken to Creeshna, went to keep the assailants from him; but two of the opposite party having drawn their swords, slew both Predemne and Satyekee before Creeshna's face. Creeshna was now greatly enraged, and, having no other weapon by him, tore up some of those reeds which grew by the river's side, and struck with them those who had slain Predemne and Satyekee. Wherever those fatal reeds fell, they caused certain death; and as they now began to attack Creeshna himself, he presently dispatched all his assailants with the same weapon. Others, also, ran and took some of the same reeds, and began to fight with them, and their effect, whomsoever they touched, was like the arrow of death; for, instant destruction ensued. The father here slew his son, and the son the father; brother killed brother, and relations perished by the hand of each other, all fighting with these reeds: for, in truth, by the curse of those three Reyshees, they were all reduced to such a desperate situation, that they knew not what they did, but continued smiting and striking, till in the end every one of Creeshna's sons and all their posterity were slain on that calamitous spot. Creeshna there beheld, among others of the dead, his sons Predemne, and Sanete, and Jaredvesoo; and Aneroodhe, the son of Predemne; and Kephe, or Goped, his own brother; and all his other relations. While he was absorbed in grief at this event, Dareke, his driver, came and told him, that, before this quarrel commenced, his elder brother Balhadur had risen from the assembly, and had gone no one knew whither; and it was much to be apprehended that some fatal accident had befallen *him* also. Creeshna immediately ordered his carriage to be got ready, that he might go and seek his brother. Then himself and Veere, the Yadava, mounted the chariot, and Dareke drove them.

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* This story, which was tedious and uninteresting, and had no connection with the history in point of event, I purposely omitted. M.

They had proceeded but a little way when they discovered Balhadur sitting under the shade of a pepal (or pepper) tree, with his eyes closed, and apparently immersed in deep thought. Creeshna and Veere, the Yadava, approached very gently, and sat down beside him. But Balhadur was so much absorbed in his reflections, that he did not in the least perceive any person's approach. Creeshna now said to Dareke, "You see what a horrible calamity has happened to all our people! Go quickly to Rajah Judishter, acquaint him with the sad catastrophe, and desire him to send Arjoon hither immediately." Dareke, mounting the carriage, drove with all speed towards Hastanapoor. After he was gone, Creeshna said to Veere, "You are aware of the miserable fate of these men; go now to Dwaraka, and look after my wives and houses, lest any thieves or villains, knowing that the town is empty, should come thither in hopes of plunder, offer violence to the women, and ransack the city. My father Vasudeva is also in the town, pay also the utmost attention to his safety." So Veere hastily returned towards the city; but, in his way, met with a hunter quite intoxicated, who had in his hands some of those fatal reeds, with which he struck Veere, and killed him. A spectator of this ran immediately and brought Creeshna news of his death; and Creeshna then, rousing Balhadur, said to him, "I am afraid that some invader will desolate the town. I request of you to stay here while I go thither, and I will return the instant I have informed myself." Then Creeshna went directly towards Dwaraka. On arriving there, he hastened to his father Vasudeva, and, after salutation, acquainted him with the utter annihilation of the whole of the males of the Yadava family. Vasudeva immediately began to weep bitterly; but Creeshna told him, that, notwithstanding this most dreadful of all calamities, the present was not a time for weeping, but that he must exert himself for the protection of the women till Arjoon's arrival, for whom he had already dispatched Dareke with all expedition; that he himself must now reluctantly take leave to return to his brother Balhadur, whom he had left sitting disconsolate under a pepal-tree, and anxiously waiting his return; that he had formerly seen all the Kooroos slain, but that now all the Yadavas, his own relations, had experienced the same fate: and that, being without sons and relations of every kind, he would never more come back into that city, but had made an agreement with Balhadur that they should retire together into the desert to pass their lives in prayer. Having said this, he respectfully kissed Vasudeva's feet. At the same time his wives and women began to weep and bewail their fate in the most heart-rending plaints. Creeshna told them not to be so loud in their lamentations, nor to give way to excessive grief, since there was *no remedy for the decrees of fate;* that Arjoon would arrive there the ensuing day, and dispel their sorrows. Creeshna having said this, and again taken a most affectionate leave of his father and the rest, departed from the city, and came to the place where he had left Balhadur, whom he found sitting in the very same posture.

Creeshna then beheld a snake of an enormous magnitude, and exceedingly white, issue from his mouth. When the snake was entirely come forth, all at once it assumed a thousand heads, and went towards the river, while the carcase of Balhadur remained without life under the shade of the same tree as before, while the snake gradually approached the river's side. Creeshna then saw that the river appeared in the figure of a Brahmin, advancing respectfully forward to meet the snake, and said to it, "Approach, and be welcome." The snakes that were beneath the earth, such as Vasookee and the rest, [a long catalogue of them follows,] and Varoona, who is the spirit of water, all came to meet that snake, and all devoutly worshipped him. That mighty snake moved on majestically in this manner till he entered the river, and, going into the middle of the stream, plunged into it, and was seen no more. When Creeshna saw that Balhadur's spirit had finally departed, he became exceedingly sorrowful. Near where he stood there was a jungle, or brake, into which he entered, and, leaning his head on his knees, sat absorbed in the deepest melancholy. He reflected within himself, that all the effect of Kandharee's curse had now fully taken place on the Yadavas, and he now called to his remembrance these prophetic words which Doorvasa had once uttered to him: "O Creeshna! take care of the *sole of thy foot;* for, if any evil come upon thee, it will happen in that place:" (as is related in the 13th perble of the Mahabbarat.) Creeshna then said to himself, "Since all the Kooroos and the whole of the Yadavas are now dead and perished, it is time also for me to quit the world." Then, leaning to one side, and placing his feet over his thighs, he summoned up the whole force of his mental and corporeal powers, while his hovering spirit stood ready to depart. At that time there came thither a hunter with his bow and arrow in his hand; and, seeing from a distance Creeshna's foot, which he had laid over his thigh, and which was partly obscured among the trees, he suspected it to be some animal sitting there. Applying, therefore, to his bow and arrow, the point of which was formed from the *very iron of that club* which had issued from Sateebe's belly, he took aim, and struck Creeshna *in the sole of his foot.* Then, thinking he had secured the animal, he ran up to seize it, when, to his astonishment, he beheld Creeshna there with four hands, and drest in yellow habiliments. When the hunter saw that the wounded object was Creeshna, he advanced, and, falling at his feet, said, "Alas, O Creeshna! I have, by the most fatal of mistakes, struck you with this arrow. Seeing your foot at a distance, I did not properly discern my object, but thought it to be an animal: O pardon my involuntary crime!" Creeshna comforted him to the utmost of his power, saying, "It was no fault of thine. Depart, therefore, in peace." The hunter then humbly kissed his foot, and went sorrowing away. The piece of iron which had stricken Creeshna was, as before-observed, the remains of that very club which had been ground away by order of Ogur Sein, and of which the small bit that was left had been cast into the river, where a fish had swallowed it; and that fish, being caught, had been sold to this hunter, who, finding a morsel of iron in its belly, formed it into the head of an arrow, with which same arrow he wounded Creeshna. After the hunter was gone, so great a light proceeded from Creeshna, that it enveloped the whole compass of the earth, and illuminated all the expanse of heaven. At that instant, an innumerable tribe of Devatas and other celestial beings, of all ranks and denominations, came to meet Creeshna; and he, luminous as on that night when he was born in the house of Vasudeva, by that same light pursued his journey between heaven and earth to the bright Vaicontha, or paradise, whence he had descended. All this assemblage of beings, who had come to meet Creeshna, exerted the utmost of their power to laud and glorify him. Creeshna soon arrived at the abode of Eendra, who was overjoyed to behold him, and accompanied him as far as the extent of *Eendra-Loke* reached, and offered him all manner of ceremonious observances. When Creeshna had passed the limits of Eendra's territory, Eendra said to him, " I have no power to proceed any farther, nor is there any admission for me beyond this limit." So Creeshna kindly dismissed him, and went forward alone.

In the mean time Dareke, who had been sent to summon Arjoon, immediately on his arrival at Hastanapoor, waited upon Rajah Judishter, who rejoiced exceedingly to see him ; but, when he heard the fatal news of the death of all the Yadavas, he fell down senseless through the distracting violence of his grief. When he came to himself, Dareke related to him all the particulars of this sad catastrophe, at which he and his brothers remained more dead than alive. Arjoon, however, instantly hurried away to visit Vasudeva, and see in what state Creeshna himself might be. So he mounted the carriage, and came with all possible speed to Dwaraka. He beheld *the city in the state of a woman whose husband is recently dead ;* and, finding neither Creeshna nor Balhadur, nor any other of his friends there, the whole place appeared in his eyes as if involved in a cloud of impenetrable darkness, nor could he refrain from bursting into tears. The 16,000 wives of Creeshna, the moment they set their eyes on Arjoon, burst also into a flood of tears, and all at once began the most bitter lamentations ; and, in truth, the whole city was so rent with uproar and distraction, that it surpasses description. Arjoon, on seeing them thus left without husband, children, father, brother, or friend of any sort, was so affected with their situation, that all his understanding, judgment, and courage, forsook him ; and, for a time, he was utterly unable to come to any resolution. After a long pause, recovering his bewildered intellects, he anxiously enquired were Vasudeva was, and went to see him. Here the scene of grief and misery was renewed; and, after a mutual intercourse of lamentation, in which Vasudeva told him he had neither eaten nor drunk since Creeshna had left him, Arjoon, taking Dareke with him, went to Creeshna's palaces, and, summoning together such of his people as were left, told them, that, in seven days from that time, the sea would rise in mountain-billows, and entirely submerge the city; that, therefore, they must, before that time, exert themselves, get every carriage, elephant, and horse, in the place ready, and carry away the women and all the best part of the treasure towards Eendraput, *i. e.* Dheli; that they must, moreover, take with them Vejre, son of Aneroodhe, and Creeshna's great grandson, and seat him in the government of Dheli. He assured them there was not a moment to be lost; for, that, the very same day they should quit Dwaraka, it would be deluged by the ocean; and if any inhabitant loitered there, he must perish. That whole night was passed by Arjoon in weeping; he rose early the next morning, and after bathing was going to see Vasudeva, when he met all the women running out of the house, shrieking, beating their breasts, and tearing their hair. Vasudeva had expired that same night, and fourteen of his wives were standing around him, among whom were Yasodha, mother of Creeshna, and Roheenee, mother of Balhadur. Arjoon was, at this news, again for a time bereft of his senses; but Creeshna's wives, coming to him, roused him from his trance, and told him there was no time for useless weeping, as he had Vasudeva's funeral to direct, and to provide for their own departure. Arjoon accordingly had the funeral-pile prepared in the very place were Creeshna had performed the Aswammedha-Yug, as Vasudeva had desired in his life time. Four of his wives burnt themselves with his corpse. Arjoon next came to the fatal field of dispute, where he had fresh cause to mourn over the lifeless remains of his slaughtered friends, Predemne, and Creeshna's other sons, brothers, &c. all of whose bodies he caused to be burnt. Search was also made for the earthly portions of what once was Creeshna and Balhadur. These also he solemnly committed to the flames. After he had finished these melancholy ceremonies, on the sixth day Arjoon ordered that all the people, men, women, and children, should quit the devoted city of Dwaraka, and take the road to Eendraput. Accordingly, they all left Dwaraka; Creeshna's 16,000 wives also, and all their servants and maids in very great numbers; and before them went Vejre, the son of Anaroodhe, while Arjoon brought up the rear. On the same day on which Arjoon left the city, the agitated deep began to swell, and rising higher and higher, even to the roofs of the loftiest edifices of Dwaraka, overwhelmed them in the sight of all the people, who, with the utmost trepidation and horror, lest the spreading waves should overtake them, travelled with all possible haste to a place where five streams unite with the river Indus, and there they halted. The people of that quarter were all thieves and plunderers, who, seeing so many beautiful women and so much valuable treasure slightly guarded, attacked the caravan, in spite of Arjoon's remonstrances and threats, and began to hurry away the women and plunder the baggage. Arjoon now attempted to string his bow Gandeeva, but was a long time before he could succeed. He then put an arrow to the string, but with all his strength could not draw the bow. He then pulled at his sword, but could not unsheath it. In the mean time, every thief, at his option, took one of Creeshna's wives, and bore them in triumph away. Arjoon, with great difficulty, at last drew his bow, and shot an arrow; but whereas formerly one arrow would do prodigious execution, and his quiver remained always inexhaustible, his arrows now were soon spent, and almost wholly without effect. He next began to strike at the thieves with his bow Gandeeva, but the effect was trifling. The villains with ease carried off the women and the booty before his face; and Arjoon, exhausted with labour and grief, sat down to weep. Some few, however, of the women, and a small part of the treasure were still remaining, and Arjoon, in an agony of despair, knelt down to pray; when, finding his strength a little restored, he drew his sword and killed a few of the plunderers, and rescued some of the women. Ordering his people to place these and the remaining baggage on the carriages again, he then proceeded towards Hastanapoor and Eendraput. When they came to Koorookshetre, the son of Keret-Brema came out to meet them, and him they established in the government of Meerenhe and sovereignty of that country. After taking care of Koorookshetre, they came to Eendraput, and Arjoon settled the government of that city and its dependencies on Vejre Natha, son of Anaroodhe. In Koorookshetre, five of Creeshna's wives, Rokemenee, Yamoonetee, Seebeesa, Heimootee, and Kandharee, whose father was of the country of Kandhar, (Candahar,) burnt themselves; while Sete-Bame, with some others, invested themselves with the habits of Sanyassi's, and, forsaking the world, retired into the deserts to pass their lives in solitude and prayer.

END OF THE LIFE OF CREESHNA.

CONCISE ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE AVATAR OF CREESHNA.

The two introductory chapters to the Life of Creeshna have sufficiently shewn it to be a compound of some traditional prediction, alluding to a great spiritual, but obscure, character, about to arise from the womb of time, *the preserver of the world from crimes and punishments*, and the history of some ancient hero; in all probability of that very Rama who forms so conspicuous a portion of the Avatar. Through the whole of it, however, there runs such frequent reference to the power and operations of the SOLAR DEITY; he combats both in youth and age with monsters so much resembling those of the sphere, with bulls, dragons, serpents, wolves, crows, and others, enrolled among the forty-eight oldest constellations; he maintains such dreadful contests with enemies in the form of tempests, whirlwinds, hurricanes, and other aërial prodigies, that for a while envelope and obscure him; and, what is not the least remarkable circumstance in his history, he is so constantly represented as absorbing into himself, or, as the fable expresses it, *receiving into his mouth*, the noxious fires and devouring conflagrations which hostilely assail his comrades; that the astronomical relation of his character to that planet cannot be passed over unobserved, or its existence denied, though it is impossible to draw any exact parallel. That Osiris, too, the *black* divinity of Egypt, and Creeshna, the *sable* shepherd-god of Mathura, have the striking similitude of character, intimated by Mr. Wilford, cannot be disputed, any more than that Creeshna, from his rites, continuing so universally to flourish over India from such remote periods down to the present day, was the prototype, and Osiris the mythological copy. Both are renowned legislators and conquerors, contending equally with physical and spiritual foes; both are denominated THE SUN; both descend to the shades, and both raise the dead to life.

There is also another great personage in Asiatic antiquity to whose history, as related by Herodotus, that of Creeshna bears, in many parts, a striking similitude, I mean the *great Cyrus*, or CAI COSROE of the Persians; a name apparently connected with the Indian; for, its primitive is *Coresh*, an old Persian name for the sun, whence Creeshna might have been originally formed. In that case, we may apply to our black deity of India that celebrated line of Milton:

DARK with excess of LIGHT thy skirts appear.

The account of Cyrus in Herodotus is, in some instances, so minutely particular, that a doubt can scarcely be entertained of his having seen some ancient legend concerning Creeshna, and consequently additional evidence is thence brought to the truth of Herodotus, who could only have seen it in those Persian annals which he asserts he consulted in writing his history; a circumstance extremely probable, since the remotest annals of India and Persia were the same. Let any man coolly read the remarkable, though generally exploded, relation of Herodotus concerning the birth and exposure of the infant Cyrus, through the jealous dread and hatred of his grandfather, to whom it was announced in a dream that he should be dethroned by that grandson; let him consider the account given in that author of his being rescued from the threatened doom by the tenderness of the herdsman Mithridates and his wife Spaco; the *exchange* of Cyrus for their new, but still-born, son, who was exposed in his stead on the mountains of Ecbatana; his being trained up in the scenes of pastoral life at their farm, and the notable circumstance of his being chosen *king*, or chief, as Creeshna was, of the young shepherds, his companions; together with the complete fulfilment of the prophecy in the subversion of the throne of Astyages:* let any person, I say, compare this singular narration with what he has read concerning Creeshna in the preceding pages, and he will not only be convinced of the truth of the assertion of Sir William Jones, that the Indian and Iranian annals were originally *the same*, at least as to their general purport, but that Herodotus had actually consulted them, and not fabricated, as his calumniators have asserted, an idle romance to please the fabulous mythologists of Greece. But concerning the different degrees of credit which ought to be given to the two only authentic historians of Cyrus, Herodotus and Xenophon, an observation or two will occur in a subsequent chapter relative to the second, or Caianian, dynasty of Persia, in which Cyrus ranks the third; and it is time that we quit this extended Avatar for that of BUDDHA, the next in order of succession.

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* Herodotus, lib. i. p. 81. et seq.

THE NINTH INDIAN AVATAR, OR THAT OF BUDDHA, INCARNATE FOR THE PURPOSE OF PUTTING A PERIOD TO SANGUINARY SACRIFICES OF MEN AND BEASTS.

CHAPTER IV.

The vast Extent in which the religious and philosophical Doctrines of BUDDHA, *the Ninth Avatar, have been diffused throughout Asia.—Sanscreet Documents concerning himself and his extraordinary History.—His secluded and penitentiary Life, persevered in with a View more efficaciously to inculcate the main Object of his Avatar,* PARDON WITHOUT PROPITIATORY SACRIFICE, *the grand Exemplar which the ancient Gymnosophists and the modern Yogees imitated in the dreadful and disgusting Austerities to which, from remote ages, they have voluntarily devoted themselves.*

THE ninth Avatar, or that of BUDDHA, commenced, according to Sir William Jones, in the year 1014 before Christ.* Buddha, however, must have flourished at a period much earlier, if, as is intimated in another part of the Asiatic Researches, he appeared on earth towards the commencement of the Cali-Yug, and *married Ila, whose father* (Noah, or Ilus, as he is called by Sanchoniatho†) *was preserved in a miraculous ark from a universal deluge.*‡ Possibly Buddha may be the name of a dynasty, as were Bali and Rama; a dynasty extending from very remote æras down to periods comparatively recent in their romantic annals; and, in fact, Buddha is to be found in a preceding page at the head of the great lunar dynasty of India. His Avatar is asserted to have taken place for the express purpose of putting a stop to the bloody sacrifices with which the Brahmins had polluted the pristine purity and simplicity of their religion. A rock-altar, therefore, that altar on which the blood of animals had profusely flowed, was sacred to him throughout Asia; and he himself was often represented by a huge columnar black stone, black being among the ancients a colour emblematical of the inscrutable nature of the Deity. How wide his fame and the mild rites of his religion were diffused will be evident, when it is considered that the Indian Buddha is the *Budso* and *Dai-Bod*, that is, *Deva-Buddha*, of the Japanese, whose history and superstitious rites are detailed at great length by Kæmpfer. Among other circumstances, he relates, that, in the reign of the eleventh emperor from Syn Mu, *Budo* came over from the Indies into Japan, and brought with him, upon a *white horse*, his religion and doctrine.* Kæmpfer here evidently confounds the two last Avatars, the tenth being a warrior with a winged *white horse*. Chronology marks him for the undoubted *Fot* of China, the name being thus softened down by a race who have neither a B nor D in their alphabet. He was the *Wod*, or original *Oden*, of the Scandinavians, proved to have been so by the rock-worship in use among them and their Druid-descendants in Europe. For the same reason he is known to be the elder Thoth and Hermes of Egypt, pyramids and certain pillars called Herma being sacred to that deity. He is also known to be the Taut, or Mercury, of Phœnicia, as well by the same species of rude worship and symbols, (the Mercurial heaps,) as by the very curious circumstance, often before alluded to in this work and the Indian Antiquities, that the fourth day of the week, (our Wednesday, a corruption of *Woden's day,)* which is assigned to Buddha in India, called Bhood-War, is the Dies Mercurii of the West. There is also some reason to suppose, from the following passage of Sir William Jones, that the rites of his religion were not wholly unknown among the Arabians, whose principal divinity was represented under the form of a cubical black stone. He observes, that, "the powers of God represented as female deities, the adoration of stones, and the name of the idol WUDD, induce us strongly to suspect that some of the Hindoo superstitions had found their way into Arabia; and, though we have no trace in Arabian history of such a conqueror or legislator as the great SESAC, who is said to have raised pillars in Yemen as well as at the mouth of the Ganges, yet, since we know that SACYA is a title of BUDDHA, whom I suppose to be WODEN, and since the age of Sesac perfectly agrees with that of Sacya, we may form a plausible conjecture that they were in fact the same person who travelled eastward from Ethiopia, either as a warrior or as a lawgiver, about a thousand years before Christ, and whose rites we now see extend as far as the country of Nifon, or, as the Chinese call it, Japuen, both words signifying the *rising sun*."*

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* Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 425.

† See Bishop Cumberland's Sanchoniatho, p. 29.

‡ Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 376.

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* Kæmpfer's Japan, lib. ii. p. 163.

Buddha is not entirely unknown even to classical writers: Arrian denominates him, as we have seen before in the chapter concerning Hercules, *Budæus*;† and Clemens, of Alexandria, terms him *Bouta*.‡ Buddha opposed the sanguinary sacrifices of the Brahmins, and, consequently, in a degree, the holy Vedas themselves which enjoined them: in India, therefore there has always been a sect who are violently hostile to the followers of Buddha, denominating them atheists and denying the genuineness of his Avatar.

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* See his Essay on the Arabians.

† Arrian in Indicis, p. 421.

‡ Stromata, lib. i. p. 359.

But the rescinding of a precept when abused is no valid argument against its original rectitude; and how far the philosophical doctrines promulgated by Buddha may be considered as tending to establish materialism will be the subject of future discussion. The learned Indians seem, from a very remote period, to have been divided into two grand sects, a circumstance noticed by classical writers, who name them Brachmans and Samanæans, *i. e.* the followers of Samanacodom, an appellative of Buddha. Hence Mr. Chambers, in the Asiatic Researches,* where he is treating of some grand remains of ancient Hindoo temples and sculptures, like those of Salsette and Elephanta, cut out of the solid rock, on the Coromandel coast, observes, that there anciently prevailed in India, or at least in the Peninsula, a system of religion, very different from that inculcated in the Vedas, and, in some respects, totally inconsistent with the principles and practice of the present Brahmins. This religion still flourishes in the farther Peninsula, particularly among the Siamese, between whom and the inhabitants of Deccan and Ceylone, it is evident, from his Dissertation, that a considerable intercourse, in very remote periods, has subsisted. Mr. Chambers supposes this religion to be the worship of the God BOODH, whose votaries, Mr. Knox observes, took particular pride in erecting to his honour temples and high monuments, "as if they had been born solely to hew rocks and great stones, and lay them up in heaps."† Their kings, he adds, are now happy spirits, having merited heaven by those stupendous labours. In the same treatise, among other evidences of the probability of his supposition, Mr. Chambers has inserted a passage from M. Gentil, who remarked, in the neighbourhood of Verapatnam, a statue of granite, very hard and beautiful, probably of many thousand weight, but half sunk in the deep sand, and standing, as it were, abandoned in the midst of that extensive plain. He observed "that it exactly resembled THE SAMANACODOM, or principal stone deity of the Siamese, in the form of its head, in its features, and in the position of its arms, but that it bore no similitude to the present idols of the Hindoos; and, upon inquiry of the Tamulians, he was constantly informed, that it *was* the God BOODH, who was now no longer regarded, since the Brahmins had made themselves masters of the people's faith."*

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* Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 145.

† See Knox's curious and authentic historical account of the island of Ceylone; published at London, 1681.

To explain the obscure and apparently contradictory circumstances above alluded to in the history of Buddha, I mean his oppugning the doctrines of the Vedas, and his being considered in India as a favourer of the principles of Materialism, principles so directly contrary to the sublime conceptions of the Brahmins concerning the Diety as an active spirit pervading every particle of matter, a conjecture has been started by some Indian mythologists, that, as there were two exalted personages in antiquity of the name of Hermes, so there might have been two Buddhas; the latter, an usurper of his name and honours, they suppose to be the famous BUDHA SAKIA, a priest of Memphis, mentioned by Kæmpfer to have been driven from Egypt, with others of his persecuted brethren, to the shores of India, during the ravages of Cambyses, in the year 525 before Christ.† In fact, it is not uncommon in the complex system of Asiatic mythology to find two persons of the same name, and of doctrines presumed similar, living in quite different ages, as in the case of Zoroaster, Orpheus, and Hermes;

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* Mr. Chambers in the Asiatic Researches, in loco citat.

† Kæmpfer's Japan, vol. i. p. 38. edit. 1728.

and the cause of it is to be found in the general belief of the Asiatics in the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, in the stages of which the same spirit was supposed to animate, at different periods, different human forms. Ingenious, however, as the attempted solution of this difficulty may appear, it by no means effectually removes it; and the best explanation will be a concise, but fair, statement of the genuine doctrines of Buddha, which have been manifestly perverted by the sophists of India from their original meaning. Buddha signifies *a wise man*, and Sacya, his other title, means *a feeder upon vegetables*: this Avatar was, therefore, intended not only to put an effectual termination to the barbarous custom of profusely shedding bestial blood, its more professed object, but to impress on the Indians the maxims of a sublime and sound philosophy, the consequence of the practice of which would render sacrificial atonement for crimes less necessary; to animate them to the attainment of purity and pardon by personal mortification and severe abstinence rather than by the expiatory ablution of a more innocent animal; in fact, to inculcate, according to the precept and practice of Buddha, a total subjugation of *sense* and an utter annihilation of *passion*.

These general remarks will serve as no improper introduction to such authentic Sanscreet documents of this Avatar as from various sources I have been able to collect together for its more complete elucidation.

I cannot more properly commence the native accounts concerning this Avatar of Buddha, than by inserting the subsequent extract relating to him, from the Asiatic Researches. It is part of a translation, by Sir John Shore, of an inscription on a silver plate found in a cave near Islamabad. The reader is already too well acquainted with the romantic style in which all the Indian legends are written to need any apology for my inserting it verbatim. From the presence and services of so many deities of superior order at his birth, and on other occasions, a just idea of the importance of his character may be formed, and fully establishes his title to the distinguished rank of an AVATAR.

"God sent into the world Buddha-Avatar to instruct and direct the steps of angels and of men; of whose birth and origin the following is a relation: When Buddha-Avatar descended from the region of souls in the month of Magh, and entered the body of Mahamaya, the wife of Sootah Dannah, rajah of Cailas, her womb suddenly assumed the appearance of clear transparent chrystal, in which Buddha appeared, beautiful as a flower, kneeling and reclining on his hands. After ten months and ten days of her pregnancy had elapsed, Mahamaya solicited permission from her husband, the rajah, to visit her father, in conformity to which the roads were directed to be repaired and made clear for her journey; fruit-trees were planted; water-vessels placed ~~on~~ the road-side; and great illuminations prepared for the occasion. Mahamaya then commenced her journey, and arrived at a garden adjoining to the road, where inclination led her to walk and gather flowers. At this time, being suddenly attacked with the pains of child-birth, she laid hold on the trees for support, which declined their boughs at the instant, for the purpose of concealing her person, while she was delivered of the child; at which juncture Brahma himself attended with a golden vessel in his hand, on which he laid the child, and delivered it to Eendra, by whom it was committed to the charge of a female attendant; upon which the child, alighting from her arms, walked seven paces, whence it was taken up by Mahamaya, and carried to her house; and, on the ensuing morning, news were circulated of a child being born in the rajah's family. At this time Tapaswi Muni, who, residing in the woods, devoted his time to the worship of the Deity, learned by inspiration that Buddha was come to life in the rajah's palace: he flew through the air to the rajah's residence, where, sitting on a throne, he said, 'I have repaired hither for the purpose of visiting the child.' Buddha was accordingly brought into his presence: the Muni observed two feet fixed on his head, and, divining something both of good and bad import, began to weep and to laugh alternately. The rajah then questioned him with regard to his present impulse, to whom he answered, 'I must not reside in the same place with Buddha, when he shall arrive at the rank of Avatar: this is the cause of my present affliction, but I am even now affected with gladness by his presence, as I am hereby absolved from all my transgressions.' The Muni then departed; and, after five days had elapsed, he assembled four Pandits for the purpose of calculating the destiny of the child; three of whom divined, that, as he had marks on his hands resembling a wheel, he would at length become a Rajah Chacraverti; another divined, that he would arrive at the dignity of Avatar.

"The boy was now named Sacya, and nothing important occurred till he had attained the age of sixteen years; at which period it happened, that the Rajah Chuhidan had a daughter named Vasutara, whom he had engaged not to give in marriage to any one till such time as a suitor should be found who could brace a certain bow in his possession, which hitherto many rajahs had attempted to accomplish without effect. Sacya now succeeded in the attempt, and, accordingly obtained the rajah's daughter in marriage, with whom he repaired to his own royal residence.

"One day, as certain mysteries were revealed to him, he formed the design of relinquishing his dominion; at which time a son was born in his house, whose name was Raghu. Sacya then left his palace with only one attendant and a horse, and, having crossed the river Ganga, arrived at Balucali, where, having directed his servant to leave him and carry away his horse, he laid aside his armour.

" When the world was created, there appeared five flowers, which Brahma deposited in a place of safety: three of them were afterwards delivered to the three Thacurs, and one was presented to Sacya, who discovered that it contained some pieces of wearing-apparel, in which he clothed himself, and adopted the manners and life of a mendicant. A traveller one day passed by him with eight bundles of grass on his shoulders, and, addressing him, said, ' A long period of time has elapsed since I have seen the Thacur; but now, since I have the happiness to meet him, I beg to present him an offering consisting of these bundles of grass.' Sacya accordingly accepted the grass, and reposed on it. At that time there suddenly appeared a golden temple, containing a chair of wrought gold, and the height of the temple was thirty cubits, upon which Brahma alighted, and held a canopy over the head of Sacya: at the same time Eendra descended with a large fan in his hand, and Naga, the rajah of serpents, with sandals in his hand, together with the four tutelar deities of the four corners of the universe; who all attended to do him service and reverence. At this time, likewise, the chief of Assoors, with his forces, arrived, riding on an elephant, to give battle to Sacya, upon which Brahma, Eendra, and the other deities, deserted him and vanished. Sacya, observing that he was left alone, invoked the assistance of the Earth; who, attending at his summons, brought an inundation over all the ground, whereby the Assoor and his forces were vanquished, and compelled to retire.

" At this time five holy scriptures descended from above, and Sacya was dignified with the title of Buddha-Avatar. The scriptures confer powers of knowledge and retrospection, the ability of accomplishing the impulses of the heart, and of carrying into effect the words of the mouth. Sacya resided here, without breaking his fast, twenty-one days, and then returned to his own country, where he presides over rajahs, governing them with care and equity."*

From the same collection I present the reader with the following translation, by Mr. Wilkins, of a Sanscreet inscription, copied from a stone at Booddha-Gaya, in the province of Bahar.

"In the midst of a wild and dreadful forest, flourishing with trees of sweet-scented flowers, and abounding in fruits and roots; infested with lions and tigers, destitute of human society, and frequented by the Munis, resided Buddha, the author of happiness, and a portion of Narayen. This deity Haree, who is the lord Hareesa, the possessor of all, appeared in this ocean of natural beings at the close of the Dwapar, and beginning of the Cali Yug: he who is omnipresent and everlastingly to be contemplated, the Supreme Being, the Eternal One, the Divinity worthy to be adored by the most praise-worthy of mankind, appeared here with a portion of his divine nature.

"Once upon a time the illustrious Amara, renowned amongst men, coming hither, discovered the Supreme Being, Buddha, in the great forest. The wise Amara endeavoured to render the God Buddha propitious by superior service; and he remained in the forest for the space of twelve years, feeding upon roots and fruits, and sleeping upon the bare earth; and he performed the vow of a Muni, and was without transgression. He performed acts of severe mortification; for, he was a man of infinite resolution, with a compassionate heart. One night he had a vision, and heard a voice, saying, 'Name whatever boon thou wantest.' Amara-Deva, having heard this, was astonished, and, with due reverence, replied, 'First, give me a visitation, and then grant me such a boon.' He had another dream in the night, and the voice said, 'How can there be an apparition in the Cali-Yug? The same reward may be obtained from the sight of an image, or from the worship of an image, as may be derived from the immediate visitation of a deity.' Having heard this, he caused an image of the Supreme Spirit Buddha to be made, and he worshipped it, according to the law, with perfumes, incenses, and the like; and he thus glorified the name of that Supreme Being, the incarnation of a portion of Veeshnu: ' Reverence be unto thee in the form of Buddha! Reverence be unto the Lord of the earth! Reverence be unto thee, an incarnation of the Deity and the Eternal One! Reverence be unto thee, O God, in the form of the God of Mercy, the Dispeller of pain and trouble, the Lord of all things, the Deity who overcometh the sins of the Cali-Yug, the Guardian of the Universe, the Emblem of Mercy towards those who serve thee! OM, the possessor of all things in vital form! Thou art Brahma, Veeshnu, and Mahesa! Thou art Lord of the Universe! Thou art, under the proper form of all things, moveable and immoveable, the possessor of the whole! and thus I adore thee. Reverence be unto the Bestower of salvation, and Resheekesa, the ruler of the faculties! Reverence be unto thee, (Kesavah,) the destroyer of the evil spirit Kesee! O Damordara, shew me favour! Thou art he who resteth upon the face of the milky ocean, and who lieth upon the serpent Sesha. Thou art Treeviekrama, (who, at three strides, encompassed the earth!) I adore thee, who art celebrated by a thousand names, and under various forms, in the shape of Buddha, the God of Mercy! Be propitious, O Most High God!'

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* Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 309.

" Having thus worshipped the guardian of mankind, he became like one of the just. He joyfully caused a holy temple to be built of a wonderful construction, and therein were set up the divine foot of Veeshnu, for ever purifier of the sins of mankind, the images of the Pandoos, and of the descents of Veeshnu, and in like manner of Brahma and the rest of the divinities.

" This place is renowned, and it is celebrated by the name of Booddha-Gaya. The forefathers of him who shall perform the ceremony of the Sradha at this place shall obtain salvation. The great virtue of the Sradha, performed here, is to be found in the book called Vayoo-Poorana; an epitome of which hath by me been engraved upon stone.

" Veekramadeetya was certainly a king renowned in the world. So in his court there were nine learned men, celebrated under the epithet of the Nava Ratnanee, or Nine Jewels; one of whom was Amara-Deva, who was the king's chief-counsellor, a man of great genius and profound learning, and the greatest favourite of his prince. He it certainly was who built the holy temple which destroyeth sin, in a place in Jamboodweep, where, the mind being steady, it obtains its wishes, and in a place where it may obtain salvation, reputation, and enjoyment, even in the country of Bharata, and in the province of Cicata, where the place of Buddha, purifier of the sinful, is renowned. A crime of a hundred fold shall undoubtedly be expiated from a sight thereof, of a thousand fold from a touch thereof, and of a hundred thousand fold from worshipping thereof. But where is the use of saying so much of the great virtues of this place? Even the hosts of heaven worship with joyful service both day and night.

" That it may be known to learned men that he verily erected the house of Buddha, I have recorded, upon stone, the authority of the place, as a self-evident testimony, on Friday, the fourth day of the new moon, in the month of Madhoo, when in the seventh, or mansion of Ganisa, and in the year of the era of Veekramadeetya 1005."

As the period of Buddha's incarnation is of the highest consequence in the arrangement of the chronology of India, Sir William Jones has very much laboured, and, I think, as far as possible, has determined, that difficult point. He tells us, that the priests of

Buddha left in Tibet and China the precise epoch of his appearance, real or imagined, in India; and their information, which had been preserved in writing, was compared by the Christian missionaries and scholars with our own era. Couplet, De Guignes, Giorgi, and Bailly, differ a little in their accounts of this epoch, but that of Couplet seems the most correct. On taking, however, the medium of the four several dates, we may fix the time of Buddha, or the ninth great incarnation of Veeshnu, in the year one thousand and fourteen before the birth of Christ, or two thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine years ago. Now the Cashmirians, who boast of his descent in their kingdom, assert that he appeared on earth about two centuries after Creeshna, the Indian Apollo, who took so decided a part in the war of the Mahabbarat; and, if an etymologist were to suppose that the Athenians had embellished their poetical history of Pandion's expulsion and the restoration of Ægeus with the Asiatic tale of the Pandoos and Judishter, neither of which words they could have articulated, his conjecture ought not hastily to be derided. Certain it is, that Pandumandel is called by the Greeks the country of Pandion.

The following are two Sanscreet lines, taken from an ancient book of high authority, and cited by our author for the purpose of fixing the precise time of the appearance of this Avatar in India. The observations that follow will advance us still farther in the history of this obscure character.

> " Asau vyactah calérabdasahasradwitayè gatè,
> " Murtih patálaverná'sya dwibhujà chicurójj'hità;—or,

"He became visible, the thousand and second year of the Cali age being past; his body of a colour between white and ruddy, with two arms, without hair on his head," (that is, as a penitent.)

Cicata, named in the text as the birth-place of Buddha, he tells us is supposed to have been Dhermaranya, a wood near Gaya, where a colossal image of that ancient deity still remains: it seemed to him of black stone; but, as he saw it by torch-light, he could not be positive as to its colour, which may, indeed, have been changed by time.

The Brahmins, he adds, univerally speak of the Buddhas with all the malignity of an intolerant spirit, yet the most orthodox among them consider Buddha himself as an incarnation of Veeshnu. It seems highly probable, therefore, that the Buddha, whom Jayadeva celebrates in his hymn, was the Sacyasinha, or lion of Sacya, who, though he forbad the sacrifices of cattle, which the Vedas enjoin, was believed to be Veeshnu himself in a human form, and that another Buddha, one perhaps of his followers in a later age, assuming his name and character, attempted to overset the whole system of the Brahmins, and was the cause of that persecution from which the Buddhas are known to have fled into very distant regions. May we not reconcile the singular difference of opinion among the Hindoos, as to the time of Buddha's appearance, by supposing that they have confounded the two Buddhas, the first of whom was born a few years before the close of the last age, and the second when above a thousand years of the present age had elapsed?*

Of the account given of this curious Avatar, and the doctrines of Buddha, in the Ayeen Akbery, the following is the substance: His father, according to Abul Fazil,† was Rajah Siddown, prince of Bahar, and his mother, named Maia, was delivered of him through her navel. At his birth there shone forth a wonderful light; the earth trembled, and the water of the Ganges rose and fell in a most astonishing manner. The very hour he was born he walked seven steps, and discoursed with an eloquence that ravished the hearts of his hearers. The early part of his life is said to have been spent in retirement from the world, and contempt of its grandeur; in acts of severe penance, and in the incessant worship of Mahadeva. He had likewise the gift of prophecy, and could alter the course of nature. It was predicted of Buddha that he should introduce a new religion into the world. The prediction was fulfilled, and the leading principle of that benevolent religion was, that the horrid custom of offering up men and beasts in sacrifice should be abolished. He is said to have had above eighty thousand disciples, who propagated his doctrines through all the neighbouring kingdoms; and ten only of these disciples published five thousand volumes in honour of their master. At the close of a life, whose duration was one hundred years, consumed in acts of exemplary piety and beneficence, it is asserted that Buddha, convoking his disciples together, retracted the pious doctrines which he had, through the whole of that prolonged life, inculcated; telling them that the worship of any deity was *mere delusion*, for that, in fact, no deity presided over the universe; that every thing is the effect of blind chance, and that the world is eternal, but subject, at stated periods, to alternate destruction and renovation. The sacred character of an *Avatar*, however, as we before observed, absolutely forbids the possibility of his speaking in this impious manner, though doctrines very similar are imputed to Buddha by some of the more inveterate of the sect of the Brahmins; and it is in part to explain this difficulty, as well as to account for some other contradictions in his character, that the existence of a second Buddha has been supposed, who flourished many centuries after the first, and who imported those principles into India from Egypt, where Plato, in his Timæus, has expressly asserted that such doctrines were maintained.

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* Sir William Jones in Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 93.

† Ayeen Akbery, vol. iii. p. 157.

It is to Mr. Wilford, who has gone pretty much at large into the history of this Avatar, that we must ultimately recur for a genuine account both of Buddha and his doctrines. To me, however, it appears exceedingly singular, that both Sir William Jones and himself should coincide in assigning to Buddha an Egyptian origin; for surely the Brahmins, so devoted as they are, and ever have been, to their native country and ancient rites, would never have conferred the exalted dignity and distinguished rank of an AVATAR on a foreigner? The matter is inexplicable, except by the supposition, by no means improbable, that this Avatar took place at the remote period when Misrasthan, or Egypt, formed a permanent part of the great Indian empire; though even that supposition will not account for the asserted difference in features of the images of Buddha from those of the old Hindoo idols.

"Most of the Brahmins insist, that the Buddha, who perverted Divodasa, was not the ninth incarnation of Veeshnu, whose name, some say, should be written Bauddha, or Boddha; but not to mention the Armacosh, the Mugdhabodh, and the Gitagovinda, in all of which the ninth Avatar is called Buddha; it is expressly declared in the Bhagavat, that Veeshnu should appear ninthly in the form of 'Buddha, son of Jina, for the purpose of confounding the Dityas, at a place named Cicata, when the Cali age should be completely begun.' On this passage it is only remarked, by Sridhara Swami, the celebrated commentator, that Jina and Ajina were two names of the same person, and that Cicata was in the district of Gaya; but the Pandoos, who assisted in the Persian (that is, the preceding) translation of the Bhagavat, gave the following account of the ninth Avatar: The Dityas had asked Eendra by what means they could attain the dominion of the world; and he had answered, that they could only attain it by sacrifice, purification, and piety; they made preparations accordingly for a solemn sacrifice and general ablution; but Veeshnu, on the intercession of the Devas, descended in the shape of a Sanyassi, named Buddha, *with his hair braided in a knot* *on the crown of his head, wrapt in a squalid mantle, and with a broom in his hand.* Buddha presented himself to the Dityas, and was kindly received by them; but, when they expressed their surprise at his foul vesture, and the singular implement which he carried, he told them, that *it was cruel, and consequently impious, to deprive any creature of life;* that, whatever might be said in the Vedas, every sacrifice of an animal was an abomination, and that purification itself was wicked, because some small insect might be killed in bathing or washing cloth; that he never bathed, and constantly swept the ground before him, lest he should tread on some innocent reptile: he then expatiated on the inhumanity of giving pain to the playful and harmless kid, and reasoned with such eloquence, that the Dityas wept, and abandoned all thought of ablution and sacrifice. As this Maya, or illusive appearance, of Veeshnu, frustrated the ambitious project of the Dityas, one of Buddha's titles is the Son of Maya: he is also named Sacyasinha, or the lion of the race of Sacya, from whom he descended, an appellation which seems to intimate that he was a conqueror or a warrior as well as a philosopher. Whether Buddha was a sage or a hero, the leader of a colony or a whole colony personified, whether he was black or fair, whether his hair was curled or straight, if indeed he had any hair, (which a commentator on the Bhagavat denies,) whether he appeared ten, or two hundred,* or a thousand years, after Creeshna, it is very certain that he was not of the true Indian race: in all his images, and in the statues of Bauddhas, male and female, which are to be seen in many parts of these provinces, and in both peninsulas, there is an appearance of something Egyptian or Ethiopian; and both in features and dress they differ widely from the ancient Hindoo figures of heroes and demi-gods. Sacya has a resemblance in sound to Sisac, and we find Chanac abbreviated from Chanacya; so that Sisac and Sesonchosis may be corrupted from Sacyasinha, with a transposition of some letters, which we know to be frequent in proper names, as in the word Banares. Many of his statues in India are colossal, nearly naked, and usually represented sitting in a contemplative attitude; nor am I disinclined to believe, that the famed statue of Memnon, in Egypt, was erected in honour of Mahiman, which has Mahimna in one of its oblique cases, and the Greeks could hardly have pronounced that word otherwise than Maimna or Memna. They certainly use Mai instead of Maha; for Hesychius expressly says, Μαὶ, μεγά. Ἰνδοί; and Mai signifies *great* even in modern Coptic. We are told that Mahiman, by his wife Mahamanya, had a son named Sharmana Cardama, who seems to be the Samana Codom of the Bauddhas; unless those last words be corrupted from Samanta Gotam, which are found in the Amarcosh among Buddha's names. Cardam, which properly means *clay* or *mud*, was the first created man, according to some Indian legends; but the Puranas mention about seven or eight, who claimed the priority of creation. Be this as it may, Cardama lived in Varuna-Chanda, so called from his son Varuna, the god of ocean.

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* It is generally supposed that he appeared two hundred years after Creeshna.—M.

"The three sects of Jina, Mahiman, and Buddha, whatever may be the difference between them, are all named Bauddhas; and, as the chief law, in which, as the Brahmins assert, they make virtue and religion consist, is *to preserve the lives of all animated beings*, we cannot but suppose, that the founder of their sect was Buddha, the ninth Avatar, who, in the Agnipuran, has the epithet of Sacripi, or Benevolent; and, in the Gitagovinda, that of Sadaya-Hridaya, or Tender-Hearted: it is added by Jayadeva, that 'he censured the whole Veda, because it prescribed the immolation of cattle.' This alone, we see, has not destroyed their veneration for him; but they contend that atheistical dogmas have been propagated by modern

Bauddhas, who were either his disciples or those of a younger Buddha, or so named from Buddhi, because they admit no Supreme Divinity, but intellect."*

The reader has now been presented with all the various opinions, concerning this singular Avatar, of the Indian literati; he has likewise before him such native accounts of the history of Buddha as I could collect from the sources hitherto investigated, which, after all, we see, Mr. Wilford considers as insufficient for the full display of his character and doctrines. These accounts, however, so minute as to the *place* and *time* of his birth, in my humble judgement amply demonstrate the true Buddha to have been an Hindoo, and not a foreigner; a rigid penitent, like SACYA, not a triumphant conqueror, like SESAC. Added to this, Buddha is throughout these accounts considered as the preserver of life, not the destroyer of it; as the benevolent friend of his species, not the merciless exterminator of mankind. It unfolds a stupendous system of human penance, founded on the extensive basis of the Metempsychosis. It exhibits man as coming into the world a miserable *delinquent*; it consequently, in a most powerful manner, confirms the scripture-doctrine of THE FALL; and it finally and unanswerably establishes that grand principle, (let it be denominated *system*, or by whatever other odious term the sceptic pleases,) on which this work originally set out, that throughout Asia, and particularly in India, amidst the immense mass of its mythological superstitions, are to be found, as deeply as widely diffused, the evident vestiges of the primitive patriarchal doctrines, for many centuries preserved inviolably sacred in the first virtuous branches of Shem, the father and founder of the Persian empire; that Shem who I have more than once observed was, in the succeeding ages of idolatry, when the Sabian superstition became general, canonized in the beneficent Mithra.

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* Asiatic Researches, vol. iii. p. 157.

If, therefore, doctrines at all tending towards *materialism* have been ingrafted on those originally promulged by Buddha, they are evidently a base forgery, because utterly inconsistent with the main principle of genuine Buddhism, viz. an ardent desire in its professors, by means of abstraction *from matter*, by a subjugation of the senses, and a course of the most dreadful austerities undauntedly persevered in, to become worthy of being re-united to the *supreme Spirit* from which the soul of man, however gradually in the progress of ages depraved, originally emaned. For the particular detail of those austerities, and for the more complete developement of the sentiments that impel to them the deluded Samanæan, I beg to refer the reader to the chapter on Hindoo penitents, in the fifth volume of Indian Antiquities, where the struggles of the emerging soul (the basis of the ancient mysteries) are faithfully represented through the various stages of the CHAR ASHERUM; through scenes of suffering which make humanity shudder; through torrent floods, through raging fire, and the profoundest horrors of subterranean darkness.

In considering this Avatar of Buddha, it is impossible to pass unnoticed the reiterated and outrageous attacks, which, founded upon the doctrines attributed to the disciples of Buddha, have been recently made by Mr. Volney on Christianity and the four sacred books, in which its doctrines are principally contained. After having, with so much ingenuity and *truth*, as we have seen above, deduced the name *Christ-os* from the Indian *Chris-en* and *Christ-na*, and after having discovered, as he conceives, the radix of *Jesus* (a Hebrew proper name co-incident with *Joshua)* to YES, the ancient cabalistical name of young Bacchus, the clandestine son of the virgin Minerva; after having informed us, that the Indian preserving deity, incarnate in Christ-na, rescued the world from the venomous serpent Calengam, (the French orthography for Callinaga,) whose *head he crushed*, after having himself received *a wound in his heel;**—a remarkable concession, from so inveterate an enemy, though made with the most insidious design; still, however, highly important, since it proves from the mouth of an adversary that I have not, to serve a *favourite hypothesis*, misrepresented the sentiments of the Brahmins on this subject;—after these accumulated insults, Mr. Volney has had the audacity to assert, that even the existence of Jesus Christ is no better proved than that of Osiris, Hercules, and the Chinese Fo; and that the Gospels were not written by the Evangelists, whose names they bear, but are errant forgeries "compiled from the books of the Mithriacs of Persia and the Essenians of Syria, who were only reformed *Samanæans*."†

The writer who thus shamelessly violates the truth of history, and sets at defiance the united attestation of ages, merits no answer but contempt. That contempt, however, is turned into indignation and horror, when all this insult to truth and decency is known to spring from motives hostile to the peace and order of society, and subversive of the best interests of man. Contempt itself, therefore, refuses to be wholly silent on a subject so unspeakably important; and the answer is both easy and obvious, a full refutation of the whole argument being contained in a plain statement of what, at the first view, to every impartial examiner must appear to be the genuine fact. The insane reveries of the Persian Mithriacs, in their romantic legends, are as different from the rational, the pure, the temperate, theological doctrines inculcated in the New Testament, as the unsocial habits, the disgusting austerities, and the haughty reserve, affected by the Indian gymnosophists, were from the cheerful manners, the affectionate communion, and the unostentatious, but dignified, piety of the first Christians. With respect to those more refined points of doctrine, in their respective systems, that may appear to have some resemblance, and there certainly are such points, the similitude may be accounted for and the difficulty explained, by recurring once more to *first principles.* It is necessary for me again to impress on the reader's mind, and, as we are now reaching the conclusion of the AVATARS, it is the last opportunity which I shall have of so doing, the solemn and often repeated fact, that, in the ancient system of theology derived to the Asiatics from their venerable ancestors, the patriarchs, there were certain grand and fundamental truths, which, in the degrading systems of idolatrous worship that succeeded, were still retained, and never could be wholly obliterated from them, even amidst the profoundest darkness of Paganism. The similitude, then, in those points, is to be accounted for by a reference to the pure primæval principles which formed the creed of those patriarchs, and on which, corrupted or misunderstood, all the wild doctrines and superstitious practices of the Mithriacs and the Samanæans were founded.

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* Ruins, p. 202.

† Ibid. p. 209.

THE MORAL AND ASTRONOMICAL ALLUSION OF THE BUDDHA-AVATAR.

The general moral tendency of the preceding Avatar, however rigidly severe the precept inculcated, and however overcharged the picture exhibited in it, will be readily acknowledged. A greater Deity than the fabulous Veeshnu of India has declared, that *a pure and contrite heart is to him the most acceptable sacrifice;* and in those sacred oracles, where truth beams forth unobscured by mythology, has denounced his vengeance against that infatuated race who substituted hecatombs of slain animals for acts of piety, and who shed torrents of bestial blood, while the tear of genuine sorrow never streamed from the moistened eye, nor the sigh of agonizing remorse ever heaved the repentant bosom. The extravagant doctrine of the Metempsychosis, incorporated with the purer principles of genuine Buddhism, and the unbounded excess to which they were carried by some of its votaries, only serve to display to us additional proofs of the folly and imbecility of human nature, even in those who arrogate to themselves the distinguished title of *philosophers*, without the aid of DIVINE REVELATION to direct and restrain it.

The Avatar of Buddha has, not less than the others, a connection with the astronomy of the Brahmins; for, according to their *Sabian* system of superstition, he is the planet Mercury; being considered, in the wild details that relate the sidereal genealogy of their gods, as the son of CHANDRA, the Moon, a male deity in India, by his favourite wife ROHINI, the bright star in the Bull, the Arabian AIN-AL-THAUR and ALDEBARAN of our sphere. From this circumstance of Chandra being his immediate progenitor, his descendants in India are called *Chandra-Bans*, or Children of the Moon, which we have seen is their second great dynasty, the first being called *Surya-Bans*, from their solar descent, like the Heliadæ of Greece. I have already hinted, that, by the marriage of two celestial bodies, the ancients meant no more than their accidental conjunction; and that as the nativity of great personages in India is constantly cast by the attendant seers, the sum of the allegory may imply that Buddha was born when the moon was in conjunction with Mercury in the sign Taurus, or was passing through the stars which form the fourth *lunar mansion*, denominated in India Rohini. Mercury is numbered in India among the beneficent planets. The antiquity of this birth, or conjunction, or transit, or by whatever name the reader may choose to denominate it, we have already seen is fixed by the circumstance of Buddha's having married ILA, the daughter of ILUS, *who was saved in the ark*, plainly Noah, and marks the real antiquity of those kings of the lunar dynasty who were not wholly imaginary.

The Avatar of Buddha is the last that has appeared. It has already been observed, that the Indian Yugs are very regularly and artificially disposed; the human stature, together with human life and human virtue, becoming less and less in a kind of *geometrical* progression from a hundred thousand years to one hundred years, the brief period of man's existence in the Cali age. In the same manner the number of Avatars in each Yug decreases *arithmetically* from four, and consequently the termination of Buddha's terrestrial residence concludes the third age, himself and Creeshna being the only Avatars that become incarnate in the DWAPAR-YUG.* That Yug consists, according to Brahminical computation, of one million six hundred thousand years; and it is scarcely necessary again to state, that all the YUGS are merely astronomical periods, founded on the basis of the precession of equinoxes of fifty-four seconds, more or less times repeated, according to the number of Avatars in each Yug.

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* This is undoubtedly the fact, and yet so strangely inconsistent are the Brahmins, that books of high authority, cited as the reader has seen above, and cited too by the respectable person who originally made the assertion, expressly place the birth of Buddha in the Cali-Yug. I mention this as one of those numerous perplexing circumstances which constantly rise to obstruct the progress of any man who would write an intelligible history of India from native accounts, and which has made my task at times difficult and disgusting in the extreme.

END OF THE DWAPAR-YUG, OR THIRD INDIAN PERIOD.

THE CALCI, OR TENTH, AVATAR OF INDIA.

The Calci, or final, Avatar exhibits to us Veeshnu incarnate in the form of an armed warrior, for the purpose of dissolving the universe. The duration of the Cali period, or Yug, in which this is the only incarnation, has already been stated to be 432,000 years, during which scarcely any vestiges of justice or piety will remain among mankind, who, degraded equally in stature as intellectual vigour, are considered at the end of that period as ripe for the scythe that is doomed to mow them down. The Calci, it is recorded, will be incarnate in the house of the Brahmin BISHENJUN, the apparent offspring of that sage by his wife AWEJSIRDENEE*, and will be born in the city of Sambal, towards the close of the Cali, in the month of VAISACH, the Scorpion. In one hand he is represented as bearing aloft a "cimeter, blazing like a comet†," to destroy all the impure, who then shall inhabit the earth; and, in the other, he displays a circular ornament, or RING, the emblem of cycles perpetually revolving, and of which the existing one, including the ten grand Avatars above-recorded, is on the point of being finally terminated. The Calci hero appears leading a *white horse*, richly caparisoned, adorned with jewels, and furnished with *wings*, possibly to mark the rapid flight of time. The horse is represented standing not on terrestrial, but ætherial, ground, on three feet only, holding up, without intermission, the right foreleg, with which, say the Brahmins, when he stamps with fury upon the earth, the present period shall close, and the dissolution of nature take place.

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* Ayeen Akbery, vol. iii. p. 241.

† See the Ode of Jayadeva on the Avatars of Veeshnu, at the commencement of vol. ii.

THE ASTRONOMICAL AND MORAL ALLUSION OF THE CALCI-AVATAR.

The above fanciful relation and decorative imagery is evidently in great part, for, I am far from thinking it *wholly*, the result of the astronomical calculations of the ancients, and the general persuasion that prevailed throughout the philosophical schools of Asia, concerning the *Αποκαταϛασις*, or final *restitution* of all things after a certain stated period; viz. when the fixed stars had completed their long revolution eastward. This period is asserted by modern astronomy to be *twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty* years, and is well known to arise from the multiplication of *three hundred and sixty* into *seventy-two*, being the number of years in which a fixed star appears to move through a degree of a great circle. The ancient Hindoo astronomers believed it to be completed in twenty-four thousand years; while the philosophers of the Egyptian and Greek schools thought it would not be accomplished under the protracted period of *thirty-six thousand* years; conceiving the precession of the equinox to be after the rate of one degree in one hundred years, and, consequently, if $1^{\circ} : 100^{y} :: 360^{\circ} : 36{,}000^{y}$. That the more early race of Indian astronomers were also of the same opinion with those of Egypt and Greece, can scarcely admit of a doubt, when it is considered, that, according to the assertion of the great astronomer, Mr. Reuben Burrow*, given in the former volume, the life of Brahma himself consists of 36,000 of *his days* (cycles); that is, in fact, the presumed period of the long revolution of the heavenly bodies, the ANNUS MAGNUS of antiquity. This imagined RESTI-

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* See vol. i. p. 302, where the reasons, which induced the Brahmins to fix on the exact period of 432,000 years for the duration of the Cali age, are ably unfolded and learnedly discussed. That Essay is extremely valuable, having been transmitted to me from India, in manuscript, by a friend of Mr. Burrow, and was never before published.

TUTION, which was in its origin a thing purely *astronomical*, they applied *morally* to terrestrial affairs, and bounded, by that sum of years, as well the existence of the present race of human beings as of the sphere which they inhabit. That the tremendous catastrophe in question is fated, according to the Brahmins, to take place in VAISACH, or *Scorpio*, is another circumstance highly deserving notice; since it tends still farther to demonstrate the striking co-incidence of their system with that of the Egyptians, who assigned to the *destroying Typhon* that malignant asterism; under whose envenomed rage Nature was represented as convulsed, and the beneficent Osiris as vanquished. The *fiery* breath of the Scorpion consumed Egypt, and the Hindoo YUGS terminate in a general conflagration. The destructive weapon with which CALCI is armed, "*the cimeter blazing like a* COMET," which are the words of Jayadeva, have a decided reference to that mode of destruction; and the white horse, ever sacred to the Sun through all antiquity, which is to bear that deathful conqueror down to the earth, seems to imply that the solar orb was to be instrumental in its destruction. Of all the conjectured means of effecting that dissolution, Whiston's idea of a COMET thus commissioned seems the most probable; and, in fact, in a Sastra cited by me in the preceding volume, it is expressly said, that, at the end of time, "Seeva, with the ten spirits of dissolution, shall roll a COMET under the moon, which shall involve all things in fire, and reduce the world to ashes*." M. Sonnerat, also, after describing this Avatar from the sources of information which he obtained in India, informs us, that, "on the approach of Calci, the sun and moon shall be darkened; the earth tremble, and the stars fall from the firmament: that then the serpent ANANTA, (or *infinity*, on which Veeshnu reposes,) from his thousand mouths, shall vomit forth

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* See vol. i. p. 58.

FLAMES, which shall consume the spheres and all living creatures*." After this dissolution of the mundane system, the Hindoos, not less than the Platonists of old, believe that a new world will spring up, like a phœnix, out of the ashes of the former, and a new Satya commence its vast career.

To return to mythology: by the *white* colour of the horse in the Calci-Avatar, its brilliancy and purity may be typified. Its expanded wings, and its exalted station, which is properly on *celestial* ground, naturally remind us of the Pegasus, which the Greeks elevated to the *sphere*, and the flying warriors, Perseus and Bellerophon; nor ought the stamping of the foot of Pegasus, which, according to some of their mythologists, produced the celebrated fountain Hippocrene, or Parnassus, to be entirely forgotten. These concurring circumstances evince some connection, in very remote æras, between the Indians and Greeks, probably by the way of Egypt; and the fact of that connection is placed beyond all dispute, by the sequel of the Greek fable relative to Perseus and Andromeda being so accurately detailed by the Indian astronomers under the resembling appellations of PARASICA and ANTARMEDA, as given in the former volume†; of which the reader will be pleased to recollect, that one principal object was to shew the origin of the Egyptian and Greek legends in India. But it is high time that we should quit these fablers for the consideration of the more important objects connected with the express intention of the tenth Avatar, which was to designate the *end of time and the dissolution of nature.*

Although, as I have before observed, the romantic notion entertained by the ancients of the destruction of the world, when a complete zodiacal revolution shall have been effected, was *in great part* the result of astronomical calculation, it was not *wholly* so. Over all the Higher Asia there seems to have been diffused an immemorial tradition relative to a second grand convulsion of nature, and a final dissolution of the earth by the terrible agency of FIRE, as the first was by that of WATER. The two pillars which are *recorded* by Josephus (whether the asserted fact of their existence in his day, or even after the deluge, be true or not, is of no material consequence) to have been erected by Seth before the flood, and to have been inscribed with the prediction to this purpose of our grand parent, to whom it might have been revealed by the Deity himself, may be adduced as the first proof of such a tradition; and the evidence is so material that I consider myself bound to insert it at length: "The sons of Seth," says this historian, "were the inventors of that peculiar sort of wisdom which relates to the *heavenly bodies* and their *order*. That their inventions might not be lost before they were sufficiently known, upon *Adam's prediction that the world was to be destroyed at one time by a deluge of water, and at another time by the violence of fire*, they made two pillars, the one of *brick*, the other of *stone*: they inscribed their discoveries on them both, that in case the pillar of brick should be destroyed by the flood, the pillar of stone might remain, and exhibit those discoveries to mankind, and also inform them that there was another pillar of brick erected by them. Now this remains in the land of Seriad to this day*."

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* Sonnerat's Voyages, vol. i. p. 37, Calcutta, octavo edit.

† See vol. i. p. 356.

I must again beg permission to observe, that neither the *existence* of the pillars nor the *place* of their erection is of any consequence to the general argument: the *record* of the prediction by Josephus is sufficient for my purpose, because it supposes the belief of it general among the ancient HEBREWS. The venerable book of Enoch, expressly alluded to by St. Jude, confirms this traditionary dogma; and, if that production should appear to some of my readers of little authority, they will find in St. Peter's sublime account of the *final conflagration*, (2 Peter, iii. 9,) an incontrovertible proof, that, among the Jews of his day, the predicted catastrophe by fire was still believed.

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* Vide Josephi Antiq. Judaic. lib. i. cap. 2, sect. 3.

From the Hebrew patriarchs the doctrine was, in all probability, derived to the Egyptian priests, who made it known to Plato and the other Greeks, who studied philosophy in the colleges of the Thebais. No words, indeed, can be more express on this subject than those of Plato in the Timæus, where he introduces his Egyptian priest announcing this fatal εκπυρωσις, or purification of all things by fire; declaring to them that the Greek fable of Phaëton's *burning the world should one day be verified**. Zoroaster and Pythagoras, who might have learned this doctrine from the Jews themselves, also affirmed that the dissolution of the world should be by fire. Seneca, a philosopher of the Stoic school, declares, *Ignis exitus mundi est*†; and Ovid, from the same sources, is still more particular in the following well-known lines:

> Esse quoque in FATIS reminiscitur affore tempus,
> Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaque regia cœli
> ARDEAT.
>
> Metam. lib. i. fab. 7.

Upon traditions similar to these, and drawn doubtless from the same primæval fountains, have the Indians formed their final Avatar. Their astronomical speculations gave strength and probability to the conception thus formed; but the image by which they represented their ideas is so complex, and, at the same time, so much in unison with that presented to the Christian world, in immediate reference to the same subject, that it is impossible not to suspect that the Hindoos, by the same channel through which they interpolated the life of their favourite Creeshna, have, in addition, borrowed a part of the decorative symbols of this Avatar from the Apocalypse, of which, as we learn from Fabricius, there was also a spurious copy early dispersed throughout the East. In that sacred record we read as follows: *And I saw, and behold* A WHITE HORSE; *and he that sate on him had a bow,* (i. e. was armed,) *and a* CROWN *was given unto him, and he went forth conquering and to conquer*[*]. Another mighty angel is, in a subsequent chapter, represented as *descending from heaven;* an Avatar, however, much more magnificently arrayed than any of those of India, for, he was *clothed with a cloud, with a rainbow upon his head, his face like the sun, and his feet like pillars of fire;* this same angel, *standing with his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot upon the earth, lifted up his hand to heaven, and sware by Him that liveth for ever and ever, that there should be* TIME *no longer*[†].

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* Timæus, p. 22.

† Quæst. Natural. cap. iii. sect. 13.

There existed an ancient sect of Arabian philosophers, according to Dr. Pocock, who conceived that the period of the existence of the present mundane system consisted of 36,425 years, when every thing living was doomed to perish, but afterwards to be renovated; and thus successively for ever. This renovation of nature and of man they termed their *resurrection from the dead,* and, he adds, they believed in ıthaother. "Statuunt—post spatium annorum 36,425 decursum omnes animantium species interire, ac deinde renovari, natura universi in singulis terræ climatibus bina uniuscujusque speciei paria de novo producente: atque ita seculum seculo continuo succedere, *nec aliam dari resurrectionem*[‡]."

Mr. Volney, ever forward to aid the cause of infidelity, like those Arabian philosophers, denies also the *resurrection,* and, as he had before insisted, that by the awful event of the death of Christ, was merely meant the termination of the career of the star of day at the *winter solstice;* so, by his resurrection, nothing more was denoted than the same star again rising in the heavens, like Osiris from the tomb in which he had been buried by Typhon, the Genius of Evil and Leader of the brumal Signs*. Here again the truth of history and the evidence of the cloud of witnesses who attested that momentous fact, and many of whom, among the five hundred attestators in Galilee, sealed their testimony with their blood, are, with the grossest outrage to decency, set aside to establish the nefarious hypothesis that would rend from man his birth-right, IMMORTALITY. A philosopher, far more illustrious than any bred in the new school of France, the truly virtuous GILBERT WEST, could have taught this author a very different lesson, and to him I must refer him together with all those of his sceptical stamp. The Indians, of whose extravagant astronomical vagaries he and his confederates are so immoderately fond, could also have informed them otherwise; for undoubtedly the doctrine, so ancient and generally diffused among them, of the soul's *μετεμψυχωσις*, or transmigration, of its *μετεμσωματωσις*, or migration from body to body, and its *παλιγγενησια*, or regeneration, is only a corruption, though a dreadful one, of traditional dogmas concerning its immortality, and that resurrection from the grave, which the pious Job so early and so [illegible]mnly announced to the whole Pagan world.

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[*] Rev. vi. 2.

[†] Rev. x. 6.

[‡] See Pocock's Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 145.

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* This author insists, with equal ignorance and presumption, that the word "*resurgere*, to rise a second time," can by no means be applied to signify *a restoration to life*, but can only have an astronomical allusion to the sun and peculiar stars ascending above the circle of the horizon. But in the precipitancy of his attack, he forgets the moral relation which the term bears to man's original production from dust, and his resuscitation, through the merits of his Saviour, from the same cold earthy bed.

END OF THE CALI-YUG, OR FOURTH INDIAN PERIOD, AND OF THE HISTORY OF THE TEN AVATARS.

SUCH are the AVATARS OF INDIA, which the reader is, I trust, by this time, sufficiently convinced are ingenious moral allegories, with a great portion of *metaphysics* and *astronomy* couched under them, and throughout deeply interwoven with the traditional history of the first ages of the world; when the Cuthite ancestors of the Indian nation swayed its imperial sceptre. Of those ages I do not even pretend to give any other history; nor, in my opinion, will any more satisfactory history of them ever be given to the public, at least till a correct version of the Mahabbarat shall be edited in Europe, and even then, if a judgement may be formed from the native accounts presented to the reader in the preceding pages, he will have to wander after historic truth in the devious labyrinth of a complicated mythology.

The MAHABBARAT, towards the commencement, informs us, that the first dynasty of India, or that of the SUN, reigned uninterruptedly on its throne during the space of four hundred years; and the second, or that of the MOON, during the more extended period of seven hundred years. This statement approaches nearly to the truth, and is in part confirmed by Sir William Jones, where he tells us that the posterity of Buddha are divided into two great branches, meaning the SOLAR and LUNAR dynasties, and that the lineal male descendants in both those families are supposed to have reigned in the cities of *Oude* and *Vitora*, respectively, till the thousandth year of the present, or Cali, age. Again we have been informed, from the same authority, that the son of Jarasandha instituted a new dynasty of princes in Magadha, or Bahar, the last of which was the celebrated Rajah NANDA, recorded to have been murdered by a passionate and vindictive Brahmin, of the name of Chanacya. Chanacya, by his power and influence, raised to the throne a man of the Maurya race, named Chandragupta, the undoubted Sandrocottus of the Greeks, who thus, with very little deviation from the Sanscreet orthography, have written the name of that sovereign. This important event, the reader will observe, is fixed by Sir William, to have taken place in the year 1502 before Christ, but the true date of which he will hereafter perceive, by a more recent statement of the same author, to be nearly ~~twelve~~ hundred years later; an anachronism from which no blame whatever can be attached to Sir William, who only states the absurd details of the Brahmins, but which shakes to pieces the laboured fabric of their exaggerated chronology, and gives to the whole the appearance of an Arabian tale. To the ten kings who formed the Maurya dynasty, on the throne of Magadha, succeeded an equal number of the Sunga line; to these, four of the Canna race; and, to them, twenty-one sovereigns of the Andhra family, the line ending in Chandrabija, when it became extinct, and the Magadha throne seems to have been subverted. Empire then travelled southward, and we find seven dynasties established in the Deccan, of which seventy-six princes are recorded to have reigned one thousand three hundred and ninety-nine years, but their names alone, and not their history, are there inserted. With these seven more recent dynasties, however, we have no immediate concern, as they flourished posterior to the Christian æra. On the whole, we may justly conclude the history of the Avatars and of these most early dynasties in the words of our author, who, after affirming that the most authentic system of Hindoo chronology, which he had been able to procure, terminated with CHANDRABIJA, adds, "Should any farther information be attainable, we shall, perhaps, in due time attain it, either from books or inscriptions in the Sanscreet language; but, from the materials with which we are at present supplied, we may establish as indubitable the two following propositions; that the three first Yugs, or ages, of the Hindoos are chiefly mythological, whether their mythology was founded on the dark enigmas of their astronomers, or on the heroic fictions of their poets; and that the fourth, or historical, age cannot be carried farther back than *about two thousand years before Christ*[*]."

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[*] Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 150.

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CLASSICAL HISTORY

OF

HINDOSTAN

RESUMED.

HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

BOOK V.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE EARLIEST TARTAR, PERSIAN, AND GRECIAN, INVASIONS OF HINDOSTAN.

CHAPTER I.

Sketch of the original Form of Government of India under its ancient Maharajahs, or great Rajahs.—Causes assigned of the frequent and successful Invasion of India by their Tartar and Persian Neighbours.—An Account, from Persian Authorities, of the first Settlement of the Provinces directly North of India, called by them the Empire of TURAN, *and by the Arabians* MAVER-AL-NAHAR, *or Transoxana, with an Account of the earliest Irruptions into India of their Inhabitants, known generally under the Name of* ORIENTAL TARTARS.

FROM the regions of doubt and the mazes of mythology we return, with renewed pleasure, in the present book, to explore the field of classical history; a field, however, in these early ages, not wholly unadorned with those gaudy but delusive flowers which spring up in such wild luxuriance on Indian ground. We are now to enter upon the detail of events comparatively modern, to those already related, and of which the Greeks were, in many instances, at once the eye-witnesses and historians. From all the information we are able to collect concerning India, in the Greek writers, we are led to conclude that Darius Hystaspes opened the way to the first Persian invasion of India, by sending Scylax, of Caryandria, to explore the river Indus and the adjoining coast. This, however, is far from being the fact; for, the Oriental writers, scanty as their accounts are that have descended to us, represent India and Persia as engaged, almost from the foundation of their respective empires, in fierce and sanguinary contests, arising principally from causes which shall presently be explained.

It is a circumstance extremely unfortunate, that the Greeks, in their supreme contempt of foreign literature and history, when they conquered Persia, neglected to procure and treasure up, as such venerable documents merited, the ancient annals of that country, and the neighbouring regions of Asia under the control of its sovereigns. By the frantic deed of firing Persepolis, and similar devastations, who can say what invaluable materials for a complete history of Asia, in its most early periods, may not have been destroyed? The history of ancient India, in particular, could not fail of being greatly illustrated by those annals; for, amidst the perpetual and obstinate wars in which the two nations seem to have been, in the remotest periods, embroiled, founded probably on the notion intimated above in the account of Semiramis, that the Indians were originally emigrated Iranians, if the artful policy of the Brahmins operated towards concealing the disgrace of their country, by refraining from publicly recording the defeats of their kings, doubtless the arrogance and vanity of the conquerors must have induced them to blazon their triumphs on the plains of India. Concerning the events transacted in Persia during the present period of our history, nearly all the classical information that has descended to us has been derived from two sources, Herodotus, and Ctesias in Diodorus Siculus, once considered of very disputable authority, but whom minute investigation and recent discoveries have demonstrated, as far back as they go, to be very deserving, if not of implicit confidence, at least of a very considerable degree of credit. The former of these historians flourished in the fifth century before Christ, is entitled by Cicero the Father of History, a title of which the experience of twenty-two centuries has fully confirmed the justice, and wrote, in the Ionic dialect, the history of the Persian wars from Cyrus to Xerxes, in whose reign he flourished. The latter, whose accounts have been adopted by Diodorus Siculus, was a native of Cnidos, by profession a physician, and in that character resided seventeen years at the court of Artaxerxes the Second, or *Mnemon*, as the Greeks called him, in the succeeding century. He professes to have taken his accounts, and, from the striking similarity of many parts of his narration to the Indian historic details, inserted by Mr. Wilford, from the Puranas, in the third volume of Asiatic Researches, in all probability he *did* take them, *ἐκ τῶν βασιλικων διφθερῶν*[*], *from the royal records*. The principal objection urged against these historians is the romantic nature of many of the facts recorded by them, and the great mixture of Eastern legends and fables with what is asserted for historic truth. These, however, are in the true spirit of all Asiatic history, and confirm, rather than invalidate, their pretensions to be genuine abstracts of Oriental annals, which are all strongly tinctured with the marvellous. There is, indeed, another celebrated Greek writer, who flourished about the same period, and who has treated of the affairs of the Persians, to whom no such objection can be made; but it will be remembered, that the Cyropædia of Xenophon is not properly an historical, but a political and moral, treatise, exhibiting the picture of a great prince and commander, and into which the military exploits of Cyrus, with whatever truth recorded, are introduced to exemplify his own maxims rather than to afford a regular historical detail of Persian events; while his celebrated account of the *retreat of the ten thousand* from the field, in which the younger Cyrus lost his life, is an eulogium on Greek, not Persian, skill and valour, and principally relates to his own personal conduct on that memorable occasion. Xenophon, in no part of his narration, touches on the affairs of India; he only informs us that Cyrus made the Indus *the eastern boundary of his empire*[*].

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[*] Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 146.

The very mention of this circumstance, however, by Xenophon, is highly deserving of our attention, because even the native histories of India, if the Mahabbarat may be relied on, speak of India long before the time of Cyrus, as subject to the control of the monarchs of Iran; in truth, as a conquered country, paying tribute, and the Panjab, or the country watered by the five branches of the Indus, as actually annexed to the Persian territory, and its most eastern river as its boundary. Now it is not very probable, if such were the case, that the greatest of the Persian monarchs, and, according to classical writers, the first of them, (though that is not consistent with the Iranian histories, which make him only the third sovereign of the second, or Caianian, dynasty, the first being that of Pishdad, of which Caiumaras was the head,) that the great Khosru, whose general was the celebrated Rostam, or Hercules of the East, should, after all his conquests in Asia, sit down contented with the loss of India, the brightest jewel in the crown of his ancestors, and make the Indus the eastern boundary of his empire. But, farther, it is even said, in the same authentic register, that Khosru, by his general Rostam, actually carried on a war of long continuance in India, and, dethroning its sovereign, subdued the whole country, and placed a successor in his stead, who became the head of a new dynasty. It is, therefore, worthy of inquiry by what means so great, so brave, and populous a nation, as the ancient Indian sare, by both classical and Sanscreet writers, allowed to have been, so early became dependant on the Persian crown, and tributary to its sovereigns; and the review, which I am about to take, will exhibit to us a picture of the Indian empire as it flourished about a thousand years before the Christian æra, which is nearly as high as any profane records, not professedly mythological, can carry us.

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[*] Xenophon Cyropæd. lib. viii. p. 233.

The universal diffusion of the Brahmin religion and sciences over the vast continent of India, would lead us, without the confirming voice of history, to suspect that at some remote period there subsisted, in that region of Asia, an empire as widely diffused, under the guidance of one puissant sovereign. Under Bali, if that name imply not rather a dynasty of princes than an individual monarch, we have, in fact, seen that such an empire did flourish. Under Rama, the next in succession, as an Avatar and king, whose capital was Oudhe, in Bahar, there is every appearance of its having remained unbroken. Under Bharat, also, a prince of such extensive power, that his name was conferred on the whole region, there is no reason to suppose that any division of it had taken place. Judishter is generally acknowledged to have been the sovereign of all India; his capital, as we have seen, Hastanapoor, or Delhi. If the preceding assertion be true in regard to these and a few others of the earliest monarchs of Hindostan, and certain of the most renowned among the later, it does not hold good of those of her sovereigns, who reigned in more recent æras, till the period of their absolute subjection to the Mohammedans. Their native princes, with the title of universal monarchs, seem to have been invested only with a delegated power, voluntarily conferred by a numerous and powerful band of subordinate sovereigns. The very title of MAHARAJAH, or *Rajah of Rajahs,* which the nominal head of that vast empire anciently bore, evidently implies no more than a kind of feudal jurisdiction over chieftains, possessing absolute dominion in their own territories, but contributing a stipulated sum and force to support the grandeur of the imperial throne, and on great national occasions, ranging themselves, with succours proportionate to the extent and population of their respective domains, under the banners of one supreme chief. Nature herself, in fact, seems to have placed, in this respect, a barrier to human pride; forbidding Hindostan, except in the limited way just intimated, to continue long under the control of one overgrown monarch. To bound the ambition of princes, over the surface of the country she drew those vast lines which so peculiarly distinguish that quarter of the globe; those lofty mountains, those deep and rapid rivers, those extensive lakes, those vast deserts of sand and impassable forests, which intersect India. Again, whatever may be boasted by the Indian historians concerning themselves, and the chain of succession remaining for such an extended period of years unbroken, in its two first and greatest dynasties of the *sun and moon,* their accounts are rendered exceedingly suspicious, not only by what we know of the perpetual proneness in mankind to abuse extensive power, but by the corruptions necessarily attending the education of Eastern princes, by the number of royal children yearly produced in the seraglios, and by the spirit of intrigue that in a particular manner constantly agitates the Asiatic courts, amidst so many rivals as the first order of nobility affords for wealth, power, and renown.

Divided by the Oriental geographers into two grand portions, AL SIND, or the tract lying on the Indus, and AL HIND, or the territory stretching on both sides the Ganges, Hindostan, or Superior India, seems, from time immemorial, amidst innumerable sovereignties of inferior degree, to have cherished, on its two great rivers, two mighty kingdoms, while the Peninsula, till subdued by Akber and Aureng-Zebe, exhibited a third, formed exactly on the same feudal principles. Alexander, on his invasion of the Panjab, experienced the truth of this statement, in the formidable opposition which he met with from Porus; and the report of the ambassadors of Seleucus, at Pallibothra, fully confirms it with respect to the regions adjoining the Ganges. The confederated rajahs, who so long bade defiance to the Mohammedan armies in the Deccan, leave in our minds no doubt of this fact in regard to the Peninsula. The most powerful, because the most remote from foreign invasion, of these kingdoms, seems to have been that on the Ganges, of which Oude, Pallibothra, Canouge, and Gour, were the successive capitals. When the early Mohammedan sultans of the Gaznavide dynasty conquered the Superior India, they politically made Delhi, founded on the ruins of the ancient Hastanapoor, which seems to have been the first imperial city of Hindostan, and stands on the river Jumna that disembogues its water into the Ganges, their principal residence, because it was more central, and placed them nearer their territories on the west of the Indus, which extended even to the capital of their hereditary domain. Afterwards even Lahore and Cabul became the successive abode of those sovereigns, who erected in them magnificent palaces; while the victories of Akber, in the Deccan, gave being to the superb palace and splendid decorations of Agra. The puissant sovereign of the empire on the Ganges, an empire which comprehended Delhi and the Dooab, and extended to the eastern limits of the Panjab, seems to have been for many ages acknowledged Lord Paramount of India; and accordingly we have seen, that, when Judishter celebrated the great festival of the Raisoo, to the capital of that empire all the inferior rajahs flocked, and at a very late period of its glory, an instance related in the

Introductory Work occurs of the pre-eminent grandeur of the Canouge sovereigns, in the following terms:

Sir William Jones, speaking of this part of India, says;, "The ancient system of government, which prevailed in this country, seems to have been perfectly feudal: all the territories were governed by rais, or rajahs, who held their lands of a supreme lord, called Balhara; the seat of whose residence was the city of Canouge, now in ruins*." The Ayeen Akbery† exhibits a curious proof of this feudal dependance of the subordinate rajahs, and the necessity of their paying homage in person, at stated periods, to the supreme Balhara; for, at a great festival, or sacrifice, called RAISOO, at which all the rajahs of Hindostan were obliged to attend, and of which the meanest offices, "even to the duties of the scullery," were performed by rajahs; Pithowra, the rajah of Delhi, from contempt of the sovereign, not attending, "that the festival might not be incomplete," an effigy in gold of the absent rajah was formed, and by way of retorted contempt assigned the ignoble office of porter of the gate. The rashness of Pithowra, in the end, cost him his crown and his life‡.

The profound policy of an institution, like this, must be evident to the reader, since it at once cherished the bond of general union, and preserved in a necessary state of subordination the detached members of a widely extended empire. The strength of this bond, and the degree of this subordination, without doubt, greatly varied, according to the degree of energy and wisdom possessed by the supreme head. If he were valiant and enterprising, the whole civil and military power acted as the counsel and army of one sovereign; if cowardly and effeminate, the bond became relaxed in proportion, and the inferior dependent states insulted the throne they were intended to protect and adorn. In truth, the FEUDAL SYSTEM seems to have originated in the East, perhaps first in the wide plains of India; and, by the northern hordes that inundated Europe, and overwhelmed the Roman empire, towards the close of the fourth century, it was imported into Europe; whose system of laws and government gradually experienced, from that introduction, a considerable change. By the same hardy race, the descendants of the Tartar tribes that tenanted the north of Asia, were introduced ARMORIAL BEARINGS, which originally were nothing more than the hieroglyphic symbols, mostly of a religious allusion, that distinguished the banners of the potentates of Asia: for instance, in India, Veeshnu had the eagle, Seeva the bull, Rama the falcon, engraved on their banners; animals respectively sacred to them in their system of mythology. The ancient standard of the Tartars displayed the sun rising behind a recumbent lion; the eagle of the sun was engraved on that of Persia, whose inhabitants worshipped that orb; and it will be remembered that the Hebrew tribes had also their sacred symbolic devices, descriptive of their office, character, or situation.

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* Description of Asia, p. 30.

† See Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 120.

‡ See the Introductory Work, Indian Antiquities, vol. i. p. 193.

Had the Indians continued thus united, according to the original intention of their legislator, they would probably have remained, if not unmolested, at least unconquered, by that swarm of foreign, particularly Persian and Tartar, invaders, which harassed, in every æra, their devoted country. But the great distance of many of the provinces governed by those subordinate princes, from the capital of the reigning Maharajah, added to the amazing strength of those lofty fortresses that abound in every region of India, some utterly inaccessible to an enemy, and others impregnable by any force that could be brought against them in those days, were a perpetual temptation to the feudal sovereigns of those provinces to violate the grand national compact, to withhold the stipulated tribute, and engage in acts of rebellion against the supreme constituted authority.

The same species of dark and criminal policy, which, in the present century, induced Nizam-al-Muluck, the self-constituted sovereign of Deccan, to invite Nadir Shah from Persia to invade the Superior India, and which ultimately proved the *destruction* of an empire which he meant only to convulse, in order to escape punishment amidst that convulsion, seems to have been the principal cause of the Tartar and Persian chiefs originally gaining any permanent footing on the Indian shore. Abounding in every species of production that could allure the avarice or gratify the luxury of Eastern despots; with treasure in gold and jewels to pay the vast armies which their fears and their cruelty compelled them to maintain; with the richest manufactures to ornament the body, and with the choicest fruits, odours, and spices, with which to indulge, even to satiety, the delighted senses; that envied country needed not the invitation of the domestic traitor to draw down upon its fruitful territories the horrors and devastation inseparable from invasion. That, however, was precisely the case with respect to the first interference of foreigners with their internal government; for, we are expressly informed by their own historians, that it was principally owing to civil dissensions springing up among themselves, that the aid of Persia was first demanded in the time of Feredun, sixth sovereign of the Pishdadian dynasty, who naturally took advantage of those distractions to bend India, at least in *tributary* obedience, to the power of Persia; but the Persian invasions of India will be the particular subject of the succeeding chapter.

The old tradition, also, frequently intimated above, that the Indians were originally emigrated Iranians, undoubtedly had its effect in urging on their foes, both on the northern and western frontiers, to attempt their subjugation; for, it must here be observed, that, though the monarchs of IRAN and TÛRAN were perpetually engaged in hostilities, they were descended from the same primordial stock, and fought therefore with the embittered animosity of *relations* engaged in contest. Both, however, seem to have eagerly embraced every possible opportunity of oppressing the unoffending race to the south of the snowy mountains. This affinity, not generally known or attended to, added to an incorrect idea of the limits of the two countries just mentioned, has been the occasion of much confusion in the historical accounts of this period and of this part of Asia; since many of the conquests of the Transoxan monarchs in India have been assigned to the Persians, and the honour of some of the achievements of the Persians, with equal injustice, has been conferred on the sovereigns of Turan. The first recorded invasion of India, either by Persian or Indian historians, took place under Feredun, the sixth monarch of the first, or Pishdadian, dynasty, who, according to Sir William Jones, in his *Short History of Persia*, by which I shall principally guide myself in this survey of its ancient events, flourished about the year before Christ 750*, which, though many centuries later than the period generally fixed by the Asiatics for the reign of that prince, who was the son of the great Gemshid, the builder of Isthakar, or Persepolis, is very likely to be its true date. That monarch had three sons, among whom, from a determination formed, at an advanced period of life, to devote the remainder of it to studious retirement, he divided his vast empire. The name of the first was SALM, probably the Salmanassar of Scripture, to whom he allotted SYRIA; that of the second, TUR, to whom he assigned the country lying between the Gihun and Sihun, the ancient Oxus and Iaxartes, from him called TURAN; and that of the youngest, IRAGE, who received the largest and most beautiful portion, including Khorasan and other provinces in the heart of the empire, thenceforth denominated, after himself, IRAN. "This division of the Persian empire," says our author, "into Iran and Turan, has been a source of perpetual dissensions between the Persians and Tartars, as the latter have taken every opportunity of passing the Oxus, and laying waste the districts of Khorasan; they have even pushed their conquests so far, as to overturn the power of the califs, and afterwards to raise *a mighty empire on the banks of the Ganges**."

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* Short Hist. of Persia, p. 42.

Of the unceasing contests carried on between these jealous and warlike nations, it was impossible for so powerful a race as the Indians to be unconcerned spectators. To the aid of one or the other of the contending parties they were compelled to send a considerable army, and the vanquished enemy generally took the earliest opportunity of revenging the affront, by the plunder of India in its most vulnerable parts. Whosoever conquered, *they* were infallibly the ultimate victims. The Tartars were animated to the attack by the thirst of plunder only; the Persians, in addition to that incentive, were goaded on by their religious principles, for their zealous adoration of the solar orb and elementary fire, to which, in the early periods of their empire, no temples were erected, and indeed, in the latter, only perforated domes were elevated to protect the sacred flame from the violence of wind and rain; the same impetuous zeal, I say, which led them, in their invasion of Egypt, to burn the magnificent temples of the Thebais, in which the grossest rites of bestial idolatry flourished, urged them to carry on implacable war against the kindred superstitions of India, where the animals and objects, by which the attributes of Deity were symbolized, were mistaken for deities themselves, and filled the Sabian devotee with indignation and horror. The reader shall presently be presented with a direct proof of this, on the authority of the Persian historian

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* Short Hist. of Persia, p. 43.

Mirkhond, when we come to consider the exploits of Gushstap, the Darius Hystaspes of the Greeks, in India. Our present concern is with the Tartars, whose first king, Oghuz Khan, we left, in a former chapter, at a period so early as that of Hushang, the grandson of Cauimaras, over-running with a vast army both Iran and the north of India; and, in the same character of invader and plunderer, we are now to introduce its next most powerful monarch, AFRASIAB, a direct, and not very distant, descendant from Tur, fixed by Jones at very near the year 800 before Christ. Afrasiab was probably the Phraortes and Aphraortes, mentioned by classical writers of the ancient Median histories; for, he seems to have poured his victorious armies over all the Higher Asia; and Media, in that general subjugation of its monarchs, might have also fallen under his dominion. Afrasiab, determined to assert his presumed right to the crown of Iran, passed the Oxus with a formidable army, attacked and defeated Nuzar, or Nûdar, eighth prince of the Pishdadian dynasty, and, with the ferocity of a real Tartar, killing the vanquished monarch with his own hand, mounted his vacant throne, on which he reigned twelve years; but, at the end of that period, was expelled by the vigorous exertions of Zalzer, *the prince with golden hair*, governor of the province of Segestan, and father of the renowned Rostam*.

Afrasiab, thus expelled Iran by Zalzer, assisted by Rostam, his son, then but a youth, neglected no opportunity of harassing the Persian empire under the two weak princes that succeeded to its throne. At length Caicobad, the first monarch of the Caianian dynasty, so called from CAI, a word signifying the *great king*, and the Cyaxares of the Greeks, under their joint protection, assumed its sceptre and restored its ancient splendor. With Rostam, now mature in years and wisdom, for his general, he marched into the territories of the Turanian sovereign, and defeated him in a great battle, from which he with difficulty escaped alive. Rostam, for this and other services, was made governor of Zablestan, which, including both Cabul and Gazna, cities situated close on the borders of India, and intimately connected with it by commerce, rendered him necessarily attentive to what was transacting in that region, and eventually caused it to become the theatre of many of the exploits of that celebrated warrior. The death of Caicobad opened a new field for the hostile efforts of Afrasiab against Iran, and he accordingly once more commenced them with such signal success, as, in a battle fought in Mazenderan with Cai-Caus, his successor, to take that king prisoner; but this intelligence having reached the ears of Rostam, he immediately entered Turkestan with a vast army, wasted all before him with fire and sword, and swore that he would lay the whole realm in desolation, if Afrasiab hesitated immediately to liberate his imprisoned master. The outcries and distress of the terrified inhabitants, who were on the point of rising in general rebellion, had the effect of inducing Afrasiab to set the king of Persia at liberty, after he had solemnly promised to recal the terrible Rostam, on whom, in reward, Cai-Caus bestowed his own sister in marriage; and, that so great a genius in military affairs might not remain unemployed, he sent him, with armies proportionably powerful, to conquer Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and all Asia Minor, which he successfully accomplished. The Persian empire now approached to the zenith of its glory, and the mighty Shahinshah only wanted the addition of the empires of Turan and India to be the master of Asia. The same Rostam, if in this period of Persian history we are not hurried away by Oriental writers into the region of fable, under the succeeding reign accomplished that desired event also. That reign, however, was the reign of Cai-Khosru, or the great Cyrus; the reign of enterprize and of glory, when Wisdom planned and Valour fought. The occasion of Cai-Khosru's invasion of Turan, according to Mirkhond in D'Herbelot*, was the murder of his father Siavek, an appellation in which we can find no traces of the Cambyses of the Greeks, at the court of Afrasiab, where his newly married wife Franghiz was delivered of Cai-Khosru, after the death of that father. Franghiz was the daughter of Afrasiab, and from her Cyrus derived that hereditary claim upon the throne of Turan which he afterwards so successfully exerted. The rival armies were led by the two greatest monarchs that the East ever saw, assisted by the two greatest generals it ever produced. The name of the Tartar general was Peiran Visseh, (the same person mentioned above in the extract from Ferishta,) and Rostam still, at an advanced age, headed the Persians. In this contest Schangal, king of India, is expressly mentioned by Mirkhond as an ally of Afrasiab, and as fighting on his side, together with the *Kah-Khan* of Great Tartary, and this offensive step of Schangal was probably the cause of the consequent descent of Rostam upon India, which both the Indian and Tartar histories enumerate among the conquests of that great warrior. The long and sanguinary contests which had agitated the two branches of the family of Feridun, were to be terminated for a time, at least, if not for ever, by the approaching battle between the great surviving chiefs of it. The Tartar sovereign, owing to his vast superiority in numbers, was at first victorious, and drove the Persians back into their own province of Chorasan, where they fortified themselves in its mountainous districts, till powerful reinforcements arrived; but the result was the total discomfiture of Afrasiab and the destruction of half his army. Retiring, however, into his own dominion, he soon recruited the waste of battle, and rushed with new vigour on the forces of Khosru. But in this second engagement he was again defeated, and had the heavy additional calamity to lose the valiant and faithful Peiran Visseh, over whom Khosru himself shed a tear of regret. The Iranian monarch, determined to follow up his victory, and crush, by one decisive blow, all the remaining hopes of Afrasiab, pursued his march towards the capital of Turkestan, and at Kharesm, on the banks of the Oxus, obtained that memorable victory over Afrasiab, which proved the means of giving its present name to that province; for Khosru, finding he had gained the day, without any material loss on his side, is said exultingly to have exclaimed, "*Kharesmi-bud!* I have gotten an easy victory*!"

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* Short Hist. of Persia, p. 44, and D'Herbelot, under the article Naudhar.

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* See D'Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. under the article Siavek and Rostam.

The path now lay open to the metropolis of Turan, which Khosru took; and, following the fugitive monarch from province to province, at length overtook him, at the head of a small band of faithful troops, on the mountains of Azerbijian, where, being compelled to surrender, he was put to death by the order of the conqueror, who seems not to have thought his throne secure while Afrasiab lived. The death of this formidable rival left Khosru the undisputed sovereign of those two mighty empires. That he might more conveniently govern both, and be at hand with speed and energy to suppress any attempts at insurrection among the Turanian princes, he fixed his future residence at Balk, the capital of Chorasan, the ancient Bactriana; possibly he might have passed at this capital a portion of the summer months, which he is said, by Xenophon †, to have spent at Ecbatan, to avoid the intense heat of that climate. With the fortitude of a conqueror, in Khosru was united the wisdom of an able legislator, and he assiduously endeavoured, by mild laws and generous treatment, to reconcile the Turanians to their new sovereign, urging the folly of cherishing hostile sentiments against their Iranian neighbours, who sprang originally from the same stock, and were again become their fellow-subjects under the same king.

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* Short Hist. of Persia, p. 20.

† Cyropædia, lib. viii. p. 233.

The elegant conciseness with which Sir William Jones has, in a few lines, compressed the whole of the history of Cai-Khosru, induces me to insert it in this part of our account of the Turanian empire, and the rather, because it confirms the circumstance stated in D'Herbelot, that the ruling sovereign of India was engaged in it. "Cai-Khosru, whom the Persians consider as a demi-god, on ascending the throne, determined to revenge the death of his father, and to deliver his kingdom from the tyranny of Afrasiab. He, therefore, assembled all his forces, and gave battle to the usurper, who, on the other side, was supported by the kings of KHATAI and INDIA; but the valour of Cyrus and of his general Rostam prevailed against the united power of so many sovereigns, and Afrasiab lost his life on the mountains of Media. This war is celebrated in a noble poem by the illustrious Ferdusi, who may well be called the Homer of Persia*."

During the vigorous government of Khosru, it is probable that Turan continued under the immediate control of the Persian monarch; but, in the time of Lohorasp, his successor, we find a native prince of its own again on the throne, and bound, by a tributary obligation, to the king of Iran. Lohorasp at first appears to be, and in point of time and order of succession ought to be, the Cambyses of the Greeks, but their characters are so extremely different, the former being represented by the Orientals as a most virtuous and amiable prince, while the latter, according to the Greek writers, was a frantic and merciless tyrant, that the supposition is utterly repugnant to reason. Lohorasp had two sons, the eldest of whom was the famous Gushstap, the Hystaspes of the Greeks, who, prematurely aspiring to the throne, excited and headed a rebellion against his father; but, being defeated, took refuge at the court of the sovereign of Turan, married his daughter, and kindled in that region also the flames of rebellion. He was on the point of leading into Iran a powerful army intended to dethrone his father and lawful sovereign, when Lohorasp, sinking under the weight of years and infirmity, took the resolution to avert from his kingdom the horrors of civil war, by a voluntary resignation of his sceptre to this turbulent and ambitious prince. Gushstap, on receiving this intelligence, was penetrated with a proper sense of shame and sorrow for his unworthy conduct to so good a father, and now set forward, with a splendid and peaceable retinue, to implore his forgiveness, and ascend his abdicated throne. Their meeting was in the highest degree tender and affecting, and, a cordial reconciliation taking place, Lohorasp was prevailed upon to live as a guest in the palace where he once swayed the sceptre; assisting his son till his death with his advice both in civil and martial concerns. He died at a very advanced age at Balk, which he had made his constant residence, and thence obtained the additional name of BALKI, by which he is distinguished in the Persian annals. With the reign of Gushstap, or Darius Hystaspes, the Greek history of events relating to India properly commences; and, as no more irruptions of importance into India by the kings of Turan seem to have taken place for some centuries afterwards, we shall, for the present, quit that remote region of Asia for Persia, and review the series of events that gradually paved the way to the subjugation of INDIA, first, by the PERSIANS, and, afterwards by their conquerors, the MACEDONIANS.

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* Short Hist. of Persia, p. 48.

CHAPTER II.

Short Retrospect on the History of the ancient Sovereigns of MEDIA, *according both to Oriental and Classical History.—Its Union with the Persian Throne formed the Basis of the Grandeur of the latter Empire.—The vast Extent of* IRAN, *or* PERSIA, *in the Reign of the early Monarchs of the* CAIANIAN *Dynasty.—Its History, as connected with that of* INDIA, *resumed and continued down to the Period of the Invasion of the latter Country by* GUSHSTAP, *or Darius Hystaspes.*

THE empire of Media, if that name be justly derived from Madai, the son of Japhet, which is the most probable etymon, must have been one of the most ancient in the world, and co-æval with the first establishment of regular governments in Asia. This great branch of the Japhetic family probably for a long time flourished in undisturbed security, owing to the strong and almost inaccessible nature of the country which they inhabited. The lofty mountains of Azerbijian, the Hyrcanian cliffs of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales, noticed by Milton, which are stated in the Short History of Persia principally to have reference to SHIRVAN, the region of *lions*, and DAGHESTAN, the country of *rocks*, provinces widely extending along the inhospitable shores of the Caspian Sea, sheltered the first settlers from the desolating fury of ambition, and on this account there is strong reason for believing that the dynasties of most ancient Median sovereigns, inserted in Herodotus and in Diodorus, from Ctesias, and affirmed by those writers to have reigned during an immense period in the earliest ages, are not, as they are generally supposed to be, wholly imaginary. As the Median kings extended their power over the southern and eastern provinces, adjoining their hereditary domain, they seem to have excited alternately the envy and assaults of the Assyrians and Tartars, between whom they were situated; for, we have seen, at page 220 and those succeeding, that both the Assyrian Ninus and the Scythian Oghuz subjugated them to their control. Indeed, so fatal to that power proved the assaults of these formidable nations, that it was not till the entire subversion of the Assyrian monarchs, that the Median empire again reared its head under Dejoces, generally, but improperly, considered as its first monarch; nor till Cyaxares, by a bold and successful manœuvre, had expelled from his oppressed country the Tartar hordes, which had inundated the Southern Asia, that Media reached the height of its glory as an empire. Now there is a train of indisputable evidence to prove not only that Cyaxares was the Cai-Cobad of the Persians, but that the chief and the Scythians thus expelled were this very Afrasiab concerning whom so much has previously occurred, and those very Turanians, or Oriental Tartars, his subjects, who have been in this as well as in many other instances, confounded with the northern Scythians. It is remarkable that Cai-Khosru is represented by the Asiatic writers to have been the grandson of Cai-Cobad, in the very same manner as Cyrus is stated by the Greek historians to have been the grandson of Cyaxares. It does not appear, however, from Oriental writers, that this expulsion of the invading Tartars took place, in the manner described by the Greeks, after a banquet to which their chiefs had been invited and massacred by Cyaxares, but that they were compelled, by a vigorous and united exertion of the invaded nation, to repass the Oxus*. The subsequent conquest of Assyria, and destruction of Nineveh, its capital, by the same monarch, has been already noticed; a conquest which widely extended the power of the Medes over the region of the Higher Asia, and was secured not only by bonds of public alliance, but by the force of domestic ties with Nebuchadnezzar, the reigning sovereign of Babylon, who married the daughter of Cyaxares.

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* Short Hist. of Persia, p. 47.

To Cai-Cobad, on the Imperial throne of Iran, succeeded Cai-Caus, called by the Greeks *Darius the Mede*, the word Darius being formed from *Dara*, the Persian word for *sovereign*; and the title, therefore, should more properly be applied to the dynasty than to any individual prince of Persia then flourishing. In his reign, with the assistance of his successor, Cai-Khosru, the great Cyrus, the Babylonian kingdom was added to this amazing empire; and, at his death, Khosru, by hereditary right king of the empire, properly called Persia, became the undisputed sovereign of all the Greater Asia. But even this immense domain could not satisfy the boundless ambition of Khosru, who soon subjugated Asia Minor also, and, by the invincible Rostam, extended his sway over Syria and Arabia; the Gulph of that name and Æthiopia forming the southern, and the Caspian and Euxine Seas the northern, limit of his empire; while the distant Ægean Sea washed it on the western, and the Indus on the eastern, frontier. Although the Indus be here stated, on the authority of Xenophon*, as its eastern boundary, that is only to be understood in a geographical sense; for, so rich a prize as India, and so near a neighbour to the provinces over which Rostam and his brave sons successively enjoyed little less than a kingly authority, can scarcely be supposed to have been, under this vigorous reign, absolved from that tributary dependance under which it was holden by former monarchs of Iran. In truth, the extracts from the native

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* Cyropædia, lib. viii. p. 233.

Hindoo records in Ferishta positively assert the continuance of that dependance, in the following passage:—Speaking of the last sovereign of the race of Barage, (he means BAL RAJAH; for, the descendants of Bali Rama still reigned on the throne of Oude, in Bahar, where, in fact, this history places the capital of Barage,) Ferishta tells us that "Keidar, a Brahmin, from the mountains of Sewalic, having collected a great army, invaded him, and having in the end entirely defeated the king, wielded the sceptre of government with his own hands. When Keidar, the Brahmin, had claspt the bride of royalty in his arms, being a man of learning and genius, he became a great king; but, *carrying the trappings of Cai-Caus and Cai-Khosru on his shoulders, he was constrained, by way of tribute, to send them annual gifts.* In the latter end of his reign, one Shinkol, a native of Kinnoge, (the Shangal alluded to before,) having strengthened himself, took possession of Bengal and Bahar, where he had been governor; and, leading a great army against Keidar, after many battles had been fought with various success, the fortune of Shinkol at length prevailed*."

It is not my intention to enter in this place into any more lengthened detail than has been given, in the preceding chapter, concerning the warlike acts of the mighty Khosru and his general Rostam; I mean only to shew that India, during the extended period of their glory in Asia, was not, as the Greek accounts insinuate, by making Hystaspes the first explorer of the Indus and the adjoining districts, wholly independent of the Persian empire. The fact is, that Rostam, by holding the large principalities of Sigestan and Zablestan, the ancient Drangiana and Arachosia, closely confining on the Western India, as fiefs, from the kings of Persia, possessed the key that opened an immediate passage into the heart of India; for, it has before been remarked, that Cabul is the capital of the latter province, and it is an old Indian adage, that nobody can be called the master of India who has not taken possession of Cabul. The extensive conquests of Cyrus, in Asia the *Greater* and the *Less*, have been already glanced at, to which Mirkhond and other Eastern historians bear full testimony, with only the difference of ascribing the honour of the greater portion of them to Rostam. In the disputed circumstance of the death of Khosru, they agree rather with Xenophon than Herodotus, recording that death to have happened in philosophic composure, in the plenitude of years and glory, and not in a disgraceful war with the Massagetes, as stated by the latter*, whose relation is much more applicable to the destruction of Afrasiab, the sanguinary tyrant of Turan, put to death for those enormities by Khosru. It is most probable, therefore, that the Greek historian, who undoubtedly had heard some resembling story, during his abode in Asia, concerning the destruction of an army and chieftain engaged, as the Persians incessantly were, with the Turanian barbarians, has, by a mistake easily enough to be accounted for in a foreigner, applied to Cyrus a catastrophe which might have actually befallen one of his generals, or possibly, Afrasiab himself, the tyrannical and powerful antagonist of the Persian monarch.

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* Ferishta, vol. i. p. 18, idem edit.

The fury of his frantic successor, Cambyses, happily for the repose of India, took a southern direction, and, after laying waste Egypt, exhausted itself in destructive expeditions to the country of the Hammonians, in the Lybian deserts, and in wild projects to subdue the Æthiopians. Chronology marks Cambyses for the Ahasuerus of Scripture, in whose correct page, doubtless with reference to this last insane attempt, it is said his kingdom extended *from* INDIA *even unto* ÆTHIOPIA. The preceding history, however, it should be remembered, is the Grecian account of Cambyses, who is very differently known to the Orientals both by name and character. That name is LOHORASP, and that character, as before observed, not cruel and tyrannical, but virtuous and amiable*. The softer Greek name of Cambyses was probably derived from the Persian KAMBAKSH, or *granter of desires*, one of the numerous titles often assumed by the Persian sovereigns, in addition to their patronymic name, on ascending the throne. For a similar reason, doubtless, we find the same name bestowed by the Greeks on Siaveh, the native appellation of the father of Cyrus. By Mirkhond he is stated to have passed his long reign principally at Balk, in Khorasan, imitating, in this respect, his predecessor, whose object was, by a residence in that most eastern province of Iran, to overlook and keep in awe, by his presence, his new subjects of Turkestan. Lohorasp, though thus himself remote from the storms of war, had a general very celebrated in Asiatic annals, of the name of GUDERZ, who is recorded to have pushed his conquests very far in the west, and, ravaging all Syria, to have returned to his government of Babylon loaded with the wealth of Palestine, whose capital, Jerusalem, he sacked and plundered, and attended by innumerable captives. This man, therefore, surnamed Bakht-Nassar by the Persians, must have been the Nebuchadnezzar of sacred history; and to him alone, if the Persian records truly state that no intermediate monarch reigned between Cyrus and Lohorasp, must be attributed all the outrages in Egypt, supposed to have been committed by Cambyses.

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* Herodotus, lib. i. p. 213.

The Persian histories make not the least mention of the usurpation of Smerdis, the Magi, of the murder of that impostor by the seven conspirators headed by Hystaspes, nor of the ingenious stratagem to effect the neighing of the horse, at sun-rise, put in practice by the groom of the latter, to secure him the Persian diadem. They state Hystaspes, or GUSHSTAP, as they write the name, to have been the eldest son of Lohorasp, a prince of great talents, but of a haughty and martial disposition, constantly engaged, during his youth, in rebellious projects against his father's life and throne; and, in his more mature years, endeavouring once more to rend Turan, the daughter of the nominal sovereign of which empire he espoused, from its tributary dependance on the kings of Persia. At length, the prudent resignation by Lohorasp of a sceptre, which increasing years and infirmities rendered him unable to wield with energy, saved himself from public degradation, while this unexpected act of paternal kindness contributed to reclaim a son whom no menaces could daunt and no open hostilities subdue. For a long period they lived together in one palace in the utmost harmony and affection. The dethroned monarch, at length disgusted with the pomp of courts, laid aside every vestige of his former dignity, invested himself with the habit of a priest, and retired to spend the remainder of his life in the solitude of a cloister, which he built for that purpose. In that solitude he passed thirty years in meditation and prayer, but it afforded not the repose for which he languished to his closing life; being, at the end of that period, barbarously massacred with the other Magi in an irruption of the Turanians. On this voluntary retirement of his father, Hystaspes having, by his marriage with the daughter of the king of Turan, more firmly than ever established the union of the two kingdoms, quitted Balk as an imperial residence, and fixed his future abode at Istakar, called by the Greeks Persepolis, where afterwards he became the decided patron of the new superstition, which, under Zeratusht, was then springing up in Persia, and with the insignia of which he probably adorned the lofty walls and portals of that superb palace, hewn, as its name implies, out of the living rock.

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* Jones's Short History of Persia, p. 49.

Concerning the age and meaning of those sculptures, many wild and baseless conjectures have been formed, but, though generally attributed to the remote æra of Cayumeras and Gemshid, of which latter sovereign, in fact, they bear the name, being known to the natives by that of TAKHTI JEMSHID, or *throne of Jemshid*, the Sabian mythology, and particularly the *solar adoration*, every where conspicuous throughout those stupendous ruins, appear indubitably to mark for their adorner, at least, if not for their founder, the imperial Archimagus. It is possible that Jemshid, who is recorded to have first introduced, among the Persians, the use of the solar year, and instituted, in commemoration of it, the magnificent festival of the NAURUZ, when the sun enters Aries, originally founded that magnificent edifice, the wonder and ornament of Asia, and engraved on its walls the birth-day procession of nobles offering presents, usual on that solemnity, till a very late period, in the courts of the Persian sovereigns, and even of the Indian emperors, with which the massy porticoes and winding staircases are covered; yet it is more than probable that *Chelminar* is indebted for no small share of its now-faded grandeur to Hystaspes; that Hystaspes, who was inferior only to Cyrus in the magnificence of his designs and in the extent of his power; under whose protection the arts and sciences advanced rapidly towards maturity in Persia; and by whose vigorous intellect the ancient prejudices, both in religion and government, were spurned, as is evidenced not less in his patronizing the reformer Zeratusht, than in his first establishing a formidable marine, exploring the shores of the Indus, and navigating the Persian and Arabian Gulphs. Were its ranging columns and the general plan of that immense fabric surveyed with an astronomical eye, I have no doubt but that, like the Stonehenge of our Druids, it would afford us a new insight into the scientific attainments in that line of the ancient Persians, the immediate pupils of the Chaldæan school. Whatsoever may be the decision of the reader concerning the disputed age of Istakhar, no doubt can possibly be entertained of that of NAKHTI ROSTAM, two leagues distant from Persepolis, since it could not have been designed before the hero was born, and the mighty exploits had taken place, which the ornamental sculptures on that monument were intended to celebrate. Now, allowing to Rostam the very extended age which the Persian historians assign him, that hero (or rather the first and most celebrated of the name; for, to give sense or credibility to the Eastern relations concerning him, we must suppose there to have been a succession, or dynasty, of them reigning in Sejestan) could not have been long dead when Hystaspes mounted the Persian throne; which circumstance, added to the impressive one of the mystic designation, (a direct allusion to the worship of the sun and of fire,) engraved on the front of that rocky shrine, forbid us to hesitate at pronouncing Hystaspes to have designed it in honour of the friend and defender of his family. The reader will observe that Istakhar is, throughout these short strictures, considered as a *palace*, not as a *temple*, in which light some eminent antiquaries have regarded these ruins; for, I am aware that the erection of temples was contrary to the principle of the reformed religion of Zeratusht, and it was that very principle which urged them on with such furious zeal to destroy the sublime edifices first of Egypt, and, as we shall presently see, of India itself. If an objection should be started to this hypothesis, which gives the honour of founding Persepolis to Hystaspes, on the ground of the inscription not being written in the Zend character, which was then in use, and which, in that case, must have been long ago deciphered by learned Persians, the most satisfactory answer to this, and indeed to all similar questions concerning them, is to be found in Sir William Jones's Essay on the Persians, who thinks it may reasonably be doubted whether those characters are really *alphabetical*: he is of opinion "that they are secret and sacerdotal; or, perhaps, a mere cipher, of which the priests alone had the key*," and which, consequently, has perished with them.

Concerning Zoroaster himself, the peculiar purity of the original dogmas which distinguished his enlightened sect, and the rapid diffusion of their influence, either by the force of arms or of argument, through nearly the whole of Asia, a diffusion so fortunately introductory (perhaps intended to have been so by a supreme all-ruling Providence, during the blind and continued infatuation of the Jews) to the still purer doctrines of Christianity, in a few centuries about to break forth and illumine the Pagan world; concerning that theologue, I say, the tenets which he propagated, and as explained by himself, the *innocent* symbol which characterized his almost Christian ritual, the FIRE, on which, radiating from the ark of the covenant, the Hebrews themselves were taught to look with a kind of religious awe, as the sublime *kebla* of their devotion; such extensive strictures have already occurred in the pages of the Indian Antiquities, as to preclude all necessity of resuming a subject which otherwise would naturally claim a distinguished place in a work professedly retrospective on the interesting events that anciently took place on the great theatre of Asia. One remarkable fact only, alluded to in a former page†, as more immediately connected with this period of our history, again presses for notice; I mean the journey of the Persian sage in company with Hystaspes, probably in disguise, to the woody recesses of the Brahmins in the Superior India, to obtain initiation into the mysteries of their religion and the wonders of their philosophy. This visit of Hystaspes was, probably, the secret cause of the resolution which that monarch afterwards took, to be better acquainted with a country which produced and cherished, in ease and undisturbed retirement, a race of men so admirable for their wisdom and so renowned for their austerities. It is the duty of the historian to explore the secret springs of great public events, and notwithstanding his invasion of India, as related by Herodotus, is generally considered to have been the result of ambition and avarice united, I have very good authority, which shall presently be adduced, for announcing that *religion*, a vehement desire of overturning the Brahmin superstition, and erecting upon its ruins the pure theism of Zeratusht, was the principal inducement to that irruption. In fact, that superstition, from the multiplied idols, bestial, human, and compounded of both forms, that crowd the walls of the Indian pagodas, which, though to the devout Indian they only present the idea of the personified attributes of God, yet to the abhorrent Persian appeared as so many direct objects of adoration, added to the innumerable pagodas themselves, which at that time covered the face of the country, must have been extremely offensive to a zealous advocate of the reformed religion of Persia; and thus Hystaspes, while he respected the Brahmins for their love of science and their devotion to philosophy, might deem himself bound, at all hazards, to attempt their conversion, and, like Cambyses in Egypt, to root out the very vestiges of an idolatry so base and abominable. Such was the powerful incitement, or, at least, such was the plausible pretence, that, in after-ages, urged on the furious Mahmud, and the still more sanguinary Timur, to overwhelm with desolation the fairest region, and devote to slavery and massacre the happiest people, of Asia.

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* Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 57.

† See page 277 preceding of the second volume, and the quotation there from Ammianus.

There is no occasion for our entering any farther into the history of events in Persia during this long reign, than as those events bear reference to India. For that reason, we shall pass over, as irrelevant to our subject, all that is related by Herodotus concerning the long sack and subsequent capture of Babylon by this monarch, and his subjugation of the Thracian territory. In respect to the same writer's relation of his unsuccessful expedition against the Scythians, which, of all those events, has alone any connection with the events of this history, we shall extract an account of the occasion and progress of it from Oriental sources, which, however, will be found widely different, as to the conduct and the result of the campaign, from the melancholy detail given us by Herodotus; since Darius is by those writers recorded to have returned from it, as might well be expected from so able and experienced a general, crowned with the most brilliant success. Whether, after all, the occasion of the Scythian war be rightly or erroneously stated by Mirkhond, the motive for that expedition was probably different from that assigned by the Greek historian, viz. the irruption of the Tartar hordes one hundred and twenty years before, in the time of Cyaxares; for, since that period, successive inter-marriages had strengthened the bands of connection between the two royal houses; and Darius himself, we have seen, had married the daughter of the Turanian emperor.

It originated, according to Mirkhond, in religion; in the anxious desire of Hystaspes to diffuse, over the continent of Asia, the new faith of Zeratusht. With this important object in view, he wrote an urgent letter to Argiasp, the reigning sovereign of Turan, and his near relation, using every argument which his superior genius and fervid devotion to reformed Sabaism could invent, to induce him to adopt the creed of the Persian theologue. The Turanian monarch, however, was so far from being convinced by the eloquence of the royal tiro, that he returned an answer which at once reproached Hystaspes for deserting the faith of his ancestors, and was replete with sarcastic reflections on the novel doctrines propagated by the upstart prophet whom he protected. Roused to revenge at this premeditated insult, Hystaspes and his valiant son Asfendiar immediately took the field, with all the forces of the empire, and, entering Turan, advanced to give its sovereign battle. After a contest of great obstinacy and slaughter, in which half the royal family of Turan perished, victory declared for the former; and, before Argiasp could levy a new army or rally the routed one, the victorious Persians were in his capital, where every thing was given up to pillage and the licentious outrages of an enraged soldiery. Having taken this signal revenge for religion derided and a throne insulted, Hystaspes marched triumphantly back to his own dominion, where, from one or other of those various causes, jealousy, or suspicion, which distract Eastern courts, he shortly after tarnished his laurels by imprisoning the prince, who was the partner of them, in a strong fortress, on the summit of a lofty hill, called *Gaird-Kuh*, or the Round Mountain, in the country of Rudbar*.

The hostile flames, lighted at the new altar erected by Zeratusht to the sovereign power who formed the elements, still burned with unextinguishable fury in the northern Asia. Goaded by the recollection of the aggravated injuries recently received from the Persian monarch, his slaughtered relatives and ruined capital, Argiasp, now, in his turn, meditated a deep and dreadful blow at the very existence of the empire of Iran, and the holy impostor, (as he deemed him,) who had instigated Hystaspes to invade his dominions. Balk, the capital of Corasan, was at that time the hallowed residence of Zeratusht and the Magi, his disciples. The hoary monarch who had once wielded the sceptre of Iran, secluded in the cloister which he had erected, in that metropolis devoted the few moments of his declining life to meditation and prayer. But soon the sacred fires were to be quenched by the blood of the ministering priests, and the ashes of royalty to be blended with those of the altar, which its power had protected. Indefatigable in collecting an army adequate to the full accomplishment of the extensive destruction which he intended should overwhelm his enemies, the Turanian sovereign rushed forwards at the head of the formidable forces he had raised, to the attack of Balk, to which he instantly laid siege: and, having at length taken it by storm, with Tartar ferocity, put all the inhabitants indiscriminately to the sword, subverted the grand fire-temple, and sacrificed, as victims to his rage, Zeratusht and the seventy priests, who were in the act of officiating at it. Enfeebled by age, but retaining still a portion of the martial vigour which distinguished his juvenile years, the veteran Lohorasp, issuing from his cloistered retreat, at the head of a few faithful followers, in vain attempted to stem the deluge of Barbarians, who were spreading desolation through the sacred city. He fell early in the unequal contest; and, no obstacle then remaining to obstruct his march, Argiasp pressed on with his victorious army into the centre of Persia, where so great a panic had seized the Persians, that the prudent Hystaspes did not think it proper to make an immediate attack upon him. He suffered him to waste his strength in long and fatiguing marches and in attacks on fortified towns, which daily diminished his numbers. Then (at the united request of the nation, who loudly called for his release) liberating his son Asfendiar from confinement, he sent him, with a fresh and powerful army, against troops emaciated by fatigue and thinned by disease. The attack was made with such irresistible impetuosity that the Turanian army was compelled to make its retreat out of Persia with more rapidity than they had advanced into it, and were driven with great slaughter beyond the limits of the northern mountains.

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* Mirkhond apud Texeira, p. 66.

It was now evident that Asia could not, at the same time, hold two monarchs of such power and military spirit as Hystaspes and Argiasp; the entire subjugation, or rather extirpation, of the latter was therefore determined on in the court of Persia, and Asfendiar only paused on the Scythian frontier to get his army recruited among the hardy race of the ancient Bactrians. Having obtained those recruits, and being joined by his elder brother Bashuten, sent by Hystaspes, and with powerful reinforcements from the heart of Persia, these determined warriors pursued the fugitive monarch over the wide champaigns and rugged forests of the Tartariân deserts, till they compelled him and his whole court at length to take shelter in one of the strongest fortresses he possessed, in a remote part of his dominion. As, on the sack of Balk, Argiasp had seized and sent captive into Turan, the sisters of Asfendiar, and as these constantly attended the court, it was necessary to make use of stratagem to procure the return of the princesses without injury: Asfendiar, therefore, himself boldly undertook and successfully accomplished an expedition of great hazard for their rescue. To the fortress in question, says Mirkhond, there lay open only three roads. The first, plain, and easily passable by caravans, with plenty of fine pasture on each side for cavalry; but withal so long and circuitous, that it would require several months for an army to approach the city by that avenue: to this road was necessarily confined the march of the great body of the Persian army and the heavy baggage. The second road was extremely steep and rugged, and impassable by carriages; but, at the same time, so direct, that, in a month, at farthest, the fortress might be reached. The third was still nearer, but lay through woods and morasses, and over mountains covered with snow. The second of these roads was that on which a large selected body of cavalry, with Bashuten at their head, was ordered to advance with all possible celerity. On the third road, Asfendiar determined to force his way through every surrounding obstacle on the secret expedition which he meditated. After unfolding his plan to his brother Bashuten, he set off from the Persian camp with seven other noblemen disguised as merchants, carrying with them jewels and other valuable commodities, small of size, but in great request at the courts of Asia. Under this disguise, which was a sure passport in the East, where commerce has ever been so highly respected, they passed through the hostile camp, and arrived safe and unsuspected at the city adjoining to that fortress. Here the splendor of the jewellery and other articles of traffic which they had brought attracted general notice, and the fame of their arrival soon reached the court, at a period when kings themselves did not indignantly disdain sometimes to assume the honourable character which these strangers bore. But their principal recommendation to royal notice was the alleged plea of having been driven from the Persian dominions by the tyranny and extortions of its monarch, from whose barbarous exactions they professed to have fled for protection to the court of Turan. Presents of high value, the usual tribute on supplicating the patronage of the despots of Asia, accompanied this address, and by degrees these mercantile strangers grew into such high favour at the court of Turan, and so far had the disguised Asfendiar wrought himself into the confidence of Argiasp, that a sumptuous banquet was prepared by the king for the princely adventurer. After a certain period, when he thought the Persian forces had arrived near enough to execute their commission, he obtained permission, in return, to provide an entertainment, suitable to the high dignity of the guests, for the whole Turanian court, in an extensive meadow adjoining the city. On that day, the king, his family, the captive princesses, and all the attendant officers of state, presuming that the invading army was still at a great distance from the scene of their festivity, resigned themselves to the unbounded joys of the banquet; but the numerous fires kindled all over the plain, by which that banquet was prepared, in addition, perhaps, to signals like our rockets, thrown into the air, which we know to have been immemorially used in the campaigns of Asia, were the directing flames that lighted the Persian cavalry from the woody ambuscades in which they lay hid to vengeance and to glory, if, indeed, true glory can ever really be united with sentiments of vengeance. At that luminous signal, the impetuous phalanx of Persia burst forth from their retreat, and, while one part surrounded the field, and all the avenues that led to the city and fortress, the other part acted the bloody office of executioners to the assembled nobles and terrified citizens. Asfendiar himself, at the head of his seven heroic comrades, and now arrayed in a different attire from that of merchants, having first secured his sisters, and sent them back under a strong guard to Persia, along the road by which the cavalry had arrived, with his own hand slew the unhappy sovereign of Turan; while those in his train devoted to promiscuous slaughter the principal grandees of his court. The chief booty obtained, says our historian, on this memorable occasion, was a throne of gold, set with precious stones, of exquisite workmanship, and a *white elephant*. These he sent into Persia as presents to his father, and followed them himself as far as the mountains of Caucasus, whither we shall presently return to him, after detailing another important event of this reign materially connected with the subject of our history, and prominently conspicuous in the ancient annals of Asia*.

In the introductory work†, when speaking of the ancient commerce carried on between India and Persia, I had occasion to observe, that the latter nation, from the earliest periods, were equally restrained, by the precepts of religion and the dictates of policy, from engaging in maritime expeditions. The element of water, not less than that of fire, was the object of their superstitious veneration;

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* Mirkhond Hist. sect. 16.

† See Indian Antiquities, vol. vi. p. 406.

and, while that superstition made them shudder at the idea of polluting it themselves, by any species of filth, thrown from vessels, the dread of invasion from a quarter in which they were so defenceless induced them to prohibit the entrance of foreigners into their dominions, by any maritime inlet, under penalties extremely rigorous. To render that event impossible by the channel of their two great rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, they effectually dammed up the mouths of those rivers with immense engines; to remove which cost Alexander, when his fleet, under the command of Nearchus, sailed, by the route of the Persian Gulph, into Mesopotamia, no small portion of time and labour. At length, roused to a sense of danger by the accounts brought to the court of Persia of the maritime genius of Greece, and of the great naval armaments fitting out in the various ports of that nation, their brave and aspiring neighbour, the Persian sovereigns broke through the fetters of their ancient superstition, and, by the assistance of the Phœnicians, and even of the Greeks themselves, I mean the Ionic and Carian Greeks, constructed a navy, and ploughed the forbidden ocean. In this new project, ambition also had a considerable share, and it was a desire of ascertaining the exact point at which the Indus meets the ocean, as well as of exploring and conquering the western provinces of India, that induced Darius to fit out at Caspatyrus, a city on the Indus, and in the territories of Pactyia, the modern *Pecchely*, the fleet so celebrated in history, of which he gave the command to Scylax, a Grecian of Caryandria, a city of Caria, and sent with him others in whose nautical skill he placed an entire confidence, with express orders to sail down the current of that rapid river; diligently to observe the countries that lay on either side of it; to enter the southern ocean beyond it; to coast along the Persian and Arabian shore; to enter the Red Sea by the Straits of Babelmandel; and, finally, sailing up that Gulph, to land in Egypt, at the same place whence Necho, king of Egypt, some time before, dispatched a fleet of Phœnicians with orders to sail round the coast of Lybia*, and by that route return westward to the capital of Persia. By Lybia our historian means, in general, Africa, and the port where they landed, was probably Arsinoe, situated on the extreme western point of the Gulph, near which the modern Suez stands. This tedious, and, for those days, hazardous, navigation, Scylax and his companions successfully accomplished in the thirtieth month from its commencement; and, arriving at the court of Susa with the desired intelligence, animated that monarch to attempt the conquest of the western region of India. This conquest, according to our historian, he afterwards fortunately effected; but he acquaints us with no farther particulars concerning it. In his third book, however, enumerating the provinces subject to Persia, which, under Darius Hystaspes, are said to have amounted to twenty in number, and the tribute derived from them, India ranks as one of them, and the tribute of the newly-conquered province is stated at four thousand six hundred and eighty Euboic talents, amounting to nearly a third part of the whole revenue of his other dominions, which was fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty Euboic talents, or £2,807,437 sterling†. The Indian tribe, he tells us, was paid in gold, while that of all the other satrapies was paid in silver. Herodotus is very particular in relating this fact; for, in one place, he expressly declares they paid six hundred talents in *golden ingots;* in another, that it was three hundred and sixty *talents of gold,* the number of the days of the ancient Persian year. The reason of the Indian tribute being paid in gold rather than silver is properly assigned by Rennel, from the Ayeen Akbery, that, " the eastern branches of the Indus, as well as some other streams that descend from the northern mountains, anciently yielded gold-dust*."

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* Herodotus, lib. iv. p. 270.

† Ibid. lib. iii. p. 227.

As this maritime expedition was entrusted to a Greek admiral, the account of it by a Greek writer is most likely to be correct. The Persian historian, however, makes little mention of it; he only observes, that Asfendiar, the son of Hystaspes, on his return from the conquest of Turan, crossed the mountains of Caucasus, with intent to survey the Indian Ocean, and compel the princes bordering on the Indus to renounce idolatry and *embrace the reformed religion of Zeratusht*†. If this prince pursued his march so far southward as to reach the shore of Guzzurat, washed by the Indian Sea, his line of conquest must have been extensive indeed, and satisfactorily accounts for the large annual tribute obtained by this vast acquisition of territory to the Persian crown: most probably, however, the fleet in question attended the progress of the invading army, and, as much as possible, facilitated its motions and assisted its operations.

Although we did not think it necessary to enter into any particular detail concerning the events of the Ionian war, commenced at the beginning of this reign, because not immediately connected with those of the Indian history, yet, before we close our review of the life of Hystaspes, it is important to notice that his dispute, or, rather, the disputes of the governors who commanded in the distant provinces that bordered on Greece, with that warlike people, was the certain, though remote, origin of all those violent contests which afterwards convulsed the two states, and ultimately terminated in the subversion of the Persian empire. The immense distance of the Grecian republics from the capital of Persia, from which they were separated by the great Tauric range

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[*] Rennel's Memoir, p. 25, edit. 1788.

[†] Mirkhond apud Texeira, p. 68.

that runs through Asia, and their apparent insignificancy as a nation, added to the endless feuds and jealousy that raged among themselves, would probably have for ever prevented their becoming an object of apprehension to the Persians, had it not been for their great experience in maritime concerns and the restless ambition of some of their chiefs, whose intrigues or perfidy brought down upon them the vengeance of the satraps of Sardis. The greater the exertions made by the Persians for the establishment of a navy, the more sensible did they become of the growing power of that republic, the more feelingly did they lament their own inferiority on that ocean, upon which, as upon land, they equally now aspired at uncontrolled dominion. It was not, however, the Greeks of the distant islands that yet excited any violent sensation of alarm at the Persian court, it was the Greeks settled in the nearer districts of Ionia and Æolia, whose history, or, at least, all of it that is important to our subject to be related, is as follows.— The rich and flourishing kingdom of Lydia, previously to its reduction, had early cherished, on its extensive coast, successive colonies from Athens, Thebes, and the other great cities of Greece; and these Asiatic Greeks, firmly established and widely diffused over the western shore of Asia Minor, by assiduously cultivating that commerce, for carrying on which they were so advantageously situated, at the time of the subjugation of Crœsus, had arrived at no inconsiderable height of splendor and power. In the overwhelming violence, however, with which the weight of the Persian power descended upon that region of Asia, distinction was lost, and subordinate states and interests ingulphed. Lydia became a province of the Persian empire, and the Greek republics of Ionia, dependent upon it, after a resolute but ineffectual resistance to the generals of Cyrus, commissioned to effect the complete conquest of them, finally became tributary to the Persian monarch. In the next reign, Cambyses, during his frantic Egyptian expedition, (if, in fact, it ever took place,) derived the greatest advantage from the assistance of the Greeks of Ionia and Caria, who, with singular deviation from those principles of *liberty* and *independence* on which the Greek republics were originally founded, had enlisted as auxiliaries in his own army and that of Prammetichus, his adversary, and were the means of affixing in future, on all their successors, the disgraceful title of *mercenaries*. Nor was his land-army alone recruited from the Greeks of that district; they furnished him also with a considerable navy, towards effecting the purpose of his expedition. During the early period of the reign of Hystaspes, the Ionian Greeks continued uninterruptedly to pursue the same rapid career of wealth and commerce, and rose so high in naval renown that all the islands of the Ægean-Sea either felt or trembled at their power. Instigated, at length, by some daring chiefs of their own nation, and some disaffected Persian nobles, exiled from the court, confiding on their decided superiority in naval concerns, and relying on the vigorous support of the other republics of Greece, they endeavoured to wrest the whole of that rich satrapy from the hands of the Persians. The result of this bold project, and of subsequent very spirited efforts to accomplish it, proved very different from what their sanguine expectations had predicted, and what in fact the boldness of the design merited; for, though the Athenians, enraged at some recent insults received from the court of Sardis, joined them with a considerable naval force, (the more cautious Lacedæmonians refusing to have any share in the war,) and though Sardis itself was taken by the united forces, and the greater part of that celebrated capital burnt; yet the triumph of the Grecians was but temporary, and their total overthrow, which followed almost immediately, under the walls of Ephesus, served only, for the present, to bind more firmly the Persian fetters on their Greek subjects of Asia Minor. For Athens, and the other Greek confederates who assisted the revolters, a severer vengeance was meditated by the conqueror, and the accidental burning of Sardis was but a prelude to those more fatal flames by which the finest temples and loftiest edifices of Greece were consumed, and Athens itself, with other celebrated cities, levelled with the dust. Hystaspes, however, did not survive this event long enough to inflict that ultimate revenge: he lived, indeed, to witness the desolation of Eretria, one marked object of his implacable resentment, but he also lived to have the transports it occasioned effaced amid the pangs inflicted by the disgraceful defeat of his troops on the plain of Marathon, that disastrous plain on which the Persian eagles, for the first time, bowed the head in battle to the rising genius of Greece*.

BAHAMAN, the son of Asfendiar, and consequently the grandson of Gushstap, is mentioned in the Oriental histories as the immediate successor of the latter on the throne of Persia. His Persian surname is DIRAZDEST, literally translated by the Greeks Μακροχειρ, or the *Long-Handed*, in which we have a just specimen of the confused manner in which the Greeks have handed down to us, in the order of succession, the names of the Persian sovereigns. This prince ought properly to be the Xerxes of the Greeks; a name probably derived from SHIRSHAH. Sir William Jones offers the only explanation which I have met with of this difficulty, when he says, "Our chronologists place the reign of Xerxes after Darius Hystaspes; and he might, perhaps, have outlived both Lohorasp and his successor†. He must, however, on this supposition, have flourished to a wonderful old age, and, at all events, is a very different character from the youthful, ardent, aspiring, Xerxes of the Greeks. From his other name of Ardeshir, often given him in Mirkhond, he is, most probably, the Artaxerxes of their history. Mirkhond, in Texeira, asserts, that his right hand and arm were actually considerably longer than his left; but the judicious author above-cited thinks that his title of *Longimanus* metaphorically alluded to his extensive power. There certainly are not, in the Oriental writers, as Mr. Richardson has observed, any accounts, similar to those of the Greeks, of the invasion of Greece by the myriads of Xerxes, or of the subsequent defeat of that monarch and the dispersion of his innumerable army and fleet. A defeat and compelled retreat of such a disgraceful kind was not likely to become the theme of any contemporary domestic historian in the despotic empire of Asia; or, if the story were ever recorded by the Persian historic muse, may it not have perished with the archives of the state, and the other treasures of Persian literature, on the invasion of the Greeks, and amidst the flames that consumed Persepolis? It is impossible to conceive that Herodotus, who flourished so near that period, and doubtless had his account from eye-witnesses of that dreadful catastrophe, could be deceived as to the leading circumstances of a fact of such public notoriety; or to coincide with Mr. Richardson in opinion, that the movements of a Persian general and the inferior army of a satrap, or several satraps, could be mistaken for the solemn march of Xerxes himself and the concentrated force of the whole Persian empire. Convinced, therefore, that, in travelling over the page of Greek history, describing this invasion, we are not wholly treading on fairy-ground, and that, under whatever name, a monarch of the genius and character of Xerxes once sat on the Persian throne, I shall proceed to connect the narrative of events before-described, as ultimately tending to the subjugation of India, by a concise recapitulation of facts, which, though well known to every classical scholar, cannot, consistently with the object of this history and the information of the less learned, be entirely omitted.

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* Herodot. lib. vi. cap 99-102.

† Short Hist. of Persia, p. 50.

Twice, in the preceding reign of Darius, had the small kingdom of Macedonia been compelled to pay to that monarch the accustomed, but degrading, tribute of *earth* and *water:* first, at the return of Darius from his Scythian expedition, when he appointed Megabazus commander-in-chief of the fôrces in the western extremity of his empire, and who obtained that mark of homage to his master from Amyntas, the reigning monarch; secondly, after the Ionian revolt and conquest, when Mardonius, the Persian satrap, led the first armament against the Greek inhabitants of the islands of the Ægean Sea. That armament, however formidable, proved inefficacious as to its objects, as well from a furious storm that dashed to pieces the greatest part of the Persian fleet, when attempting to double the Cape of Mount Athos, as from an unexpected attack made by night on his army by the Brygian Thracians, who stormed his camp, not sufficiently fortified, slew a great number of his men, and, wounding Mardonius himself, compelled him for that season to relinquish the expedition. With the ensuing spring the design was renewed: an army and fleet more powerful, commanded by generals more skilful and determined, were ordered to enforce on the Grecian republics the usual demand of *earth* and *water* from the haughty Persians; but the undaunted spirit of the insular Greeks could not brook the indignity to which the feebler government of Macedon had tamely submitted. At Athens and at Lacedæmon, when the heralds of Darius appeared publicly, to demand that proof of their submission, the general indignation was so extreme, that, at the one place, amidst the execrations of the people, they were thrown into a deep ditch, and at the other into a well, and, in the firm language of free-born men, told there to collect the required earth and water[*]. A sense of the danger that now threatened all Greece put an end to the debates which had previously, for many ages, agitated those rival republics, and united them in one firm body against the common enemy. The glory, however, of Marathon's proud day was reserved solely for Miltiades and his daring Athenians, who, in number scarcely ten thousand, defeated the Persian army, consisting, according to the moderate computation of Cornelius Nepos, of one hundred thousand foot and ten thousand cavalry[†]. The disgrace of this defeat from so despised a power was severely felt at the court of Susa, and stung Darius to the quick, who was then preparing to march against Egypt, engaged in recent revolt. He immediately ordered fresh forces to be levied throughout the whole extent of his empire, and, resigning to able generals the conduct of the war in Egypt, resolved to march in person against this rising competitor for military glory. In the midst of these mighty preparations, he expired; leaving his successor, whom the Greeks, we have seen, called Xerxes, animated with the same resentment, and ardently bent on the same means of accomplishing the deep-laid project of revenge.

The immense army, though doubtless greatly exaggerated, led by this monarch into Greece; his cutting a passage through Mount Athos, if ever, in reality, accomplished; his celebrated double bridge of boats thrown over the Hellespont to connect the two continents of Asia and Europe; his repulse at Thermopylæ by the daring valour of Leonidas and his immortal comrades; the plunder of Delphi; and the completion of his revenge by the capture and conflagration of Athens; together with the disgraceful defeat of his fleet at Salamis, and the final ignominious retreat of this monarch out of Europe; have been too often the theme of admiring historians and enraptured poets to be dwelt on in these pages, with which they are only collaterally connected. These events, however, mark the beginning and gradual progress of that desperate contest for sovereignty, which could only be terminated by the utter destruction of the one or the other powers at variance. It exceeds belief that the innumerable army and fleet of Xerxes, the collected force of exhausted Asia, could be intended to act solely against the petty sovereignties of Greece, for the utter extermination of which a fourth part might have been well deemed amply sufficient. Herodotus is of opinion that a more extensive project of conquest in the western regions of the world was in the contemplation of Xerxes; and thus, perhaps, the resolute resistance of Leonidas and his brave three hundred Spartans at Thermopylæ might have proved the means of saving Italy and farthest Europe from ravage and desolation. It is deserving of notice, that whensoever the overbearing power of their Asiatic foes more severely pressed upon the Greeks, the connecting ties between the confederated republics became more firm and binding; but, when that danger was removed, the leading states were agitated with incessant feuds, and particularly the great cities of Athens and Lacedæmon, who were involved in everlasting contests for superiority of dominion; and, while they themselves spurned the oppressive yoke of Persia, in the true democratic spirit, were continually labouring to fix their own yoke on the neck of their weaker neighbours. Without this powerful incentive to union, perhaps the Grecian states would have continued for ever in their original insignificance and imbecility, the result of that distraction; and thus, in some measure, Persia may be said to have created the very power that afterwards annihilated herself.

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[*] Herodotus, lib. vi. cap. 49.

[†] Cornelius Nepos, in Vita Miltiad.

It is impossible for any circumstance more strongly to evince the jealous dread, which the court of Susa at this time entertained of the rising power and ambitious views of Athens, than the conduct of Xerxes, in renewing, with that power, after so public and disastrous a defeat, in the ensuing spring, those hostilities, which the re-assembling of his dispersed forces, still numerous and formidable, enabled him to carry on with energy. Grown wise, however, from sad experience, Xerxes advanced not in person beyond the walls of Sardis. Mardonius was once more appointed commander-in-chief; but, before he struck the important blow which was intended to annihilate Greece, he was directed to hold out the olive-branch of peace to the Athenians at least, at that time the inspiring soul of the vast confederated body. Little as Xerxes could reasonably flatter himself that the Athenians would be duped by so shallow an artifice, intended, under the mask of friendship, to detach them from their allies and weaken the confederacy, the attempt was resolved upon; and, by the singular caprice of fortune, it was decided that an Alexander, then king of Macedonia, should be the herald of the auspicious tidings; an Alexander should plead the cause of an Asiatic despot; an Alexander propose to rivet the chain of Persia on the prostrate neck of Athens. The embassy was received at Athens with merited contempt, and the remembrance alone of the alliance and friendship that had subsisted, for many generations, between the two kingdoms of Athens and Macedon, preserved the royal messenger from obloquy and insult. Alexander, however, we shall find, not long afterwards effaced the guilt of this liberticidal conduct by an undertaking essential to the salvation of Greece; an undertaking fraught with uncommon hazard, and executed with the most undaunted courage.

The proffered friendship of Persia, and her proposals of ample indemnification for expences incurred and damages suffered during the war, being thus disdainfully rejected by the Athenians, Mardonius immediately commenced his march for Attica. From the distraction and jealousies, which, owing to the miserably defective, though imposing, political system of Greece, still unhappily prevailed through the several republics of the Peloponnesus, Attica was by no means provided with a land-force adequate to oppose them, though their fleet rode triumphant in the surrounding seas. By rapid advances, Mardonius soon reached that capital, which, on his approach, was again deserted by the inhabitants, who took refuge in Salamis, where they could be protected by the fleet till a sense of shame or of honour should rouse their tardy allies to hasten to their relief, and fulfil the stipulations by which they were bound to act with vigour against the common foe. The politic Mardonius took advantage of their deserted situation, and again made proposals of acccommodation, which were again indignantly rejected. In consequence of this obstinate refusal to break their solemn engagements, and listen to any terms whatever with the Persians, the enraged Mardonius, who had hitherto spared Attica and its new-rising capital, commanded a general plunder of the country, and once more devoted to destruction that ill-fated city. At length the Spartans, sacrificing mistrust and jealousy to a sense of the common danger that impended over Greece, sent off Pausanias, with a body of forty thousand men, including Helots, to their aid; and these, in their march, being reinforced by other Greek confederates, and finally forming a junction with the Athenian forces at Eleusis, proceeded to offer immediate battle to the enemy. Mardonius, after ravaging Attica, had retired from that country, and drawn up his numerous forces on the wide champaign of Bœotia, so favourable to the operations of cavalry, ever the glory and principal dependence of the Persian army. The celebrated and decisive battle of PLATÆA was the consequence, in which

Mardonius was slain, and the Persian camp stormed and plundered of inestimable booty. This dreadful overthrow, being followed, on the evening of the very same day, by the spirited attack made by the Grecian naval force on the Persian entrenched camp and fleet near the promontory of Mycale, on the coast of Ionia, whose inhabitants, long grown impatient under the Persian despotism, had broke out into general revolt, an attack in which the whole navy of Persia was burnt, put an end to all future invasions of Greece by the Persians, who never afterwards dared to appear on this side the Hellespont. Xerxes, in every instance baffled and defeated, returned precipitately to Susa, impressed with humbler notions of the invincible power of the GREAT KING than he left it; and found how little avail, in the field, are myriad bands of slaves, who fight for hire, when opposed to free-born men, who combat for virtue and independance. In the hurry of his departure, however, he forgot not to make a grand sacrifice at the shrine of the national religion; for, he issued positive orders for all the temples throughout the Greek settlements in Asia that yet remained in subjection to him, to be burned and levelled, which was rigidly performed in every instance except that of the magnificent fane of Diana of Ephesus*. The reader will now no longer remain in doubt as to the real cause of the total silence or suppression of the Persian annals concerning this reign and its disastrous events: those events, however, are faithfully recorded by an historian whose fame bids fair to be eternal, and on the elegant medals and sculptured monuments of Greece, which, preserved with pious care in the cabinets of taste and science, probably will only perish with the wreck of nature. The rapid and disgraceful retreat of Xerxes from his western frontier only served to inflame the courage and persevering ardour of the Athenians, and to wrest from his control the remainder of the Greek cities and islands subject to his authority in Asia Minor and Europe. With the united exertion of the confederated fleets, under the command of Cymon, the son of the great Miltiades, a soldier equally daring and discreet, in a series of brilliant successes on both the Grecian and Phœnician coasts, this was effectually performed; and a large addition both of domain and of revenue was thus obtained to Athens, the head of that confederacy. Their posterity, unfortunately, as the page of Athenian history shews, did not bear the gale of prosperity with the same noble equanimity with which their fathers had braved the rude storm of adversity. They soon grew haughty to their Greek allies and tyrannical to the conquered countries: hence sprang that eternal jealousy, between them and their Spartan rivals, which kindled the dreadful Peloponnesian war, and *fully* revenged Persia by deluging the cities of Greece with the blood of her most illustrious progeny *.

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* Herodot. lib. ix. cap. 60-100, ubi supra.

To return to Bahaman, or Ardeshir, in whose reign, doubtless, that of the former monarch has been swallowed up, he is represented by Mirkhond as a prince remarkable for strict justice and his zealous attachment to the Magian religion, as the reformer of many abuses, and the repairer of many noble structures ruined by the lapse of time or the violence of war. He was also remarkable for his unbounded hospitality, constantly affirming that no door ought to be shut in the palace of a prince†. He is said, by his generals, to have made conquests in Syria and Palestine; but not a word occurs in Mirkhond concerning Greece; except a remark confirming the accounts of our western chronologers, that Hippocrates and Democritus, philosophers of that country, flourished in this reign, and that their works, with those of Plato and Socrates, are well known to the learned of the Persian nation. He is said to have killed by stratagem the formidable Rostam, who had rebelled and made himself independent in the provinces of Sejestan and Cabul: but this, we have observed, must be a mistake, or Rostam, in that case, must have lived to four hundred years of age. A descendant only of the mighty chief of that name can be alluded to by the Persian annalist *.

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* Plutarch in Vita Aristid.

† Mirkhond, p. 73.

From Xerxes (or, rather, the last-mentioned Ardeshir) to the reign of Darius, the younger, under whom the fatal Macedonian invasion took place, according to the Persian annals, only two sovereigns swayed the Persian sceptre. These were Homai and her son Darab, and neither of these are recorded to have had any particular intercourse, either in the way of friendship or hostility, with India, which probably continued, during this long interval, to remain undisturbed and in its ancient state of tributary subjection. For the sake of connecting, however, the Persian, Greek, and Indian, history of this important period, and on the presumption that the Greek historians are worthy of credit in their narration of facts, which either the policy of the Persian historians may have concealed, or of which, if recorded, every vestige was swept away during the long troubles that convulsed Persia to its centre,—urged, I say, by these motives, I shall regulate this part of the history by the accounts that have descended to us from classical writers concerning the order of succession of the Persian sovereigns, and take a rapid review of the principal events that continued to increase the rooted hatred of the two former nations till that dreadful catastrophe took place.

The advantageous terms which the valour of Cymon, the Athenian general, had extorted from Artaxerxes at the conclusion of the

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* Ibid. p. 74, and Sir William Jones's Short Hist. of Persia, p. 52.

former war, amounting to an absolute renunciation on the side of that monarch of every claim on any part of the Grecian territory, had secured permanent tranquillity to Greece from that once-dreaded quarter*. But the unceasing jealousy and contest for power which agitated those turbulent republics, and particularly the two leading states, unfortunately gave birth, as was before observed, to the Peloponnesian war, in which the strength of the contending parties becoming at length nearly exhausted, each of those states, with a policy as narrow as the meanness was despicable, made urgent applications to Persia for warlike assistance against the other. It does not appear, however, that the Persians were at all anxious to renew their connection with a people from whom they had already suffered so severely. That war was considerably advanced before any attention was shewn to the application; it was almost finished before any effectual assistance was sent; and then it was sent, not to Athens, the ancient determined foe of Persia, but to Sparta, her ambitious rival. In the mean time Ardeshir, or the first Artaxerxes, dying, Darab, or Darius Nothos, that is, *the Bastard*, succeeded to the vacant throne. This was the son of the Queen Homai, a word in Persian signifying *the bird of Paradise*, who is said by the Persian writers to have reigned during his minority, which he is said to have passed in exile from her and her court, having been exposed, as soon as born, in consequence of the predictions of the seers, who calculated his nativity, that he should bring an infinity of evils on his country. "The Eastern writers tell us," says Sir William Jones, "that he was exposed by his mother, like the Hebrew law-giver, on a river, which, by its rapid current, carried him to the habitation of a dyer, who knew him to be a child of high birth by the trinkets which adorned his cradle; that he was educated by this honest man, who sent him to the wars, where he distinguished himself in fighting against the Greeks; that, being introduced to the queen as a brave youth, she knew him again by the jewels which he wore, and which his reputed father had restored to him*." Sir William brands this story as an Eastern romance, the predictions being supposed to have reference to the invasion of Alexander, which, in fact, took place under a later Darius. The astrologers who made them might possibly have meant by them to excuse the rashness and impolicy of Darius, by imputing the disasters of his reign to the stern inevitable decrees of destiny. I have transcribed it on purpose that the reader may again observe, in this Legend, the usual magnified difficulties which the Asiatic writers are habitually addicted to represent as surmounted, in their infancy and youth, by great personages celebrated in Eastern annals. The whole seems nothing more than a repetition of those undergone by Creeshna and the great Cyrus. The new prince, named Darab, or Dara in Persian, began his reign with an appearance of vigour and prompt decision that marked the ancient kings of Persia, not without a considerable portion of brilliant success in the field against the revolted provinces of Media, Arabia, and Egypt, whose inhabitants seemed inclined to take advantage of the debilitated state of the empire and the inexperience of the monarch, entirely to shake off their dependance on Persia†. In either circumstance they were deceived, nor did the principals of the Grecian commonwealth less effectually impose upon themselves, when they conceived that a power which had recently experienced such a humiliating reverse of fortune, from their joint exertions, would heartily join with either to effect the complete reduction of the other. The experience of half a century had taught the court of

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* Thucydides, lib. i. p. 96. Plutarch in Vita Cymon.

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* Short Hist. of Persia, p. 53.

† Thucydides, lib. ii. cap. 15.—Diod. Sic. lib. xiii. p. 160.

Susa that the Grecian states were then only not formidable to Persia when she was distracted with internal dissensions, and to keep their passions in ferment, and their respective interests and powers so properly balanced against each other, that neither side, if it were possible, should materially preponderate, would be the line of sound policy for her invariably to pursue. Such appear to have been the constant maxims that swayed the two predecessors of Darius Nothos, and such was the wise conduct of the satraps of Sardis, till the unfortunate period when the younger Cyrus, in the inexperienced ardour of early youth, was invested with the command of that important province, with positive orders, which his impetuous disposition scarcely needed, by calling forth all the resources of that rich satrapy to destroy that equipoise, and secure to Lacedæmon a decided superiority over Athens. The result was, what might easily have been foreseen. The orders, if ever in reality given, (for, doubts may very reasonably be entertained,) were a disgrace to the policy of the hitherto cautious court of Susa. The Peloponnesian war, stained as it was with the blackest perfidies and the most barbarous massacres on either side, through the influence of Persian gold, ended in the complete subjugation of Athens. But this important event, while it crushed the ancient and sworn foe of Persia, exalted its antagonist to that height of glory and power, which in the end would have undoubtedly proved fatal to their protectors, had they not resorted to the very same means as before for dividing, and consequently weakening, the authority which they dreaded; and had they not squandered the treasures of Sardis in the profusest bribery, and conquered Agesilaus, as he himself confessed, with an army not of thirty thousand *men*, but of thirty thousand *darics*.

However deficient we may be in authentic Persian records to guide us through the train of events that distinguish the present period of their empire, it is fortunate for the credit of history that we have the advantage of referring, as we proceed, for the truth of the extraordinary facts related in it, to two Greek writers of the highest honour and veracity, who were successively eye-witnesses of the facts which their pens describe, and on whose relation we can rest with the fullest confidence,—Thucydides and Xenophon. The former was as distinguished for his abilities as a profound politician and statesman, as for his elegance and authenticity as an historian: the latter attended the younger Cyrus in that memorable, but fruitless expedition to the plains of Babylon, which his pen so elegantly relates, and which, as still farther inflaming the hatred of the two nations, it is necessary for us cursorily to notice. The despotic cruelty with which that haughty young prince acted in his satrapy of Sardis, added to his assumption of honours scarcely less than imperial, occasioned his recall to the court of his incensed father, where, however, the unbounded influence of Parysatis, his mother, over Darius, procured not only his pardon, but a bequest in perpetuity of the government which he had relinquished. During his stay at Susa, Darius Nothos died, and was succeeded by the second Ardeshir, the elder brother of Cyrus, called by the Greeks, from his uncommon strength of memory, Artaxerxes *Mnemon.* The violent temper and ambition of the prince urging him to make an attempt at once on the life and throne of the new monarch; on the fortunate discovery of the conspiracy almost at the moment when it was to have been executed, Cyrus was seized and condemned to death for the intended fratricide; but here again parental affection interfered in his behalf, and he was not only pardoned, but, with glaring impolicy, sent to take possession of the government bequeathed him by his deceased father. The soul of Cyrus, instead of overflowing with gratitude to so benevolent a king and brother, was inflamed with revenge at the design of taking away his justly-forfeited life; and, immediately on his arrival at Sardis, his rage broke forth in a secret and cautious, but most malignant and determined, project to usurp the throne, and sacrifice to his vengeance a too lenient brother.

The preparations made by Cyrus, both by sea and land, for this important undertaking, according to the accurate and elegant account of the historian Xenophon, who beheld them, were of an extent and magnitude adequate to the bold design. The whole of the maritime provinces of his satrapy were compelled to furnish an ample supply of ships and men, which were put under the direction of Tamos, an Egyptian well skilled in naval affairs; while a powerful additional fleet, under Pythagoras, sailed from Sparta to join the naval force collected on the coasts of Asia. This fleet was intended to awe the coast of Cilicia and other maritime provinces, through which their progress lay, and cause a diversion of the forces which might be sent to oppose their march by land. By land, an army of a hundred thousand of the choicest regular troops, fit for such an arduous enterprize, were assembled, and the command of them given to Persian officers, in whose courage and attachment Cyrus knew he could confide: but, what was, at that time, of far more consequence in a land-engagement, a band of determined Greeks, to the amount of thirteen thousand, were assembled from all the states in alliance with Lacedæmon, and marched, in a firm phalanx, under the command of Clearchus, a general equally renowned for policy and valour. Tidings of these formidable preparations soon reached the court of Susa; but the artful satrap contrived to quiet the apprehensions to which they naturally gave rise by solemn assurance that they were intended partly to reduce Thrace, and partly to repel the aggressions of Tissaphernes, a neighbouring satrap at enmity with Cyrus, and against whom he insidiously preferred the loudest complaints of treachery and rebellion.

As it was, at that period of its debilitated authority, the wretched policy of the Persian court to encourage perpetual disputes between the governors of the distant provinces, with a view to incapacitate them for engaging in projects of higher ambition, for some time Artaxerxes continued without alarm, though not without suspicion, at the reports of the increasing numbers that daily flocked to the standard of his perfidious brother. At length Tissaphernes, convinced of the real designs of his rival, set off with all speed from Miletus to the imperial residence, and gave such indubitable proofs both of his own innocence and of the treason of Cyrus, as induced Darius immediately to take the field with a great army, that he might be prepared to meet the danger that threatened his throne and life. Having drawn out his forces on the spacious plains of Cunaxa, in the province of Babylon, where the Persian cavalry, still formidable in battle, could act with most effect, he there fixed his camp, and waited with dignified composure the awful day that was to establish, or annihilate, his just claim to the throne of Persia against the intrigues and usurpation of his turbulent and aspiring brother.

Cyrus, in the mean time, was advancing to the Babylonian territory, by long and rapid marches, at the head of an army of which Clearchus and the principal Persian leaders alone knew the real destination. The incessant fatigues they endured, the mysterious silence observed in regard to the enemy with whom they were to contend, want of regular and sufficient pay, owing to the exhausted treasury of Cyrus, together with numerous other irritating causes, required the exertion of the most consummate policy joined to the most undaunted firmness, in the general, to keep so vast and various an assemblage of men from mutiny; and especially the Greeks, who were several times on the point of disbanding. When, at length, after having passed the great Tauric range, they had advanced so far as to make retreat scarcely practicable, and when the plunder of some of the wealthiest cities of Cilicia, and other rich satrapies in their way, had enabled him to discharge existing arrears, and promise a considerable increase of pay in future, the real object of the expedition was announced to the army, and the immense spoil held out to them as their certain reward, added to the glory to be acquired by success in so hazardous an expedition, not only reconciled the Greeks to the project, but animated them to push forward with ardour to its accomplishment. The native legions were at all times too much in the habit of paying implicit obedience to the despotic injunctions of their chieftains to make the least demur or offer the smallest opposition to the orders for marching to dethrone their prince. The various particulars of this long and toilsome march, the battle of the contending armies on the plain of Cunaxa in Assyria, the consequent death of Cyrus himself, hurried on by his impetuous spirit to brave inevitable destruction by rushing on Artaxerxes in the midst of his body-guard, and still more deserving of notice, the celebrated retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, under the conduct of the brave and judicious general, who so elegantly and circumstantially relates it, are to be found in the interesting details of the Grecian history of this period. They are solely mentioned here for the purpose of distinctly marking the causes and progress of that fatal rupture, that long-continued enmity, between the two countries, which finally terminated in the downfal of the Persian monarchy.

CHAPTER III.

The PERSIAN *and* GREEK *History of this Period continued.—The Effect which the celebrated Retreat of the* TEN THOUSAND, *under Xenophon, had on the future Conduct of Greece towards Persia.*—AGESILAUS.—*The Peace of* ANTALCIDAS.—*Persia increases the Number of foreign Mercenaries in her Army, and, by dividing, governs Greece.—Rapid Rise and Decline of* THEBES.—PHILIP, *King of Macedon, gains a decided Ascendancy over the rest of Greece.—Partly by Bribery, and partly by open Force, subdues them.—He is chosen Generalissimo of the confederated Greeks against Persia.—Philip assassinated by Pausanias.*—ESCANDER, *or* ALEXANDER, *succeeds to his Throne, and exalted Station in the Army of Greece.—Persian Accounts of* ESCANDER, *and of his Motives for invading Persia.—Alexander crosses the Hellespont.—Visits Ilium.—Battle of the* GRANICUS.—*He subdues Asia Minor.—Battle of* ISSUS.—*Alexander conquers Syria, and exterminates the Tyrians.—Marches into Egypt.—Builds Alexandria.—Visits the Temple of Jupiter Hammon.—Returns to Asia, and renews the War.—The Battle of* ARBELA.—*Death of* DARIUS, *and Extinction of the* CAIANIAN *Dynasty.*

THE decided superiority which the disciplined valour of a small Greek army gave them over the enervated myriads of Persia, was so effectually demonstrated by the important enterprise alluded to in the preceding chapter, that the Lacedæmonian government, now committed in open hostility with that of Susa, reinforced the remainder of that invincible band, which had thus retreated under Xenophon, with fresh troops, commanded by Agesilaus, a man equally eminent in the field of politics and of war, with positive orders not only to emancipate the Asiatic Greeks wholly from the Persian yoke, but to carry on a vigorous and active war against the satrap who governed the districts in which they lay. These orders were immediately and successfully put in execution, in the first instance, against Tissaphernes, satrap of Sardis, who was defeated in a regular battle, and the plunder of his rich government afforded ample means of enlarging the sphere of operation, and subjecting that of Bithynia, and others still more remote from Greece*. While Agesilaus was pursuing this victorious career, and on the point of carrying the war into the very heart of Persia, a storm, more fearful than ever had yet hovered over any city of Greece, was about to burst upon Lacedæmon. The ill use she had made of the conquest of her once-haughty rival, and her almost boundless control over the other dependant states, had operated, in conjunction with a plentiful diffusion of Persian gold, to arm against her, in one general confederacy, all the inferior republics of Greece, which, with Athens at their head, were preparing to take a severe revenge for the injuries inflicted by her tyranny. The intrepid spirit and deep political wisdom of Agesilaus were now become necessary to the very existence of his country, and he was recalled from the ardent pursuit of foreign glory to the domestic defence of all that was dear to him as a *king* and a *man*. But his return and exertion, though vigorous, were of little avail: it was now the turn of Athens once more to triumph. The Lacedæmonian fleet being completely beaten at sea, by the confederated Persian and Athenian navy, under the able conduct of Conon, left Laconia open to the ravages of the enemy; and afforded opportunity to that patriot admiral to rebuild the long walls which had formed the glory

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*** Xenophon Hellen, lib. iii. cap. 4, sect. 25, et Plutarch in Agesilao,**

and defence of Athens, but had been demolished through the jealousy of her rival in the Peloponnesian war. In the end, the constant and deep-laid policy of Persia, in regard to Greece, prevailed, and both powers, impoverished and exhausted by incessant conflicts, in which fortune alternately favoured the contending powers, were at length obliged to submit to a peace dictated by Persia; that disgraceful peace which bears the name of Antalcidas, the projector of it, which, however necessary to Greece in her present debilitated state, and even sanctioned by the assent of Agesilaus himself, certainly rendered abortive all that commander's noble and repeated efforts to liberate the Asiatic Greeks, and threw them again at the feet of their former tyrants*.

During the remainder of the long reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, by a continued adherence to the same line of insidious policy in regard to Greece, that is, by following the old maxim of *dividing* and *governing*, alternately dispensing bribes and holding out menaces, the great leading states were kept pretty equally balanced against each other; at least no such formidable confederacy against the Persian power, as had more than once spread terror even through the distant court of Susa, again appeared to interrupt its repose. Henceforward, too, a considerable band of Greek mercenaries constantly ranged under the banners of that empire, and were consisidered as the flower of its army. No less than twenty thousand under the command of Iphicrates, an Athenian general, attended this monarch shortly after his expedition into Egypt; and, though that expedition proved unfortunate, the miscarriage was by no means to be laid to their charge, but to the obstinate infatuation of Pharnabazus, the Persian commander. In fact, they seem ever to have well deserved their pay, and fought with fidelity and zeal, a remarkable instance of which occurred at the battle of Issus between Darius and Alexander; for, when the Persian legions had given way in every quarter, the Greek mercenaries alone stood their ground, even against the attacks of their invading countrymen; and, by their determined bravery, were nearly rescuing the Persian empire from that gulph of destruction on which it then verged. It must be owned, however, that this perpetual recruiting of the Persian army with Greek mercenaries, and this constant dependance upon them, in all important engagements, were the extreme of impolicy, and gradually paved the way to the Grecian irruption in the reign of their last ill-fated monarch. The mercenaries retained, indeed, performed with fidelity their task; but those, that were discharged at the expiration of the period for which they had enlisted, returned to their native country, impressed with a perfect knowledge of the vices and luxury, and a rooted contempt for the imbecility, of the Persian government. They diffused these sentiments widely through the Grecian states, and thus kept alive the favourite idea, secretly, but warmly, cherished among them, of repaying some time or other the visit of Xerxes, intended to crush them collectively. The Persians on the other hand, while they saw and admired the steady bravery and exact discipline of the Grecian legions, neglected to improve their own by the brilliant example; but, on the contrary, knowing that their overflowing treasures could always procure them foreign soldiers, suffered the vigour of their native troops to languish in inaction.

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* Xenophon, lib. iv. p. 551, et Plutarch in Agesilao.

On the decease of Artaxerxes Mnemon, according to the Greeks, his youngest son, Ochus, ascended the throne through a torrent of kindred blood. This Ochus, as has been before observed, is unknown in the Persian records; for, he is not even mentioned by Mirkhond; and Sir William Jones, in this period of his concise Memoir, has the following observation:—"There seems, in this place, to be a chasm of many years in the annals of the Persians, for they say nothing of Ardeshir, son of Dara, by Parizadeh, or Parysatis, whose brother Cyrus led the Greeks to Babylon; nor of the third Ardeshir, whom our historians call Ochus; nor of Arogus, whose true name it has not been in my power to discover. Now, if we suppose, as we reasonably may, that these three kings reigned about twenty-one years each, we shall bring the reign of Dara the younger to the year 337 before Christ, which will agree tolerably well with the chronologers both of Asia and Europe*." Of a monarch terrible in vengeance, and treacherous in friendship, like Ochus, neither Lacedæmon nor Athens courted the alliance, or dared in their weakened state to rouse the resentment; especially as he was a formidable warrior, and, in the beginning of his reign, reduced both Egypt and Phœnicia, which had revolted, once more beneath the Persian yoke. His sanguinary reign was at length terminated by a death as violent, and torments as painful, as any he had inflicted on the numerous victims of his undistinguishing fury†.

The Egyptian slave Bagoas, who, in pious revenge for his murder of the god Apis, had compelled Ochus to drink the poisoned bowl, immediately raised to the vacant throne Arses, the youngest son of the deceased emperor; but this new pageant of royalty, being either not sufficiently callous in iniquity, or not compliant enough with his patron's designs, was speedily assassinated. Darius Codomannus, a direct descendant of Darius Nothos, was then exalted by this tyrannical arbiter of the fate of kings, to the imperial honours. The character of Darius is very differently drawn by the Persian and Greek historians; the former representing him as a severe, cruel, and implacable, despot; the latter as a prince, mild, magnanimous, and amiable‡. It is possible that character might have varied with his situation, and that misfortune awakened the virtues to which prosperity is unfavourable. He is allowed, however, by both parties to have been a prince of great personal bravery and accomplishments, and it was to a happy exertion of fortitude that he retained, even the few years he reigned, the possession of the Persian throne; for, according to Diodorus, when the perfidious regicide, fearing his independent spirit, resolved to dispatch him as he had done Arses, and caused the fatal, but disguised, potion, that was to mingle him with his predecessors, to be administered to his sovereign, Darius, apprized of his villany, ordered the traitor to be brought into his presence, and there compelled him to drink the poison which he had prepared for himself*.

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* Short Hist. of Persia, p. 54.

† Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. sect. 5.

‡ Short Hist. of Persia, p. 56.

During these revolutions at Susa, the states of Greece were again convulsed with violent internal dissensions, where a new competitor for the sovereign power had started up in Thebes, the hitherto-despised capital of Bæotia. With the continued and obstinate contests, however, that immediately followed between the Lacedæmonian and Athenian states, or rather the greater part of confederated Greece with that aspiring republic, rapid in its exaltation, and not less rapid in its decline, the History of India could have no possible concern, had not Philip, the father of its destined conqueror been brought up under Epaminondas, its invincible general, and instructed by him in the principles and practice of that military science, which he afterwards so effectually and fatally employed, in conjunction with the blackest perfidy, the deepest dissimulation, the profusest bribery, by means of the gold mines at Philippi, and in defiance of the fulminating eloquence of Demosthenes, to subvert the liberties of all Greece. When that event was effected by a series of events, the consideration of which is foreign to our subject, the Macedonian monarch, whose ambition disdained the limits set to his conquests by the surrounding ocean, panted to display his genius on that nobler theatre, the continent of Asia. Flattered by the easy subjugation of one empire, he already, in the comprehensive grasp of his aspiring mind, meditated the destruction of another; and no object less magnificent than the sceptre of Persia, weakened as that monarchy was by its vast extent, and undermined by the general corruption of both governors and governed, seemed worthy of his boundless ambition.

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* Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. sect. 6.

Greece, in a divided state, impressed Persia with no terror; united, she was dreadful and irresistible. Her present union, indeed, under Philip, was the result of constraint; and, though the means used by that politic prince to effect the general submission to his will through all its limits, which followed the decisive battle of Choronæa, ought ever to be spoken of in the strong reprobative language of Demosthenes, yet it cannot be denied that some powerful commanding influence was necessary to cement the varying interests; and that, without it, the national energy could never have been fully concentrated, nor effectually directed to one focal point. The ancient ardour to revenge the invasion of Xerxes still glowed in every Grecian bosom, inflamed by the accumulated injuries and oppressions experienced during nearly three centuries from the imperious satraps that presided on her western frontier. Philip himself, in addition to the general incentive of glory and aggrandizement, pretended also private motives of revenge for the assistance recently and avowedly given by the king of Persia to the besieged cities of Perinthus and Byzantium*. By means of his usurped authority, having convened a general assembly of the Amphyctions, he there procured himself to be declared generalissimo of the Grecian forces to act against Persia. Having in this capacity settled with the Amphyctionic body the quota of troops and money to be furnished by the respective states of Greece for that important expedition, he dismissed the assembly, and, retiring to Macedon, devoted his whole time and attention to insure success to the daring project; but, while Philip was thus eagerly engaged in planning the downfal of the Persian monarch, he himself fell a victim to the private revenge of an insulted courtier, to whom he had neglected to render the essential justice which atrocious guilt demanded*. The honour of subjugating Persia was therefore reserved for a son, who, with his father's genius and ambition, possessed a mind superior to the baseness of fraud; a son, who, with all the numerous faults which disgraced him, disdained to conquer by *bribes* where the *sword* could prove ineffectual.

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* Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. cap. 77.

During the extended period in which the Macedonian kingdom was holden in tributary chains by the Persian monarchs, there had not been wanting one or two striking proofs how ill the sovereigns of the former brooked the insolence of the latter; and, though compelled to submit to their control, how sincerely attached they were, at heart, to the great cause of Greece and liberty. The first, a very violent one indeed, was given in the reign of Amyntas, the ninth sovereign of Macedonia, and given too by an ALEXANDER, a name fatal to Persia from the beginning! When, in the reign of the first Darius, the Persian general, Mardonius, was on his return from the conquest of Thrace, he dispatched seven noblemen, officers of high rank in his army, to demand from Amyntas the usual tribute of *earth* and *water*, as an acknowledgement of the submission of the people whom he governed to the great king. The ambassadors were respectfully received, and magnificently entertained: the required tribute also, with whatever reluctance, was granted. At a banquet purposely provided for his Persian guests, Amyntas was requested, in the hour of high festivity, to introduce the women of the palace; a custom consistent enough with the luxury of Persian manners, but by no means compatible with the strictness of those of Macedonia. Amyntas, however, fearful of giving offence to the formidable power whom they represented, indulged them in their desire, and the ladies were commanded to join the company. Their exquisite beauty, added to the sparkling wine, so far inflamed his Persian guests, that they immediately proceeded to violate hospitality by the most indecorous treatment of the princesses. This being observed, with rage and indignation, by the young Alexander, his son, he contrived some excuse for the women to withdraw, and, in the mean time, caused an equal number of handsome youths to be dressed in women's apparel, and armed with concealed poniards. When the intoxicated Persians demanded the return of the illustrious females, these youths were admitted, who, the instant they began to repeat their indecent freedoms, fell upon them with their poinards, and laid them prostrate at their feet. By an exertion of consummate policy on the part of Alexander, the affair was hushed, and the kingdom saved from that inevitable destruction which must have attended the discovery*. It was this very Alexander, indeed, who afterwards became the herald of the message sent by Mardonius, after the disgraceful flight of Xerxes, alluded to in the preceding chapter, and insidiously intended to separate Athens from the general confederacy of which she was not only the head, but the inspiring soul. This message, it is fair to conclude, was undertaken by compulsion; but he shortly after assumed a conduct more consonant to his name and the true interests of his kingdom, in which we find a second proof of the radical antipathy of the Macedonians to their Asiatic masters. In the dead of the night, immediately previous to the battle of Platæa, so fatal to Mardonius and his army, Alexander, at that time following the Persians as a compelled ally, mounted his horse, and, riding to that part of the Grecian camp which the Athenians occupied, unfolded to Aristides, their general, the plan of attack intended to be made the next day by Mardonius on the Grecian lines; he mentioned this attack as the result of necessity from the exhausted state of the magazines, no longer adequate to the supply of so vast an army; if that attack should be prevented by any unforeseen circumstance, he encouraged them not to retire from their present advantageous position: he added, that his affinity and friendship to the Greek nation led him thus to hazard his life and kingdom in their cause; and he confided in their gratitude, should they prove victorious, to attempt the emancipation of Macedonia from the tyranny which they themselves had so magnanimously disdained, and hitherto so successfully resisted*. These instances, and many others that might be adduced, of the impatience with which the Macedonians bore the yoke of Persia, seemed to me no improper introduction to the particular detail of events in the subsequent pages, which display their struggles for the dominion of Asia; and indeed of the world itself, which then acknowledged Asia for its master.

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* The disgusting story of the abused Pausanias is told at length in the 16th book of Diodorus; but, though this unredressed grievance was the alleged cause of the murder of Philip, it probably was not the real one, which may, with more justice, be referred to the secret machinations of the jealous court of Persia, which had its emissaries in every city of Greece.

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* Herodot. lib. v. cap. 20.

Before we enter on the Greek accounts of Alexander's Persian and Indian conquests, it is necessary, since our historic march is properly on Oriental ground, that we cursorily notice from Mirkhond, the Persian historian, such relations as have been preserved for posterity in his page, professedly taken from the ancient archives of the nation concerning the great Escander, as they denominated him. Romantic as they are, they cannot, with propriety, be omitted. It has been already observed, that the three monarchs, whom the Greeks represent as having reigned in the interval between Darius Nothos and Codomannus, are not to be met with in the Persian annals. Their acts are referred to Ardeshir, Homai, and the first Darius; and indeed with no greater inconsistency than making the reigns of those princes disproportionably long. Codomannus is called by Mirkhond, Darab, *the son of Darab;* and, with a view, it is presumed, to preserve the lineal succession in the royal family of Persia unbroken, Escander himself is made out to have been the son of Darab, by a daughter of Philip, or *Filikous* as they term him. With this prince, Darius is represented to have waged, in person, a successful war, to have compelled him to pay a large annual tribute, and afterwards, by way of cementing more closely the ties of national union, to have demanded of him his daughter, accounted one of the most beautiful women of her age, but whom, shortly after marriage, he returned, when pregnant, to the court of Macedon, on the plea, that, with all her beauty, her breath was too disgustingly offensive to permit her longer to share his bed. On this absurd story, it may be remarked, in the first place, that we read in the Greek historians, of no particular act of hostility that passed between any Persian sovereign and Philip, besides the former throwing succours into the besieged cities of Perinthus and Byzantium; secondly, that it is highly improbable that the GREAT KING would condescend to espouse the daughter of the petty subjugated sovereign of Macedon; and, thirdly, if he *had* espoused her, that he would insultingly have sent her back on any such frivolous pretence. Besides, had this been the case, would the politic Alexander, ambitious of the Persian throne, have neglected, by public manifestos, to urge his hereditary claim; or would he have paid that affectionate regard, which, to his honour as a son, he ever *did pay* to Olympias, not only when first disgracefully repudiated by his father, on account of imputed infidelity, but through life.

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* Herodotus, lib. ix. cap. 45, and Plutarch in Vita Aristid.

Extravagant as they are, such are the Asiatic statements; and, in fact, according to them, it was the determination of Escander to assert his maternal right to the Persian throne, added to the invitation of the nobles of Persia disgusted at the *vices* and *cruelty* of Darius the Second, which induced him to invade that empire.

Whatever improbability there may be in the accounts given by Oriental writers concerning the immediate descent of Alexander, there is no reason wholly to discredit their relations concerning an actual and violent war carried on for some time between the two monarchs, Darius Ochus and Philip, or *Filikous*, as they denominate the latter, on account of his refusal to pay the accustomed tribute. That it terminated adversely to Philip, perpetually engaged as he was in attempts to subjugate the Grecian states, is also not incredible; but that he was compelled to purchase peace of the Persian sovereign, by consenting to pay an increased annual tribute of *forty thousand pieces of gold**, as recorded by Mirkhond and the historians cited in D'Herbelot, is an assertion that partakes far more of the air of Eastern fable than of sober historic truth†. It is not, however, so much the magnitude of the sum as the degradation of Philip's martial character, by so servile a compromise, that renders this account improbable; for, Diodorus acquaints us, that he received yearly, from the mines of Philippi, a thousand talents of gold‡, which amount to nearly three millions sterling, and could easily have been spared from the treasures devoted to corrupt the venal republics of Greece. Such, however, are the Persian traditional histories, and the quarrel and consequent irruption of Alexander is by them referred to the following cause:—The stipulated tribute having been again withholden, an ambassador was dispatched to the court of Macedon to demand it of the young monarch, who returned this metaphorical answer; that *the bird, which had been accustomed to lay those golden eggs,* (the original term signifying both an *egg* and a *piece of money,*) *had taken its flight into the other world.* This message violently enraged Darius, who sent back the ambassador with a second message, equally irritating and insulting, accompanied with a present expressive of his marked contempt for the person and power of the juvenile possessor of the Macedonian throne. Before the Persian herald could arrive, Alexander had taken the field at the head of an army, worthy of their general; an army more brave than numerous, inflexibly determined, at all hazards, to humble the overgrown power of Persia, and consisting of the flower of the warlike progeny of Greece, collected from every region, whence the most undaunted champions of freedom for three centuries had issued forth to brave the fiercest rage of battle and run the noblest career of glory. By far the greater part of his infantry, however, were natives of the mountainous districts of the Superior Macedonia, cradled in the forest and rocked by the storm, who, having had their turbulent spirits regulated by the strict discipline of Philip, had constantly fought under his banners, and been trained, from their youth, to conquest. Such, in general, were the hardy bands that formed his infantry; while the wide plains of Thrace and Thessaly furnished him with squadrons of cavalry, the most expert and daring in the world. The total amount is stated by Arrian at thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, with which he was now to contend against the uncounted myriads of Persia*.

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* Mirkhond apud Texeira, p. 79.

† D'Herbelot, under the article Escander, ubi supra.

‡ Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. p. 260.

Were I at the beginning instead of being near the close of a great historical work, I should be tempted by the subject to launch out pretty much at large into the history of this great man, to whose original cast of character and comprehensive scope of mind, bold to project, and vigorous to execute, plans of equal magnificence and utility, and of which, had he lived to mature them, the whole human race would probably have reaped the lasting benefit, preceding historians do not appear to have done sufficient justice. For what, had he been fortunate enough to have lived to subdue the irregularities of youthful vanity and passion, was not to have been expected from a prince of Alexander's genius and talents, tutored in the military art by so consummate a general as Philip, and in letters, philosophy, and politics, by so great a master in every science as Aristotle. The task, indeed, of drawing his portrait with the bold pencil which a character so transcendently distinguished by the noblest qualities, however sullied by temporary excess, requires, properly belongs to the general historian of his life, and not to him whose province is only to record his exploits in the limited sphere of Western Hindostan; but I cannot avoid, however prematurely, observing, that even those exploits entitle him to immortality. For, what general ever, before himself, carried on an Indian campaign, and kept the contested field, in the country of a brave and obstinate enemy during two rainy seasons? or what soldiers, besides those inured to the hardy athletic exercises of Greece, and brought up in the woods and mountains of Macedonia and Thessaly, could have borne, as, according to Diodorus, they cheerfully did, a continued drenching rain of *seventy* days†, surrounded with the waters of the inundated Panjab; which must have been the case, since Alexander entered India in the spring*, when the rainy season had already begun in the mountains, and crossed the Hydaspes at the summer solstice, when it was at its height. Who ever, before Macedonia's Madman, as our great poet, ignorant of the vast designs he had formed, unwarrantably calls him, embarked so large an army on board a fleet hastily constructed; and, though every thing was at stake, in the ardent pursuit of those designs, dared the unknown perils of a rapid and dangerous river; exposed the greatest part of them to instant destruction, by coasting the Indian Ocean in the face of the monsoon; and successfully braved the accumulated horrors of the Gedrosian deserts? But I must not farther anticipate a subject upon which it will be my duty presently to expatiate more at large, and have merely premised thus much by way of apology for commencing, at so early a period of the life of Alexander, a history with which that of India has no intimate connection, till the battle of Arbela had decided the fate of the Persian empire. Still, however, the subject is not wholly irrelative; still it is the history of the Sovereign, by conquest, of Western Hindostan. Minute details are out of the question; a general sketch of occurrences, previous to that event, will be found of use to illustrate those that follow it. We shall be taught, by the survey, no longer to impute to motives of vanity and fruitless curiosity the perilous voyage down the Indus; the necessary, but arduous, subjection of the predatory nations who inhabited the banks of that river to a wild spirit of making conquests and a boundless thirst of plunder; nor consider the circuitous march along the desolate coast and burning sands of Carmania, to Babylon, as the extreme of rashness and folly, or the result of a frantic desire to surpass the feats of Semiramis and Cyrus!

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* Arrian Expedit. Alexand. lib. i. p. 18.

† Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. cap. 94.

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* Arrian, lib. iv. cap. 21.

Alexander, according to the most esteemed of his biographers, was born in the summer of the year 356, and succeeded to the throne of Macedon in the year 336, before Christ; being at that time little more than twenty years of age. But the intellectual faculties of this prince by no means kept pace with the slow progress to maturity of the corporeal: in his earliest youth he astonished the court of his father by the display of unrivalled genius in almost every line of exertion; Nature seemed to have formed him for some project transcendently daring and magnificent, while Art and Science exhausted all their treasures to finish the prodigy.

Before Christ, 336.

Whatever may be strictly called Grecian history, I mean such portions of it as are not immediately connected with that of Persia, and consequently with India, at this period in tributary dependence on the former empire, can have no claim to insertion in these pages. Yet, before we attend Alexander across the Hellespont, it will not be improper to observe, that the sudden death of Philip, the inexperienced age of Alexander, and the impatience of the Greek states to throw off the yoke of a Greek oppressor, had not permitted the latter to take quiet possession of the wide sovereignty acquired by his father. Trained up, however, in maxims of government equally vigorous in the design and rapid in the execution, Alexander allowed no time for opposition to ripen to maturity, or any general confederacy to be formed by the dissatisfied cities of Greece. With intrepidity and speed that evinced a mind fully adequate, even at this early period, to his new and important station, he immediately led the veteran troops of Philip to every district of Greece which had elevated the standard of rebellion against his authority. The states nearest to Macedon, which had set the first example of insurrection, soon found a second Philip among them, at once to charm them by his eloquence and awe them by his sword. Thebes paid the penalty of its obstinate perseverance in rebellion by its utter destruction; and Athens itself was glad to escape the same fate by making the most abject submission to that conqueror against whom she had been the principal means of inciting the rest of Greece to take up arms*. In this disgraceful reverse of fortune, however, it should not be forgotten that she had the virtue to refuse surrendering up Demosthenes to the fury of his enemy, and Alexander was too ardently intent upon his meditated Persian expedition, to delay it, by prolonging the contest for the sole cause of punishing that obnoxious orator. Greece being thus restored to a state of profound tranquillity, Alexander was unanimously appointed generalissimo of its united forces destined to act against Persia, in a general assembly of the states convened for that purpose at Corinth; and, having made the necessary arrangements for preserving that security during his absence, both in Macedonia and the rest of the dependent cities, but especially in Macedonia, of which he appointed Antipater governor, with an army highly disciplined and brave, of twelve thousand infantry and fifteen hundred horse, he commenced that celebrated expedition, to the particular detail of which we now return.

Before Christ, 334.

Alexander was one of those enlightened princes who consider RELIGION as essential to the wise government of an empire. Previously, therefore, to his departure from Greece, he offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods of his country, in order to gain their protection and avert evil. Indeed, his conduct in this respect was uniformly consistent throughout the whole of his expedition, as no undertaking of consequence commenced or terminated without the solemnity of sacrifice. To these sacrifices succeeded public feasts of great splendor, as between men of whom a great portion were doomed never to meet again. After which the king made ample presents to the courtiers, dividing among his friends even the royal domains and hereditary revenues. On this occasion there fell from him that remarkable expression which so strikingly displayed the grandeur of his designs and the extent of his views, fully demonstrating that he had no idea of a speedy return, if ever, to his hereditary kingdom of Macedon; for, when one of his courtiers, struck with the prodigality of his donations, asked him what he reserved for himself, Alexander replied, HOPE: in other words I have no occasion for the riches of Macedon; the treasures of Asia, the subjugated world, will shortly be mine*.

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* Arrian, lib. i. cap. 10, 11, et Plutarch in Vita Alexand.

When the army assembled at Amphipolis, on the river Strymon, in order to pass over Hellespont into Asia, it amounted, according to Arrian, as before observed, to thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse; the former commanded by Parmenio, the latter by the generals Philotas and Calas. Thence they marched to Sestos, where they embarked on board a fleet of one hundred and sixty galleys, of three benches of oars, besides others of smaller burthen. When the vessel which contained Alexander had reached the middle of the streight, he sacrificed a bull to Neptune, and poured out a libation to the Nereids from a golden cup. On approaching the continent, which was to be the scene of his future glory, Alexander, in a transport of joy, launched a javelin, which struck deep into the earth; and, when the ship reached it, he leapt in complete armour upon the shore, sacrificed to the tutelary gods of Greece, and immediately hastened to that Ilium of which his favourite Homer had early charmed him with the affecting tale. The electric effect which a visit of this kind, to a spot so consecrated from age to age, must have had on the mind of our young hero, may more easily be conceived than described; he sacrificed to the manes of the mighty heroes whom he made his exemplar; he adorned their tombs with garlands; and he departed with re-animated ambition to rival them in renown.

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* Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. p. 361.

Under these impressions he pursued his march, without opposition, to the river Granicus, where an army, says Diodorus, of one hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse, commanded by the Persian governors of the neighbouring provinces, lay encamped, in order to dispute the passage. Arrian states the Persian force at twenty thousand foot and the like number of horse; but the Persians, who could always bring such immense armies into the field, would scarcely risk an action under the larger number of infantry mentioned by Diodorus, while Arrian's account of the cavalry may yet be correct, because on them their principal dependence lay. The Granicus was a river exceedingly rapid, and, in some parts, very deep; the banks were steep, broken, and craggy. No position, therefore, seemed to the Persian commander more eligible to check the career of the invading Greeks than the station they had chosen; but this arrangement was in diametrical opposition to that of an officer of far higher military experience than them all, Memnon of Rhodes, whom Darius had appointed commander-in-chief of the whole coast of Asia Minor, a man who well knew the desperate courage of the enemy with whom they had to engage. It was his decided opinion that the Persians should by no means, at this early period of the contest, hazard a battle with the more experienced Macedonians; but that their numerous cavalry should scour the country in every direction, laying all in desolation, that the supplies of forage and provision might be wholly cut off, and the invading enemy be driven to the necessity of a retreat from the mere pressure of famine. In the mean time, he proposed to send an army into Macedonia, and thus divide their force and distract their councils. This judicious advice was over-ruled by the selfish policy of the governors of the maritime provinces, who, unwilling to have their satrapies desolated and their property destroyed, imputed these sound maxims in the science of war to latent treachery in Memnon.

The Persians, thus advantageously posted, and lining the whole shore to a great extent, conceived that every attempt to dislodge them must be fruitless, and looked down with dismay on the approaching army of the Macedonians. On the arrival of the latter, notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy in numbers and their strong position; notwithstanding the fatigue of a long march which his troops had just undergone, and the urgent desire of Parmenio that he would defer the attack till the following morning; Alexander, disdaining to be stopped by a brook, as he termed the Granicus, after having passed an ocean, finding a place where the stream was fordable, commanded the trumpets to sound, and a considerable body of his light-horse to advance into the river, himself following at the head of the right wing, which consisted wholly of Thessalian cavalry, to give them support and animate them to the attack. The Persian horse, posted on the heights above, poured down upon them, as they forded the river, a shower of arrows, which killed and wounded many of the horses; and, as the Macedonians successively endeavoured to ascend the steep banks, pushed them back into the stream with their long spears. The place most favourable for effecting a landing was, in particular, guarded by a strong and select band of Persian cavalry, at the head of whom fought Memnon, the Rhodian, with his sons, and the most valiant of the Persian officers. These brave men made dreadful havoc of the assailing enemy, so that all that fought in the first ranks were slain, except a few who retreated to the stronger body now advancing in an impenetrable phalanx, under Alexander himself. These, drawing up in order, as they reached the shore, by their superior discipline, their martial skill, and the strength and depth of their column, gradually gained ground upon the Persians, and drove them from their station.

The other battalions now pressing eagerly forward, successively ascended the bank, in spite of all the efforts of the Persians to repel them, and the contest became most obstinate and bloody. In the midst of it, Alexander observing Spithridates, son-in-law of Darius, mounted on a stately horse, and fighting valiantly at the head of a band of Persian officers and relatives, immediately rode up at full speed to the spot, and, at the first onset, thrust him through the mouth with his spear. At that instant Rhæsaces, the brother of Spithridates, coming up, aimed so furious a blow with his sword at the king's head, that it divided his helmet, grazed his skull, and struck off a part of his plume. He was just on the point of repeating the blow, which, in all probability, would have annihilated his hopes of being the conqueror of Asia, when Clytus, springing forward, with one stroke of his cimeter, cut off the sword-arm of the fierce assailant, and saved the life of his master. The Macedonians, animated by the example of their sovereign to brave every danger, now rushed upon the enemy, and soon routed all but the Greek mercenaries, who firmly stood their ground, and for some time sustained the attack of the whole army; but, being at length overpowered, were nearly all cut to pieces. Two thousand of them, who surrendered themselves prisoners, were sent in chains to Macedon, the just scorn of their fellow-citizens, for having fought on the side of the barbarians against their country. With them were transmitted three hundred suits of Persian armour, to be suspended as trophies in the temple of Pallas, in grateful remembrance of this important victory*. Diodorus states the loss of the Persians, in the battle of the Granicus, at ten thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry; but it seems scarcely credible, considering the obstinate resistance of the Persians on its banks, and the numbers that perished in the river, that the loss of the invading army should only amount to eighty-five horse and thirty foot†. In this, as in all other similar cases throughout the campaign in Asia, we must allow no small latitude to Greek vanity and exaggeration.

We have been more particular in our account of this first engagement of Alexander in Asia, because it clearly shews the resolute character of the man, in exposing his life to such imminent danger, and his full confidence, or rather a kind of prescient conviction, of the success of his Asiatic expedition. The affair of the Granicus has been branded by Plutarch‡ as the result of extreme rashness and almost *insanity* in the Macedonian hero, in attacking, to such infinite disadvantage, an army so superior in point of numbers and position; but he is fully exculpated by Arrian, who brings in Alexander, declaring it was done that the enemy might see the determined ardour with which he pursued his great object of subduing Persia, and that he might at once strike an irresistible terror into the soul of his enemies. The consequence was as Alexander had wisely prejudged; this decisive victory put him in possession of Sardis, the capital of Lydia, and all the adjacent region. The rich city of Ephesus surrendered to him without a summons; and, though at Miletus and Halicarnassus, he met with a vigorous resistance from the determined valour of Memnon, the Rhodian, who successively threw himself into those cities with a body of resolute Greeks, who had escaped with him from the battle of the Granicus, yet, on their subjection, all the other Greek cities of Asia joyfully opened their gates, and hailed him their deliverer from the bondage of Persia. The approach of winter put an end to the first campaign, and left him at full leisure to provide for the security of his new conquests.

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* Arrian, lib. i. cap. 17.

† Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. p. 367.

‡ Plutarch in Vit. Alexand.

Alexander, about this period, took the uncommon resolution of entirely dismissing his fleet; another circumstance that strongly evinces how very remote from his thoughts was an idea of returning to his hereditary dominions, and that he thought Asia already his own. At the same time, he took effectual care to render the Persian fleet useless, by immediate and vigorous efforts to make himself master of all the ports on its extended coast. To this end, having obtained fresh recruits to his army from Greece, during the winter, early in the spring of the year 333, he began his march through Phrygia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, and the other maritime provinces of Asia Minor, all which he rapidly subdued, appointing governors to each from the number of his most tried friends. In the mean time, Darius was by no means inactive. At the desire of Memnon himself, he dispatched that faithful and enterprising officer with a considerable army into Greece, with the view of exciting insurrection among the Greek states, and of compelling Alexander to return to the defence of his hereditary dominions. The unfortunate death of Memnon, by sickness, before Mytelene, which city he was at that time besieging, frustrated all the intended effects of this wise project; and Darius, now convinced of the necessity of vigorous exertion, summoned the forces of his vast empire to Babylon, where they assembled to the amount of nearly half a million. Instead, however, of waiting for Alexander in the wide plains of that province where his immense army, and, in particular, his cavalry, would have room to act to the greatest advantage against an army so very inferior, his evil genius hurried him into the fatal

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resolution of seeking the Macedonian monarch in the confined and mountainous district of Cilicia. On being informed of the movements of Darius, Alexander immediately commenced his march for Upper Asia, being determined to offer him battle, and he had already passed the three celebrated streights of that province, when, to his astonishment, he learned that Darius himself had entered Cilicia, and was at Sochas, within two days march of those streights. No intelligence could be more agreeable to Alexander than that of his enemy having taken a position in so confined a situation, as must necessarily deprive him of the use of half his forces; and therefore, without any delay, he repassed the streights, in order to bring him to engagement. Alexander, in advancing and forming his army for that purpose, contrived to have his right wing protected by the mountains, and his left by the sea, to prevent the possibility of being surrounded. Darius opposed to them, in his first line, thirty thousand Greek mercenaries, supported on their right and left by sixty-thousand heavy-armed Persian cavalry; the whole number of which the ground they occupied would allow. Behind the whole were ranged, in crowded and useless lines, the remainder of this unwieldy army, in the midst of which, according to an ancient custom of the Persian monarchs, Darius himself took his station. In this, as in the former battle, a river, — the river Pinarus, — separated the two armies.

Alexander took upon himself the command of the right wing of his army, with which he rushed forward to attack the left wing of that of Darius, which he broke and defeated. In the rapid pursuit of them he crossed the Pinarus; and, observing Darius fighting from his chariot, and surrounded with nobles and the flower of the Persian army, he eagerly pressed forward to engage him. He hoped, by an exertion of personal valour, at once to put an end to the contest; but successive bodies of horse interposing, prevented his coming near enough to attack him, and the contest in that quarter soon became extremely violent and bloody; the heaps of slain nobility, who had sacrificed their lives to preserve that of their master, making almost an entrenchment round the chariot of the Persian sovereign. In the heat of the conflict, Alexander was wounded in the thigh; and the horses that drew the chariot of Darius, taking fright, became utterly ungovernable, and hurried their master from the scene of death. The involuntary flight of Darius was the signal for that of his troops, and the foremost ranks falling back upon each other, the first tumultuously pressing on the second, the second on the third, and so on, a scene of infinite confusion and disaster ensued, and multitudes were trampled to death both by the horses and by their comrades. As the conquerors kept on their pursuit, Darius was at length compelled to quit his chariot, and insure his safety by mounting a horse, and riding incessantly at full speed, till he reached the Euphrates.

The centre, consisting of the Macedonian phalanx, engaged the mercenaries that formed the opposite centre, and both fought with such obstinate bravery that for a long time the victory remained extremely doubtful; the mercenaries having more than once broke the phalanx; but the horse that formed the right wing, after routing the enemy's left, came to their aid, and turned the scale in favour of the latter. At that moment the carnage of the mercenaries became dreadful, being attacked both in front and flank, cut to pieces by the cavalry, and thrust through with spears by the infantry. Still, however, the greater part intrepidly stood their ground, selling their lives as dear as possible. At length, being reduced from thirty thousand to a third of that number, disdaining to yield, they made good their retreat, in excellent order, to the mountains of Syria, and, pursuing their route to the coast, embarked for Greece in the same transports that had brought them. As to the Persian horse that formed the right wing of the enemy, they for a long time resolutely combated the powerful body of Thessalian horse that formed Alexander's left; but, seeing their own left wing totally routed, Darius fled, and the mercenaries compelled to retreat, they also betook themselves to flight. The chariot of Darius, containing his bow, his shield, and the imperial chlamys worn by the kings of Persia, but relinquished during his precipitate flight, in the pursuit were seized, and brought to Alexander. The superb tent of that monarch also, with his mother, his wife, his children, and a numerous train of Persian ladies of the highest rank, were among the spoil and captives of that day. The treasure, taken in the camp, did not exceed three thousand talents of silver; the rest, with an immense quantity of plate, rich furniture, and other articles of high value, had been sent for safety to Damascus; but these, also, shortly after, became the property of the victor. The numbers reported to have fallen on either side are, again, incredibly disproportionate; Arrian, the most authentic guide, stating the loss of the Persians at ninety thousand foot and ten thousand horse, and of the Macedonians of high rank, among whom was Ptolemy, the son of Seleucus, he says there were one hundred and twenty*. Of the total amount of the slain in Alexander's army he gives no account; from which circumstance it may easily be gathered, that it must have been much greater than is stated by the highest computation in Diodorus, which is three hundred men†. Thus terminated the fatal battle of Issus; and, in commemoration of the decisive victory obtained at that place, Alexander afterwards erected that celebrated city near the scite of it, on the *Sinus Issicus*, or gulph of the same name, which is even at this day called after his name, in Persian,

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* Arrian, lib. ii. cap. 10, 11.

† Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. cap. 512-518.

Scanderoon, or the city of Escander, and by the Greeks Alexandretta, the sea-port of the great commercial city of Aleppo.

The path now lay immediately open to Babylon and the heart of Persia, but Alexander did not, at this period of the war, incline to pursue Darius beyond the Euphrates. He had other projects to be completed before he took entire possession of the vast empire which he seemed to be convinced DESTINY had reserved for him*. The grand scheme already formed within his comprehensive mind of uniting Europe and Asia by the ties of affinity and the bond of commerce, as well as giving a new, an ampler, and an unrestrained, current to that commerce, did not admit of the coast of Phœnice being left unconquered, nor the existence of TYRE, its capital where it had long centred, in its ancient glory, if at all. In truth, Alexander justly considered himself as only a state-prisoner in a vast empire, while a powerful Phœnician fleet, always at the beck of the Persian monarch, sailed triumphantly on the ocean; and, having as yet no navy of any importance, he was resolved to crush that abundant source of the Persian power at the fountain-head, by the utter humiliation, if not the annihilation, of Tyre. Regulating his conduct, therefore, by the above sound political maxim, and considering subjugated Asia itself as little better than a magnificent prison† until he should be fully master of its maritime regions, he marched, towards the close of the year 333 before

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* Such was Alexander's and such was his historian, Arrian's, idea; but a Christian historian, however he may occasionally accommodate himself to a Pagan mode of expression, would be criminal if he did not add that THE POWER, who rules the *destiny of man*, HE who setteth up and putteth down kingdoms, had himself ordained Alexander, (Daniel, viii. 1-8,) *the mighty* HE-GOAT *with one horn*, to be the subverter of the Persian empire. When he had finished his *allotted task*, this AVATAR, (if we may so denominate him,) for his impiety and intemperance, was cut off. Mark, sceptic, and be dumb!

† As France in fact is, though far from a magnificent one, to its tyrannical rulers, at the present day, (1796.)

Christ, into Syria, where the cities of Biblos and Sidon immediately threw open their gates to him; but the merchant-princes of Tyre, probably conjecturing his real intentions, refused to admit his army within their walls, and prepared, without a moment's delay, for active and resolute resistance. There is scarcely any event more celebrated in the history of Alexander, or in the annals of maritime Asia, than the prolonged and vigorous siege, the obstinate and skilful defence, and final subversion, of Tyre, during which all the military science at that time known was not only exerted, but exhausted, by either party. It cost Alexander seven months to reduce it, and this unexpected delay undoubtedly provoked him to take that sanguinary revenge on its brave inhabitants, which remains a deep and indelible blot on his memory. All the circumstances of this memorable affair are minutely related by Arrian, and to that author the reader is referred for those particulars which would swell this volume to a disproportionate magnitude*.

Twice, during this protracted interval, ambassadors had arrived from Darius with offers of enormous sums as the ransom of the captive royal family, and with earnest supplication for peace on Alexander's own terms; but his views admitted of no peace till Asia was wholly subjugated: it was far from his intention to hold a divided empire with another. Asia itself was scarcely large enough for an Alexander.

Though there are some inconsistencies in Josephus's disputed account of the visit which Alexander paid to Jerusalem in his way to Gaza, of his prostration of himself before the high priest, and hearing the unequivocal prophecies relating to himself in Daniel, read and explained to him in the temple, in which he is also recorded by the same writer to have sacrificed to the true God; yet I cannot bring myself to believe, with a late writer*, that so circumstantial an account could ever have been forged by that author. It might have descended to him traditionally, and been omitted by Arrian and other biographers of Alexander, as in their opinion not important enough for the page of history †.

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* Arrian, lib. ii. cap. 18-24.

Difficulties scarcely less discouraging and numerous than those experienced at Tyre attended the reduction of Gaza; but the genius of Alexander surmounted them all, though in surmounting them he was severely wounded in the shoulder. The same genius displayed the consummate policy peculiar to itself in afterwards constituting that almost impregnable fortress, situated on the extremity of Egypt and Syria, a grand magazine of arms; at the same time leaving in it a numerous garrison. By these two arduous enterprises, his army being much reduced, he delayed his march into Egypt till he could procure fresh recruits from Greece, and these having at length arrived, he hastened thither, and, in seven days, reached Pelusium. The terror of his arms, added to the rooted detestation of the Egyptians for the Persian tyrants who had mutilated and slain their gods, opened for him an uninterrupted passage to Memphis, its capital; where, in direct opposition to the bigoted policy of the Persians, he offered public and splendid sacrifices, as well to the Egyptian as the Grecian deities. We shall scarcely ever find Alexander entering upon a new conquest, but he navigates the rivers and explores the coasts of the subjugated country. At Memphis he embarked on the Nile, and sailed down its stream through the Canopic, or most western mouth, into the ocean. It was the result of an accurate survey of that part of the coast, and of the advantageous situation it afforded for establishing there an emporium for the commerce of the whole world, on the conquest of which he firmly depended, that induced him to give immediate orders for the erection of a city to be called after his own name. Of this celebrated city, which, for eighteen centuries, continued the glory of the East, and, from its opulence, was denominated *the Golden*, Alexander himself projected the magnificent plan, and marked the extended boundaries. It is said to have originally resembled, in form, a Macedonian mantle, having one vast street a hundred feet in breadth, and no less than five miles in length, open through its whole extent to the salubrious Etesian breezes blowing from the Mediterranean that bounded it on the north, while the great lake Mareotis constituted its southern limit. This noble street was intersected by others of equal breadth and beauty, running in parallel lines, forming, at their junction, extensive squares, and crowded with lofty edifices, temples, baths, amphitheatres, while walls of amazing height and thickness, flanked at regular distances with strong bastions, surrounded this intended metropolis of the commercial world. Its excellent port he caused to be cleansed and deepened, but it was reserved for his successors, the Ptolemies, to add the stupendous mole that joined Alexandria to the isle of Pharos, and divided the spacious harbour into two, as well as that majestic Pharos itself, erected entirely of white marble, which, for beauty and grandeur, had no rival, and was justly enumerated among the wonders of the ancient world. Its superb palace, its famous museum, its vast gymnasium, its noble library, though not all the immediate work of Alexander, but probably exactly finished by Ptolemy Lagus according to the plan of his sovereign, his friend, and his brother, all combined to render Alexandria a lasting monument of the towering genius of its founder, while it exhibited indubitable testimony of the grand commercial designs, which he had thus early formed, but which unfortunately he lived not to mature.

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* The Baron de St. Croix.

† Vide Josephi Antiq. Judaic. lib. xi. sect. 8.

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To return to our narration:—Alexander, having consigned the charge of this great concern to Dinocrates, the immortal architect of the second temple of Diana, immediately commenced that extraordinary and perilous visit to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in the deserts of Lybia, the incentives to which in the mind of a general of such foresight, and intent as he was upon the accomplishment of such arduous schemes, have proved the cause of infinite perplexity to all his biographers. The motives more generally assigned are, the example of Hercules, and his vanity to be thought the son of the Lybian, as Hercules was of the Grecian, Jupiter, who, in that superb and secluded sanctuary, was worshipped under the form of a ram. On this account, the tiara of Alexander, and, after him, of all the Macedonian sovereigns, was generally decorated with the HORN of that animal, his ambition aiming to be considered as his descendant; not that he was absurd enough to think so himself, but he politically yielded to the prevailing prejudices of the day, in regard to the celestial descent of heroes, and to the general impression that the conqueror of the world ought to be somewhat more than a mortal. It is remarkable, too, that the Oriental denomination of Escander is DULCARNEIN, or *Two-Horned*, because, as they explain it, in his career of conquest, he seemed to have passed from one horn of the sun to the other, or from west to east: it is, however, far more probable to have been derived from some adulatory Greek title, allusive to this Ammonian genealogy. Whatever might have been the motive, whether to rival Hercules, or to have himself publicly acknowledged the son of the Lybian Jove, and however exaggerated by historians may have been the sufferings of the army, during this expedition, there can be no doubt but that great peril was run in traversing those immense deserts immediately under a tropical sun, from the failure of water and the drifting of the sands in that arid region; as well as much unnecessary delay in the critical situation of Alexander: nor is it easy to conceive of what utility it could prove adequate to the risk and inconvenience of such a toilsome march. His fortunate arrival and safe return, therefore, with such an army, are by all his biographers accounted as miraculous; and the effect of the interposing aid of that sovereign Jupiter, whose protection he sought, and whom he claimed as his august progenitor. Alexander, on his return, found the works, intended to make his new city the wonder of the East, already far advanced, and, marching to Memphis, received there ambassadors bearing congratulations from the various states of Greece, with a considerable body of fresh recruits, both cavalry and infantry.

Having placed a strong garrison in that city, and other fortresses of Egypt, headed by commanders of tried loyalty and valour, and every thing being now fully mature for the accomplishment of the great projects which he had been so long planning, of empire and of glory, Alexander, in the spring of the year before Christ 331, hastened back into Syria; and thence bent his course to the Upper Asia, with the fixed determination of seeking Darius, wheresoever he was to be found, and deciding, by one general engagement, the fate of the interior of that vast continent, of which the whole maritime region was now entirely in his power. Animated by these hopes, and impatient for the dazzling prize, he passed with rapidity the intervening country between Tyre and the Euphrates, and, arriving at Thapsacus, on that river, repaired the bridge, over which Darius and his routed army had passed after the battle of Issus; but which now served to transport his conqueror into the heart of Mesopotamia. This was effected without opposition, notwithstanding the charge of guarding that passage had been committed to a Persian officer, named Mazæus, who was stationed there with a corps of three thousand horse and two thousand Greek mercenaries; for, at the near approach of the Macedonians, that commander immediately

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retreated, setting fire to the whole country on his flight, that it might not afford forage and provisions to the invaders. Alexander now continued his progress towards Babylon, but not by the direct road, probably because that route was desolated by Mazæus; he, therefore, continued his march to the Tigris by a more circuitous, but, at the same time, less sterile, tract, keeping, says Arrian, the Euphrates and the Armenian mountains on his left hand *. Darius, in the mean time, had collected from all the distant provinces of his empire an army at least double in number to that which he had commanded at Issus, and had encamped at the village of Gaugamela, near Arbela, where a wide champaign country afforded ample room for his innumerable forces to act without that obstruction and confusion which were the necessary consequence of the former engagement in the narrow streights of Cilicia. Of those forces, and of their respective commanders, there is, in Arrian, a minute and circumstantial account, as well as the provinces whence they were drawn, among which it is only necessary for us to notice the INDIANS *adjacent to Bactria*, which are mentioned first in this muster-roll, and, added to the Arechosian troops, the INDIAN *mountaineers*, with a train of elephants from the districts beyond the Indus: a convincing proof that the Indians continued in that tributary dependence upon Persia, which we have all long contended they did, from their conquest by Hystaspes †.

On hearing that the Macedonian army were approaching the Tigris, Darius dispatched Mazæus, at the head of a considerable body of chosen horse, to give every obstruction possible to his passage of that river; but this precaution was ineffectual, for, before their arrival, Alexander had completed the passage, although with the utmost difficulty, from its extreme rapidity.

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* Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 7, 8.

† Ibid.

Such was that difficulty, and such the fatigue they endured, that he was compelled to permit them to halt two whole days on the opposite banks to recover themselves; during which period a lunar eclipse, a phænomenon at all times esteemed by the Asiatics highly inauspicious, struck the Greeks with such terror, that they hesitated to proceed farther on an expedition to which earth and heaven seemed to be alike adverse, and in which they appeared to be hurried, by a spirit of unsatiated and indomitable ambition, equally beyond the limits of reason and the bounds of nature*. The pious policy of Alexander, however, on this as well as many other important occasions, failed not, by means of the flattering tribe of Egyptian soothsayers that attended his army, to convert this omen, as well as he had many preceding ones of a presumed malignant import, into an omen of triumphant success, and a means of exciting a general enthusiasm to an immediate battle; those venerable seers declaring, that, by this sign, it was evident that the glory of the Persian sovereign was eclipsed by that of the Macedonian; and that the lustre of the Persian crown would soon be extinguished for ever. This flattering interpretation of the omen being widely circulated through the army, revived their courage and inflamed their ardour. Alexander took advantage of this favourable change in their sentiments, and broke up his camp at midnight to go in quest of the enemy. Under these impressions, they continued their march through Assyria, and being at length arrived within a short distance of the Persian lines, he there halted, that he might grant his men that repose which they needed after their march, and lead them in full vigour and spirits against an army, formidable for its numbers and valiant from desperation.

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* Curtius, lib. iv. cap. 23, 24.

At this period of awful suspense, ambassadors arrived from Darius, bearing, at once, that unhappy monarch's warmest acknowledgments for the magnificent funeral honours with which he had buried Statira, his queen, lately deceased, in the Grecian camp, and new overtures for an accommodation of their differences. He now offered him, as the price of peace, the uncontrolled sovereignty of all the countries lying between the Hellespont and the Euphrates, with the addition of thirty thousand talents, as the ransom of the royal captives. Parmenio in vain counselled his master to listen to proposals at once so liberal and honourable; but Alexander would hear of no terms short of the unconditional submission of Darius, and the explicit acknowledgement of himself as his lord and conqueror; adding, that there had been no instance, in the records of time or the history of nature, *of two suns shining forth in one firmament.* Such being the imperious answer returned to this embassy, the two monarchs prepared once more to settle, by arms, the final adjustment of their claims to the sovereignty of Asia*. The disposition of the Persian army, according to certain memoirs of its arrangement, found after the battle in the camp of Darius, was as follows: Numerous squadrons of Bactrian, Persian, and Arachosian, cavalry formed its left wing, opposed to Alexander's right. The right consisted of the Phœnician, Mesopotamian, and Median, horse, commanded by natives of those respective regions. In the centre, led on by Darius, surrounded by the flower of the Persian nobility, were placed the numerous infantry, composed of Babylonians, Susians, Indians, the royal guard, and the Greek auxiliaries, on whom he principally depended to repel the Macedonian phalanx, which always formed the enemy's centre. In the front of his army were ranged two hundred chariots, armed with scythes, and a considerable body of elephants obtained from the tributary provinces of India. Of the army of Alexander in the front and centre, as we just observed, were stationed the Macedonian phalanx as an impregnable bulwark; and, behind them, the auxiliary Greek infantry. Alexander himself, as usual, commanded the right wing, consisting of the Macedonian and auxiliary horse; while the left, composed principally of Thessalian cavalry, was led on by Parmenio. As the army of the enemy covered nearly twice the space of ground occupied by his own, and it was probable they might attempt to surround him, these wings were directed to extend themselves as wide as they possibly could, without too much weakening their strength. The rear of the centre-battalions had also orders, in that case, to face about, and charge the encircling enemy with their spears; and, as a still farther precaution, Alexander took care to have a flying squadron of considerable force in reserve against such an emergency. In respect to the scythe-armed chariots, on whatever quarter they might make their attack, orders were issued for that division immediately to open, that their progress might be unobstructed, and, consequently, innoxious. The Persian army on this grand occasion, if estimated at a fair average of the varying historians, amounted to five hundred thousand foot and forty thousand horse: that of Alexander is said, by Arrian, to have been only seven thousand horse and forty thousand foot*.

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* Curtius, lib. iv. cap. 26. Justin, lib. ii. cap. 12.

Such, very generally stated, (for it is not necessary, nor, amidst the jarring accounts of the ancients, is it possible, to be minutely correct,) were the numbers and arrangement of the mighty armies that contended at Gaugamela for the sovereignty of Asia. The Persian army, numerous as it was, by no means possessed the vigour and spirit proper for such an important day, having, in the constant apprehen-

Before Christ,
331.

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* Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 11, 12.

sion of an attack from the enemy, been all night under arms, and consequently exhausted by that unnecessary vigil. Alexander commenced the dreadful contest by a furious attack at the head of his right wing on the Scythian and Bactrian cavalry that formed the left of the enemy. These brave and athletic natives of the Northern Asia repelled the assault with equal fury, while, to assist their efforts and break the impetuosity of the Macedonian horse, the scythe-armed chariots were ordered to bear down upon that division. A shower of darts, javelins, and other missile weapons, from a select band of archers, stationed at hand for the purpose, was immediately poured upon the charioteers and horse, which wounded some and killed others; while the troops dividing as directed, opened to the remainder a clear passage through the midst of them to the troops in reserve, who were prepared to complete their destruction. The unwieldy Indian animals, at the same time, being severely galled by the javelins and terrified by the shouts of the assailants, were driven back on the Persian infantry, and becoming ungovernable, through the violence of pain, spread confusion and dismay wherever they came. The conflict between the right and left wings was soon renewed with redoubled fury, and the hardy Scythians, as often as routed, presently rallied again, and returned to the charge. No exertions, however, of barbarian fortitude could long resist the disciplined bravery and superior manœuvring of the Macedonian and Grecian horse. After an obstinate contest, the former were entirely broken and dispersed. Alexander did not lose time in pursuing the fugitives; but, wheeling about, fell with his whole force on the flank of the Persian centre; and the Macedonian phalanx, that formed his own centre, immediately coming up, and attacking them in front, they were quickly thrown into irrecoverable disorder, betaking themselves to flight in every direction. The auxiliary Greeks, however, and the body-guard of Darius, whose station was always in the centre, disdained to fly, and for a long time fought with obstinate intrepidity; though excessively impeded in their movements by the pressure of the immense throng around them, who had already suffered discomfiture.

The immediate presence of the two mighty competitors for Asia, the amazing greatness of the stake, and the exasperation of personal animosity between the loyal and rebellious Greeks, between those who fought for the liberty of their country and those who combated to overthrow it, animated either party to deeds of incredible bravery, and the carnage in that quarter became not only continued and horrible, but the ultimate success was, for a long time, in the highest degree doubtful. At the hottest period of the contest, a circumstance occurred that immediately turned the scale in favour of the Macedonians; for Alexander, impatient of protracted victory, with all his strength launching a javelin at his rival as he sate fighting in his lofty and splendid car, struck the charioteer to earth. An immediate rumour spread rapidly through the ranks that Darius himself was slain, and the loud and piercing shrieks of lamentation that followed, for the fallen sovereign, served at once to propagate and confirm the disastrous report. All the rest of the royal family, who were in the battle, supposing that every thing was now lost, immediately fled with the guards; and Darius, in the agony of his despair, is reported by some of his historians to have drawn his cimeter with intent to dispatch himself; but, looking eagerly round, and seeing the large portion of his army that formed his left wing, still furiously engaged with the enemy, and a few loyal battalions still encircling him, he was received into the centre of that faithful band, and by them protected in the flight which his personal safety now rendered indispensably necessary*. The imminent danger which at that instant threatened Parmenio and the left wing, prevented any vigorous pursuit on the part of the Macedonians; for that body was nearly surrounded by Mazæus at the head of the numerous and expert body of cavalry, principally Median and Parthian, that formed Darius's right wing, and nothing but the instant and effectual succour, which the Macedonian sovereign was thus enabled to give them, saved them from entire destruction. During also this unfortunate situation of Parmenio, and the distant engagement of Alexander, a considerable body of Indian and Persian horse had taken an opportunity to penetrate even to the Macedonian camp, and assisted by the Barbarian captives, who had risen upon their weak guard, were plundering the tents and baggage. These were immediately attacked by the rear of the centre-division, who had faced about, as commanded in the general orders of the day, and were in part defeated; but the assailants, being horse, could not be pursued. In their retreat, however, with the plunder, they were met by Alexander on his return to succour Parmenio; the spoil was retaken, and themselves almost to a man cut to pieces. As soon as the troops had reached their object,—the right wing,—a combat still more determined and bloody than that in which he had already been engaged with the left commenced, and on this occasion many of his most valuable officers were wounded; among whom was Hephæstion. Victory was at length, though dearly, earned, and the rout became universal and complete. Parmenio then returned with Alexander to the pursuit of Darius, whom they followed as far as Arbela, about six hundred stadia, or seventy-five English miles, distant from the field of battle, but could not overtake; the royal fugitive never thinking himself secure, nor stopping till he had reached the remote northern provinces. Immense piles of baggage, treasure in money and bullion, and rich furniture of every description, again became the property of the victor; and, in this battle, denominated that of Arbela, but fought, in reality, at Gaugamela, a village on the banks of the river Bumelus, according to Arrian, no fewer than three hundred thousand of the enemy were slain, while the loss of the Macedonians and auxiliaries together is most absurdly and incredibly stated to have amounted to only one hundred horsemen, and a thousand horses, who died in the heat and fatigue of pursuit, or of wounds received during the engagement*.

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* Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. p. 540.

After this important victory, Alexander, still adhering firmly to his original opinion, that *religion was essential to the wise government of a great empire,* returned thanks to heaven in a profusion of splendid and costly sacrifices. Despairing at that time to overtake Darius, he afterwards marched to Babylon, of which city the gates were thrown open to him by Mazæus, the Persian governor, and where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants; for, the intolerant spirit of their former masters, in point of religion, had induced them to act with the same hostility towards the magnificent temple of Belus with which they had acted towards the temples of Egypt and of Greece. In this great city he refreshed himself and his army thirty days; admiring its lofty walls and superb edifices, taking possession of its immense treasures, and unhappily too much indulging in those voluptuous excesses so customary in great cities, and, in fact, so congenial to his time of life. His conduct began to be visibly affected by the mighty change in his fortune, which converted the humble sovereign of Macedon into the uncontrolled emperor of Asia: he assumed all the pomp and magnificence of the ancient Persian monarchs, and, still indulging the favourite idea of his descent from Jupiter, he wished to engraft divine upon human honours. Excuses have in vain been urged for this altered conduct by his partial biographers; but none are adequate to his vindication. To strike a degree of awe and veneration into the minds of his new subjects, though it might be necessary for Alexander to affect the pomp and splendour which distinguished the court of the ancient sovereigns of the Persian empire, it was by no means necessary that he should disgrace it by unbounded luxury and continued intemperance. That fatal rock, on which he knew their power had been so recently wrecked, ought to have kept him steady in the rigid practice of Macedonian temperance; and he ought to have made the great Cyrus the founder, and the first Darius the establisher, and not the last, the subverter, by his effeminacy, of that vast empire, the bright exemplar of his conduct. Hardy and inflexible in the field, when surrounded by numerous and active enemies, in the face of danger and on the verge of death, when the strongest cities were to be besieged, the loftiest mountains to be crossed, and the deepest rivers to be forded, Alexander was *invincible*; but, the instant he was seated on the throne of Darius, he seems to have forfeited that superior title,—his virtue and his fortitude,—by which he gained possession of it; and, in the moment of victory, became *vanquished*. Thus inconsistent is MAN, the victim of contending passions, the sport of endless vicissitudes; MAN, who seems to be conspicuously placed on the great theatre of time, to become the successive object of respect and of commiseration; a spectacle of alternate admiration and derision!

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* Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 14, 15, ubi supra.

This general relaxation, however, in point of morals and discipline, was not accompanied with any relaxation of vigorous exertion in regard to the great and ultimate object of Alexander's ambition. An attentive view of the situation of Babylon, near the confluence of two noble rivers rolling from the centre of civilized Asia into the great Eastern ocean, and in an abundant and delightful province, convinced him, that on that spot alone should stand the imperial residence of the conqueror of the East. His conduct at Persepolis, the ancient capital of the kings of Persia, clearly, I think, demonstrates this project to have been formed in his mind before he quitted Babylon to pursue Darius and Bessus. Another circumstance occurred at Babylon, greatly to the honour of Alexander and the advantage of that literature which he was ever forward to patronize; a circumstance, which, by some, may be thought to counter-balance the excesses committed at that metropolis, I mean his researches relative to the astronomical observations made by the Chaldæan priests, at the observatory of Belus, during a period of one thousand nine hundred and three years, and the transmission of the table of them by Calisthenes to Aristotle. As that period extends back as far as the age of Nimrod, the discovery has proved of the last importance to history, science, and religion; but the subject has been too amply discussed in the former volume, and its consequence to the systems, both of sacred and pagan chronology, too frequently pointed out, to require being farther dwelt upon in this place*.

His army being reinforced from Greece with thirteen thousand five hundred foot and about two thousand horse, Alexander commenced his march to Susa, that immense store-house of the wealth of the Persian monarchs, which now became the reward of Macedonian perseverance and valour. On his approach to the city he was met by Abulites, the Persian governor, with presents of great value, among which are again enumerated *elephants which Darius had procured from the tributary provinces of India;* an animal, adds

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* I request, also, the reader's particular attention to what is said, on this subject, in the preceding pages of the present volume. Had this acquisition been the only fruit of Alexander's expedition, it would have been of incalculable benefit to science; but it also opened to the Greeks, for the first time, an acquaintance with Asia beyond the Euphrates; and it certainly laid the foundation of all our knowledge of India, which will, I trust, prove no inadequate apology for my detailing that expedition at such length.

Curtius, now no longer an object of terror to the Macedonians*. To its magnificent palace, said by Diodorus to be the noblest edifice in the world†, he restored the mother and daughters of Darius, and established them there in splendor, only not imperial. Having performed this act of honourable attention to his unfortunate prisoners; having, also, replenished his treasury from the overflowing abundance of that of Susa, and placed a strong garrison in this fortress; he pursued his march, not without great obstruction, from the nature of the mountainous country through which he passed, and the determined opposition of some noble chieftains, who remained steady in their loyalty to Darius, and guarded the frontiers into Parsis, or Persia, properly so called. The governor of Persepolis, its renowned capital, by no means possessed the unshaken loyalty which had distinguished those on the frontiers; but invited the approach of Alexander, and threw open its gates to the foes of his master. The massacre of its numerous inhabitants, the plunder of its vast treasures, and the burning of that celebrated palace which a long race of illustrious princes had laboured to adorn with whatever is costly in price and exquisite in science, were the unhappy consequence, and fix an everlasting blot on the character of Alexander, in other respects the patron of the arts and the friend of the wretched. Pasargadæ, the city built by Cyrus, and rendered sacred by the tomb of that monarch, was next plundered; and, early in the spring, Alexander again renewed his pursuit of Darius, who, disdaining to surrender himself to an usurper, was, as he had recently been informed, at Ecbatana, in Media‡. By forced marches, in fifteen days, he reached that capital, a distance of nearly four thousand stadia, or five hundred miles, where he had the mortification to find that Darius had left it, at the head of a considerable

Before Christ, 330.

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* Curtius, lib. iv. cap. 2. † Diod. Sic. lib. xviii. cap. 66. ‡ Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 19.

body of troops, principally Greek infantry and Bactrian horse, who yet remained faithful to him, five days before; and had passed the Caspian Streights with intent to seek protection or to raise fresh forces in the most distant provinces of his empire. Nothing, however, could damp the ardour of his pursuit, and he resolved to follow him, if necessary, even to the pole.

In the strong and remote fortress of Ecbatana, Alexander deposited, under the care of Harpalus, his treasurer, the accumulated wealth obtained in the plunder of the great cities of Persia, amounting, in the whole, according to Strabo, to a hundred and eighty thousand talents, thirty millions sterling*; and he left with him a guard of six thousand Macedonian foot and a proportionate body of horse. He had scarcely passed the Caspian Streights, when tidings reached him of the seizure of Darius by the traitor Bessus and his comrades, who had bound him in chains (of gold, says Curtius), and were hurrying away the royal prisoner, closely confined in a chariot, covered with the skins of beasts, to his government of Bactria. On this affecting intelligence, Alexander urged on the pursuit day and night with such precipitation, that many of the men and horses perished through the severity of the fatigue they underwent. As he approached nearer the ruffians, he learned that Bessus affected to wear the imperial purple, and had been hailed the sovereign of Persia by the whole army, except the Greek mercenaries and a few faithful Persian battalions.

The ardour and impatience of Alexander's mind prevented him from sinking under the incessant fatigue he had endured; and, at length, arriving at a village in which Bessus and his Bactrian adherents had encamped the preceding day; fearful, also, that their treason might even attempt the life of Darius, he pressed on with redoubled eagerness, being conducted by certain loyal Persian nobles, who detested the perfidy of Bessus, along a private road, till he came suddenly within sight of the rebels, who, ignorant of his approach, were leisurely pursuing their march, and in much disorder. Though Alexander had with him but an inconsiderable body of troops, compared with those of the enemy, yet the terror of his name and the consciousness of guilt had such a powerful effect upon them, that they immediately betook themselves to precipitate flight. Bessus and his treacherous accomplice, Nabarzanes, who, with Darius, were advanced considerably before the main body of the army, on being informed of their situation, anxiously solicited their royal prisoner to quit the chariot which conveyed him, and continue on horseback his progress into Bactria; but the indignant monarch refused any longer to be the dupe of their artifices, and declared himself determined rather to confide his life in the hands of a generous enemy than to perfidious friends. On this, the enraged parricides pierced him through with darts, and left him covered with wounds. They also killed the driver, and struck their spears into the horses that drew the chariot. Those animals, being in agony and without a guide, wandered a few furlongs out of the road to a stream of water, to which Polystratus, a Macedonian, wearied and heated in the pursuit, accidentally came to quench his thirst. The groans of a dying man that seemed to issue from the carriage awakened his curiosity; and, on removing the covering, he beheld Darius pierced with darts, and "weltering in his blood." The dying prince had sufficient strength left to demand some water, which a Persian captive, who attended the Macedonian, understood, and which was given him by Polystratus in his helmet; the Persian, who, at a distance, had witnessed the cruel conduct of Bessus, at the same time acquainting him with the rank and tragical catastrophe of the personage whom he thus benevolently relieved.

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* Strabo, lib. xv. p. 741.

Darius refreshed, amidst the agonies of death, by the cooling draught, embraced the opportunity which Providence seemed to afford him, in having the Persian for his interpreter, to desire that his warmest acknowledgements might, through Polystratus, be tendered to Alexander, for the humane attention which he had shewn to his family; he implored heaven to grant him that success which his valour and generosity so highly merited; and expressed an ardent hope that he would revenge a murdered sovereign on his rebellious subjects. Then, grasping the hand of Polystratus with all the strength that yet remained to him, he entreated of him that he would, in the same manner, grasp the hand of Alexander, as the only humble pledge of genuine and grateful affection in his power to bequeath to the Macedonian monarch*. Having faintly uttered these affecting words, he expired in the arms of Polystratus. A Greek embittered his living, a Greek soothed his dying, moments. Alexander, at that instant, coming up, on beholding the mangled and breathless body of his rival, could not refrain from bursting into a flood of tears. Penetrated with anguish,—anguish not, perhaps, untinctured with remorse,—he tore the royal mantle from his own shoulders, and spread it over the body of Darius. He then gave orders for its being embalmed, and sent it in a rich coffin, adorned with the most costly robes and embalmed with the richest aromatics, to the disconsolate Sisigambis, to be interred in the mausolea of the Persian kings.

Such was the melancholy end of the last monarch of the Caianian dynasty, who thus prematurely perished, after a disastrous reign of six years, in the fiftieth year of his age, and in the month Hecatombœon, (August,) before Christ 330†. The varying accounts transmitted down to us of Darius by the Oriental and Greek historians have been already noticed; and, in fact, they are so utterly contradictory, that there is no possibility of reconciling them in the character of one person. In such turbulent periods, and from people so inveterately hostile to each other, the true portrait of neither the conqueror nor the conquered can, perhaps, be drawn; nor ought it to be expected. If the Greeks have described the Persian monarch in amiable characters, many of the Orientals, and, in particular, the Indians and Persians, by tradition, depict Alexander in the most odious colours; representing him as divested of every great and generous quality, and never naming him but as a "most mighty robber and remorseless destroyer of the human race*.

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* Curtius, lib. v. cap. ult.

† According to Usher, the first day of this month answers to our 24th of July.—Usherii Annal. p. 167.

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* Holwell's Interesting Historical Events, part ii. p. 4.—Chardin's Voyages en Perse, tom. ii. p. 185.—Herbelot, article Escander and Dara.

CHAPTER IV.

ALEXANDER *pursues* BESSUS *into Bactria.—Traverses the Northern Asia.—Crosses* PAROPAMISUS.—*Conquers the Nations to the West of the* INDUS.—*Passage of the* INDUS.—*Of the* HYDASPES.—*Battle with* PORUS, *or* PAURAVA; *and Subjugation of Western India.—The Army mutinies.—He erects stupendous Altars, and returns.—Voyage down the* INDUS.—*Progress of the Army through* GEDROSIA, *and of the Fleet up the* PERSIAN GULPH.—*Return to* BABYLON.—*Death of* ALEXANDER.—*Conclusion.*

THE mighty projects of Alexander were now approaching to maturity, and Asia bows her head to the hereditary sovereign of the small kingdom of Macedon. Indignation at the unworthy treatment of Darius, and solicitude to revenge the insult offered, in the murder of that prince, by his rebellious subjects, to thrones and the imperial dignity in general, urged Alexander to continue the pursuit of Bessus into the more northern provinces of Asia. This, however, was not done immediately, as the treason of that regicide, and his assumption of the purple, awakened indeed his resentment, but inspired him with no apprehension. He wished to render permanent the conquests he had recently made, and to prevent the danger of revolt, by striking that terror into the adjoining provinces which his presence with a victorious army so powerfully excited wheresoever he went. Many hardy and valiant nations, also, in that region of Asia, remained to be subjugated; and, therefore, quitting Parthia, the Macedonian army marched into Hyrcania, where they found, as they had been taught to expect, a vigorous resistance from various resolute and barbarous tribes of warriors, inhabiting that mountainous province and the shores of the Caspian Sea; especially from the predatory race of the Mardi. To this district the Persian troops and Greek mercenaries, who had been faithful to Darius, under all his misfortunes and defeats, had retired: honourable conditions were now offered to them by Alexander, and accepted*.

He then marched into and subdued the province of Aria, of which the classical appellative is recognized in *Herat*, its present capital. Drangiana and Arachosia, the modern Sejestan and Zablestan, provinces which we have observed were for several ages held by the descendants of the great Rostam, the Hercules of Persia, in a state almost independent of the Persian crown, and border upon India itself, next felt and trembled at the Macedonian power. The Drangæ, alluded to above, are called by Arrian *Zarangæ*, but they were certainly one people; for, D'Anville has well remarked†, that this diversity in the orthography of the same name is produced by a practice, familiar to the Orientals, of interchanging the *Zain* and the *Daled*. There is no modern Persian name at all corresponding with Drangiana; but as it will be useful, in our progress through part of Asia, to give, from this author, the modern denomination when the least resemblance can be traced, it may be noticed that the scite of Arachosia is recognized in the Oriental name of its present capital, *Arrokhage*. That a connection and correspondence still subsisted between these Persian satrapies and the frontier provinces of India is evident, from a remarkable circumstance recorded in Arrian, viz. that

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* Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 24.—Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. p. 537.

† Ancient Geography, under Asia.

Barzaantes, at that time prince of the country, who had been one of the murderers of Darius, on Alexander's approach, fled for protection into the provinces beyond the river Indus; with the additional circumstance, that the Indians sent him back to Alexander, who executed the traitor*. This fact is the more deserving of attention, because, if Arrian were rightly informed, it proves that the fame of Alexander had already reached the Indians, who dared not protect even so considerable a person as the prefect of the Arachosians and Drangæ. He is afterwards said, by the same author, to have proceeded against the *Indians in that quarter;* but, from pursuing at this time any attempt on India itself, he was prevented, by certain intelligence, that Bessus was growing formidable in Bactriana, had assumed the name of Artaxerxes, and displayed, on his brows, at public entertainments, the diadem of Persia. Nothing can more fully demonstrate Alexander's contempt for the usurper than his advancing so far southward as Aria and Arachosia; whereas Bessus and Bactriana lay behind him in a quite contrary direction.

There can scarcely be a doubt that Alexander conceived, during this last expedition, the first idea of penetrating into India beyond the Sinde, as the natives term the Indus. He had observed, perhaps, with admiration, the martial and splendid appearance which they made in his various battles with Darius; the stately, though unwieldy, animals their country produced, and history and common report had informed him of other prodigies, and the immense riches in which it abounded. Among the Arians also and the Arachosians, who largely shared the commerce of India, (for, Cabul is the capital of Zablestan,) he might have discovered other convincing proofs of the amazing advantages, which, from a firm connection and an extended commerce with India, would redound to the conqueror. This observation is confirmed by an attention to geographical circumstances; for, thus we read in the excellent little treatise so frequently above referred to:—"We may place the large province of SIND next to Segestan, because, though it is generally reckoned a part of India, yet it comprehends both Mocran, the ancient Gedrosia, and Multan, which have been considered as provinces of Persia; and here we may observe, that the Eastern geographers divide the Indian empire into two parts, which they call HIND and SIND. By Hind, in its strictest sense, they mean the districts on both sides the Ganges; and, by Sind, the country that lies on each side of the Sindab, or Indus, especially where it discharges itself into the ocean. Sind, therefore, including Mocran and Multan, is bounded on the south by the Indian Sea, which embraces it in the form of a bow: it has Hind on the east, and, on the west, Kerman, with part of Segestan, which also bounds it on the north; but if, with some geographers, we make it comprise even Zablestan and Cabul, its northern limits will extend as far as Cashmere*." Possibly, also, other causes, resulting from the proximity of the two countries, might have operated towards strengthening his idea of invading India, such as that constantly given by the Asiatics, the withholding from the new monarch the ancient stipulated tribute, and Barzaantes himself might possibly not have been given up without menaces.

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* Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 25, at the close of that chapter.

It was during Alexander's stay among the Arians and Arachosians, at the close of the present year, that a spirit of mutiny and disaffection, from the great length of the campaign, began very generally to pervade the Macedonian army. His partial adoption, though extremely politic, of the Persian dress, and his assumption, in some degree, of the manners of the conquered people, so contrary to the rigid severity of the Grecian character, gradually tended to weaken their ancient attachment to him, and even alienate from him the affection of his best friends. Hence various conspiracies were formed against the life of the altered prince; and, though that imputed to Philotas in particular be involved in not a little mystery and doubt, it is not impossible but that the high, and yet unconquered, spirit of Grecian independence might have justified to itself the elevation of the dagger against the presumed assassin of Grecian liberty. Whether Philotas were innocent or criminal is still a question of deep perplexity; but no kind of uncertainty whatever hangs over the fate of the aged and venerable Parmenio, whose unjust murder, aggravated by the concomitant circumstances, must ever remain another deep blot on the character of his destroyer.

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* Sir William Jones's Description of Asia, p. 8.

On receiving the above information of the public and avowed competition of Bessus for the empire of Asia, the king immediately led his army towards Bactria, and crossed the Paroparnisus, improperly denominated Caucasus by the Grecian writers, either from national vanity or adulation of Alexander, in the most rigorous season of the year. In crossing it, the army suffered severely from the piercing cold, which, owing to its vast elevation and the accumulated snow that falls on its summit during the winter-months, even in that moderate latitude, only 33° north of the equator, is intense. On the descent of that mountain, known to the present inhabitants by the term of Hindoo-Ko, Alexander founded a city, distinguished by ancient geographers as the Paropamisan Alexandria, and of which the name and scite decidedly mark it for the modern Candahar, (a name derived from Escander,) the key of the western provinces of Persia. This city, like Alexandria, has survived amidst the wreck and revolutions of the other great cities of the East, and continues, to this day, a fortress of great strength and the capital of a considerable district, known to the ancients by the name of Paropamisus, thus denominated from the vicinity of the mountain. He peopled Alexandria with about seven thousand Greeks, who were either too infirm from their wounds or from age, to bear longer the fatigues of such an arduous campaign, and, thus disencumbered, pressed on with increased celerity into Bactria. Neither the inclement season, (for, it was still the depth of winter,) nor a country entirely laid in desolation by Bessus, to obstruct the progress of the invading army, could check his impetuous career. He directed his first attack against Drapsica, a considerable city in those parts, (now *Bamian*), which he took, and where he refreshed his army after their sufferings in crossing Paropamisus. He then assailed with success Aornus, a rocky fortress on a mountain of great strength, and, lastly, Bactra, its capital, the modern *Balk*. Alarmed at these rapid movements of his indefatigable enemy, Bessus, at the head of a great body of Bactrian and Sogdian horse, passed over the Oxus into Sogdiana; and, after burning all the vessels which he had used in the transportation of his forces, fortified himself at Nautaca, a city of Sogdiana, now called *Nekshab*. This large and fertile province is so denominated from the beautiful valley of Sogd, one of the four paradises of Asia, through the midst of which rolls the noble river CAI, " which branches into a thousand clear streams, that water the gardens and cultivated lands, with which the whole plain is covered*." On its banks stood Maracanda, its capital, the modern Samarcand, a city very celebrated in the annals of Asia and in the page of her enraptured poets. But this delightful and secluded region was now doomed to become the theatre of a war of dreadful devastation; not indeed between Alexander and Bessus, for the latter was soon overpowered, but between that conqueror and a hardy race of northern warriors, Sogdians and Scythians, reluctant to bear Macedonian fetters; a race among whom Freedom had taken up her ancient abode, and Virtue delighted to reside.

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* Sir William Jones's Description of Asia, p. 23.

Alexander, in his pursuit, arriving at the Oxus, called by the Orientals Gihon, that vast river (now lost in the sands) which formed the ancient barrier between the empires of Iran and Turan, was astonished at the magnitude of the river, which was three quarters of a mile in breadth, of proportionable depth, and extremely turbulent and rapid. All the timber in the neighbourhood had been designedly cut down by Bessus, so that there existed no possibility of constructing rafts; and every fragment of a vessel had been destroyed. Thus circumstanced, the bravest and most experienced generals of his army despaired of prosecuting farther the pursuit of Bessus and the conquest of Northern Asia. It is on occasions arduous and momentous as these, that true Genius displays the genuine stamp of its celestial descent, and rises superior to the dictates of fear and the pressure of danger. Alexander, after some reflection, having read that the first boats were made of wicker, covered with hides, (as in fact those of the old Britons were,) determined upon trying the experiment; and ordered all the skins, used by the army for the covering of their tents and baggage, to be stuffed with straw and other light materials, and so strongly sewed together, as to resist the entrance of the water. On these, firmly compacted in the short space of five days, he safely transported his whole army to the opposite banks, and immediately commenced his march for Nautaca, whither he had been informed Bessus had retired. In his way thither, he received intelligence, by deserters, that the greater part of the Bactrian horse had left Bessus and dispersed, and, shortly after, heralds arrived from Spitamenes and other Persian officers, most in his confidence, with intelligence that they had risen upon the bloody usurper, had bound him in chains, and were ready, on certain conditions, to surrender him in that state to Alexander. With those conditions the king readily complied; and Bessus was brought, manacled in the fetters with which he had insulted his sovereign, to the Macedonian camp. Like a furious savage, unworthy to wear the garb of a man, Spitamenes himself, according to Curtius, led him, stark naked, by a chain that encircled his neck, into the presence of Alexander, who, ordering his nose and ears to be cut off, delivered him over to Oxyartes, the brother of Darius, that, after suffering all the refined tortures due to his unprovoked cruelty, he might be shot to death with arrows, in the same manner as he had dispatched Darius*.

Before Christ, 329.

Had Alexander's sole object been the capture and punishment of Bessus, now that object was accomplished, he probably would have yielded to the wishes of a harassed army, and have returned to Babylon, or, at least, to Candahar and the provinces adjoining India, the invasion of which country he seems early to have meditated. But it was his intention not to be the nominal sovereign over any part of Asia; he meant to found his claim to the title of sovereign on actual conquest. Animated by this hope, he determined to march to Maracanda, the capital; and having procured, from the hardy breed of the country, a considerable addition of horses to supply the place of those that had perished in crossing the snows of Paropamisus and at the passage of the Oxus, he now pursued his progress into the heart of Sogdia, and even to the Iaxartes, (the modern *Sihon*, or *Sir*,) that bounds it northward. The same species of vanity that led the Macedonians to term Paropamisus the Caucasus, induced them to denominate this river the Tanais, whereas that river (now the *Don*) rolls at a great distance to the north, separating Asiatic Scythia from Europe. Near the banks of the Iaxartes, a body of thirty thousand natives having assembled, had greatly annoyed the advanced detachments, and cut off the foraging parties. Elated with this temporary success, the barbarians retired to a rocky eminence in the neighbourhood, exceedingly steep and rugged, whence it required no small exertions of Alexander to dislodge them; a great number of his troops being killed in the difficult ascent and assault, and himself shot through the leg with an arrow, which shattered the fibula, or smaller bone*. This bold but successless effort of the Sogdians and Scythians seemed but as a signal for the revolt of the whole adjoining country; and, effectually to crush it, it became necessary to besiege and carry by storm no less than seven considerable cities, of which Cyropolis, built by Cyrus, was the strongest, and taken not without a violent conflict, in which Alexander was again wounded. He received intelligence, also, that the dispersed Bactrians, who had followed Bessus, had rallied in great force, with Spitamenes at their head, and were besieging Maracanda. Alexander immediately sent off a strong reinforcement to the Macedonian garrison in that city; but, having commenced the erection of a strong fortress on the Iaxartes, for the purpose of overawing the country and preventing a second revolt, as well as for its defence against the future incursions of the Scythians, he would not personally relinquish, till it was finished, so necessary and important an undertaking. But the Scythians, pouring down to the river-side in great bodies of horse, were determined that no fortress should be erected either to repel their incursions, or effect the conquest of them. They boasted, (however falsely, as the reader has seen above,) that they were a people hitherto not only unsubdued, but, in ancient times, themselves the conquerors of Asia; and, with loud and insulting reproaches from the opposite shore, at once derided and defied the Macedonians. They invited the attack, and, relying on their numerous cavalry that lined the shore and covered all the adjacent country, they dared them to cross the river and attempt their subjugation; calling on Alexander by name, and desiring that he would forbear to enroll the Scythians among his new subjects, or consider *them* as of the same dastardly and effeminate character with the nations inhabiting the Southern Asia.

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* Curtius, lib. vii. cap. 20. Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 30.

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* Arrian, lib. iii. cap. ult.

Irritated to the last degree by these invectives, Alexander having, in twenty days, by the labour of the whole army, completed the Sogdian Alexandria, prepared to cross the river on the kind of floats used at the Oxus. The skins, stuffed as before, with light materials, being expeditiously prepared, the army once more embarked, to the sound of trumpets, on those buoyant machines; and, at the instant of their embarkation, a torrent of darts and other missile weapons, hurled from the engines, was poured against the foe, who, having formed no conception of the jaculatory strength of those engines, and seeing many of their comrades wounded by them, retired in confusion and dismay to some little distance from the shore. The archers and slingers, also, who advanced in the first line, so incessantly galled them with showers of stones and arrows, as greatly to check the vigour of their attack upon the phalanx that came next, and the other troops who brought up the rear. By this means, a landing was effected without any serious loss on the part of the Macedonians, and the forces, forming in close order as they arrived, presented a formidable front to the retreating Scythians. Their principal strength consisted in their numerous and excellent cavalry; and, unfortunately, the first division dispatched against them by Alexander was so far inferior in that respect, that they were quickly surrounded, and would have been cut to pieces, had not the king immediately ordered the whole body of his horse, with all the light-armed troops and the archers, to advance upon them. He himself, at the head of one half of that body, fell on them in flank, while the other half, commanded by Balaorus, attacked them in front; by which skilful manœuvre the surrounded bands were again at liberty to act, and the enemy, still fighting with undaunted courage, were vigorously assailed on every quarter. In this situation, the contest of barbarian with veteran and disciplined troops, however violent, could not be lasting; and accordingly, after having a thousand Scythians slain on the spot, and among them Satraces, their general, the remainder sought their safety in that rapid flight for which their excellent horses were so well calculated. The Macedonians pursued; but, such was the celerity of the retreating foe, that, after suffering severely from the excessive heat and from ardent thirst, (for it was now the height of summer,) they were compelled to return in possession of only one hundred and fifty prisoners. A thousand also of the Macedonians, according to Curtius, were, on this occasion, wounded; and sixty horse and one hundred foot were slain: a number far greater than is recorded to have fallen in the battle of the Granicus*. The boast of the Scythians, therefore, of superior fortitude and experience in war to the inhabitants of Southern Asia was not entirely without foundation; and Alexander, after this fatal day, seemed to have no inclination for prolonging the war with them, at least for the present.

I do not mean to accompany Alexander farther through the Northern Asia, though there still remains a vast field to be beaten by the general historian and the geographer. I have attended him thus far principally to give consistency to the character of this indefatigable hero, with which I commenced the narration of his astonishing exploits in Asia, and, with some farther remarks on which, I shall conclude the history of his Indian campaign.

During Alexander's abode, or rather migration, in these remote northern regions, there arrived at his camp ambassadors from various nations, attracted by his renown or compelled by motives of terror, to seek his friendship. Among these, Arrian particularly enumerates the Abian Scythians, celebrated by Homer for their inflexible love of justice and their honest poverty; and the Scythians of Europe, who were received with kindness and treated with respect. Thus, by his generosity or his valour, all the circumjacent nations being brought under the Macedonian yoke, Alexander returned to Sogdia, fully determined, in the ensuing spring, to commence his long meditated Indian expedition. Maracanda remained still besieged by the Sogdian and other forces under Spitamenes, but, on the approach of the army, that restless chief fled into Bactria, where he was afterwards massacred by his own troops*.

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* Arrian, lib. iv. cap. 4, and Curtius, lib. vii. cap. 9.

The lofty, craggy, and scarcely accessible fortress, denominated by classical writers Petra Oxiana, or the Rock of Oxus, whither a body of thirty thousand Sogdians had retired, with ammunition and provisions sufficient to support them for two years, and in the firm determination of defending it to the last extremity, was the next important object of this campaign. Like many similar fortresses in India, it arose from a broad base to a vast height, and had only one ascent to its summit, by a steep narrow winding path, strongly guarded at proper distances; the whole rendered still more difficult of approach by the deep snow and ice, (for the winter was now far advanced,) which had incrusted its surface. The Barbarians, from the eminences, insultingly told Alexander that he must not expect to take that fortress without *winged soldiers*, which so irritated him, that he offered a reward of no less than twelve talents to the first man who should gain the summit of the rock, and in proportion to others; appointing three hundred picked men, among those most accustomed to scale walls, to that arduous and hazardous service. After immense toil and the destruction of great numbers, who, in the attempt, were precipitated down the abrupt cliffs, by means of iron pins, used by the army in pitching their tents, forcibly driven into the sides of the rock, and of ropes fastened to them, by which they elevated and supported each other, the greater part of this daring band, in the dead of the night, reached the top; and, at the break of day, displayed to their delighted comrades the promised signals of success. Alexander immediately summoned the garrison to surrender, shewing them aloft the *winged soldiers*, who had conquered every difficulty of both art and nature. The astonished garrison, ignorant of their numbers and the slender arms they possessed, while their imagination, through terror, greatly magnified both, immediately surrendered to the shouting foe; and Oxyartes, the governor of Bactria, and many grandees of that province, were taken prisoners. But the greatest prize that fell into the victor's hands, on this occasion, was the beautiful Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, whom Alexander, deeply smitten with her transcendent charms, afterwards exalted to be the partner of his throne.

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* Arrian, lib. iv. cap. 17.

Before Christ, 328.

We must pass over, as not sufficiently illustrative of our principal subject, various military occurrences that took place in the course of the present year, the conflicts with the Dahæ, the Massagetæ, whose names yet survive in the modern Dahistan and the Indian *Getes*, or *Jauts*, and other tribes of Barbarians inhabiting the Northern Asia; the disputable adventure of the Amazonian queen, and the horrid catastrophe that befel Clytus and Calisthenes; the former the result of physical, the latter of mental, intoxication. Filled as we must be with high and just indignation at these repeated outrages committed by a character, in other respects so elevated, against decency and virtue, let us still in candor consider the jarring and contradictory accounts delivered down to posterity concerning these disgraceful events and the causes that led to them; the turbulent spirit of the factious Greeks; the insolence of the veteran soldier; the arrogance of the unbending philosopher; the spirit of competition that pervades a camp, and of jealousies that distract a court. Let it be remembered, that, in requiring the ceremony of prostration in salutation, however abhorrent it might be, from Grecian customs and prejudices, Alexander demanded no more than the performance of an ancient civil custom, a reverential distinction which the kings of Persia had always enjoyed, as the presumed vicegerents of deity, equally the dispensers of its benevolence and its vengeance; impregnated with a portion of the sacred fire that came down from heaven, and was constantly carried before them in the camp and in the temple. It might have been attended with danger to have, on a sudden, dispensed with a homage thus immemorially paid to them; a homage which the law prescribed and religion sanctioned. I am far from meaning to become an apologist for the vices of Alexander, but so obscurely and confusedly have many of the leading events in his life been handed down to us by varying biographers, that, where there is room for the mitigation of error in a distinguished personage of antiquity, it is consistent with benevolence and justice to attempt it.

The spring, so impatiently expected, of that auspicious year which was to add India to the conquests of Alexander, at length began to dawn. A seasonable supply of sixteen thousand fresh recruits from Greece had also recently arrived; and the king had previously ordered a body of thirty thousand young men, of the first families, the most brave, the most comely, and in the flower of their age, to be collected from every province of the Persian empire, to be trained in the Macedonian way of fighting, and to attend the army during his absence from his Persian dominions, both as hostages and soldiers. It is also asserted by Plutarch, though the circumstance is not mentioned by Arrian, that, at this period, Alexander, finding his troops heavily encumbered with their baggage and the rich spoils they had taken in Asia, to which they seemed more cordially attached than to his favourite project of the Indian war, ordered all the royal property of that species, to an immense amount, to be brought into a large plain, and then set fire to the pile with his own hands. Afterwards he commanded the baggage and spoils of the whole army to be brought into the same plain, and, promising to compensate their loss after the Indian campaign, ordered each individual to set fire to his own, which, however reluctantly, was obeyed; since the king himself had submitted to share the lot of the meanest soldier. Curtius has asserted, probably from the same sources with Plutarch, a similar relation, only with the difference of referring the fact to a prior period, that is, during the ardour of the pursuit of Bessus*.

Before Christ, 327.

Thus anxiously impatient the general, and thus happily free from every incumbrance the army which he commanded, the march commenced for India with the first dawn of the infant year. Leaving Bactria, Alexander returned to the Paropamisus by the same route which he had taken in his pursuit of Bessus, and again crossing that mountain, in ten days reached Alexandria, which he had with so much judgement erected as a grand depôt of arms, and for the purpose of facilitating his intended expedition. Its situation, also, on the confines of India, Persia, and Bactria, might have recommended it as a proper place for an emporium of that extended commerce which was an object ever uppermost in his mind. Having displaced the governor for misconduct, and appointed another on whom he could place the firmest confidence, he advanced by a north-east route to the Cophenes, a river that formed the boundary of the province to which Paropamisus gave its name, and, in D'Anville's Geography, is recognized in the *Cow*. Hence, Hephæstion and Perdiccas were sent on before with a considerable detachment, to scour the country and prepare the bridge of boats which would be necessary for the transportation of the army across the Indus. Alexander, with the main body of the army, advanced in the north-east direction towards the territories of a considerable Indian nation, called the Aspii. In his progress thither, he passed two other rivers, the Choë and Euaspla, and subdued the petty tribes that inhabited their banks. In the vigorous opposition of the Aspii, he had a specimen of the formidable resistance which he was afterwards to meet with from their countrymen beyond the Indus; for, this brave people, setting fire to their principal city, which they despaired of defending, resolutely opposed his army on the mountains and the plain, nor gave over the conflict till their general was slain, and forty thousand men lay dead on the field of battle*. After this hard-fought contest, Alexander marched through the territories of the Guræi, who, terrified at the fate of the Aspii, readily submitted. He here found great difficulty in crossing the river of the same name, which was very rapid and dangerous; and is, in fact, the modern *Attock*, a word which implies *forbidden;* for, the great Indian law-giver fixed this stream as the ancient boundary of the empire, and forbade it to be passed. The Guræi inhabited the country of *Gazna*, the celebrated empire formerly of Mahmud, and, in later times, of Timur Shah.

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* Plutarch in Vita Alexand. Curtius, lib. vi. cap. 6.

The next considerable nation, subdued on the west of the Indus, were the Assaceni, answering, in the modern geography of India, to *Ash-Nagar*. The Assaceni, finding resistance on the open plains of no effect against invaders so well disciplined in the science of war, pursued a conduct exactly the reverse of that pursued by the Aspii;

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* Arrian, lib. iv. cap. 25.

they entirely deserted the open country, and fled for protection within the walls of Massaga, their principal city, of which, already strongly fortified, they laboured to increase the security by additional works. Massaga was washed towards the east by a rapid river, whose precipitous banks forbade access on that quarter. It was sheltered towards the west and south by rocks of prodigious height, with deep ravines at their base, and round the eastern limits extended a fosse of great breadth. A wall of vast height and thickness surrounded the whole. On attentively viewing the fortifications, Alexander saw its reduction would be a work of great labour, and to him there seemed no more certain method of effecting it than by wholly filling up the fosse, and planting his engines of attack on the ground elevated artificially thereon to such a height as would command the town. This minutely particular account of Massaga is taken principally from Quintus Curtius*. Arrian, however, records the siege and capture of this strongly-fortified city as one of the most difficult and prolonged of any in the Indian expedition, and, on that account, I have paid more than usual attention to the relation of this writer, ever to be suspected where an opportunity for eloquent exaggeration occurs. On a nearer inspection of the fortifications for this purpose, the king was wounded in the leg by an arrow, shot from the wall, which put him to such exquisite torture that he could not avoid exclaiming, "While I am hailed as a deity and the son of Jupiter, the agony of this wound too plainly demonstrates to me that I am still but a mortal!" Notwithstanding that agony, however, he would not retire to his tent till he had given all the necessary orders for filling up the ditch with the wreck of demolished edifices that formed the suburbs, with fallen trees of great magnitude and with massy stones and dirt, collected together in great heaps, and thrown in for the purpose. That arduous task was immediately undertaken, and, by the united efforts of the troops, was accomplished in nine days, during which Alexander recovered of his wound. The king of the Assaceni was recently dead, and the queen-mother, by name Cleophes, had taken into her pay, for the better defence of the city, seven thousand stout Indians from the interior districts, (a proof, that, in those as well as in later periods, the war-tribe of India let out its services for hire,) and these seemed determined to fulfil the duty of faithful mercenaries. The besieged, astonished as they were at the new species of military engine brought against them, and that from a quarter which they conceived utterly inaccessible,, yet exerted themselves vigorously in repelling the assault, and stood firm at their posts amidst the torrent of darts, arrows, and other missile weapons, hurled from the towers, which did infinite execution among them. For four successive days did Alexander ineffectually bring his engines against the walls, and, though a breach had been early made in them, yet, from the united skill and valour of the enemy, they attempted in vain to take it by storm, and the trumpets sounded more than once that retreat which was so unusual and so degrading to Macedonian soldiers. In ancient as in modern times, the death of the commander-in-chief, in Indian warfare, has ever been the forerunner of the defeat of his troops, and thus it happened at Massaga; for, while their general survived, the mercenaries were invincible; but the chief, on this occasion, being slain by an arrow, and the greater part of the troops themselves wounded or exhausted by incessant fatigue, they at length surrendered on honourable conditions; the queen herself, issuing forth from the gates, at the head of a train of noble females, all bearing golden goblets, full of wine, by way of oblation to Alexander as a god. The queen, according to Curtius, was equally beautiful and brave, and presented her infant son to

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* Curtius, lib. vi. cap. 10.

Alexander with so much attractive grace, that another son was, afterwards, the result of that meeting, who bore the name of Alexander, and became the head of the tribe of SULTANI, (so called from Sultan Escander Zul Carnein, his Asiatic appellation,) who are said, by Abul Fazil, to have flourished down to his time, and scrupulously to have preserved the genealogical records of their illustrious descent*. With respect to the resolute band of soldiers that remained after the capitulation, Alexander offered to take them into his own pay, and enroll them among the Macedonians, to which they at first readily consented; but, afterwards, reflecting how deeply dishonourable it would be for Indians to fight against Indians, they formed a secret plan to march off in a body by night to their own country. On the discovery of that plan by Alexander, they were surrounded by his army, and cut to pieces before they could effectuate their escape. Plutarch brands this act as a scandalous breach of faith in the king, but I think with great injustice; since their return must have spread a general alarm through the country, and the result might have been fatal to his views†.

Alexander, reserving to himself the main body of his army for the subjugation of the greater cities and more formidable tribes, dispatched detachments, under various commanders, for the reduction of those of inferior note. Among these were the neighbouring cities of Ora and Bazira: against the former were sent Attalus and other generals; and against the latter Cœnus: but neither of these officers was at first successful in his attack, and the king was obliged to bring succours in person before they could be reduced. Of these two, Bazira was by far the strongest and most difficult to be subdued; for it was the capital of a small district, known by situation, and the remarkable correspondence of its name, to be the modern province of *Bijore;* a province exceedingly rugged and mountainous, and inhabited by a fierce and warlike tribe. The Bazireans, by no means intimidated at the fate of the Assaceni, defended themselves against the troops under Cœnus with obstinate bravery, rushing down from the heights on which their city stood, and demolishing the works attempted to be raised against it. As no hopes were entertained by Alexander of the speedy surrender of that city by such a martial race, and it was become necessary first to reduce Ora, into which Abissarus, a powerful Indian prince in those quarters, had thrown a considerable body of mercenary soldiers, Cœnus had orders to erect a fort opposite the gates of the city, and, leaving a strong garrison in it, for the purpose of checking the impetuous sallies of the enemy, to join himself with the remainder of his forces. Ora, which had defied Attalus, soon yielded to the superior might of Alexander. The rampart, intended to surround it, being at length finished, and escape impossible, the inhabitants were summoned to deliver up the city. On their refusal, the walls were scaled, and, the place being taken by storm, every soul within it perished. In Ora were found many elephants, which were of great use to Alexander, who was now constantly opposed in battle by that formidable train of animals. The citizens of Bazira, in the mean time, were not inactive; but, despising the small number of troops left to overawe them, made frequent excursions into the open country. In one of these excursions, they were pursued and attacked with great fury by the garrison, who killed five hundred of them, took seventy prisoners, and beat the rest back again into the city. And now Alexander himself, with the main army, bearing certain destruction to all opposers, rapidly approached. Before his arrival, however, having heard of the miserable fate of Ora, in which they read their own, if conquered, and mistrustful of the strength of the fortifications of the city against the terrible Macedonian engines of war, the Bazireans contrived to baffle the vigilance of the garrison, and, at the dead of the night, issuing forth on the side less closely blockaded, fled to a stupendous rock adjoining, named Aornus. To the same rock, as to an impregnable bulwark, and the lofty castle erected on its almost insuperable summit, from every surrounding district already had flocked, in innumerable multitudes, all those brave Indians who yet felt the ardent throb for liberty and independence, and disdained the fetters of a new and sanguinary foe, that had spread desolation through their whole frontier.

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* See Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 194.

† Plutarch in Vit. Alexand.

This celebrated rock, according to the nearest calculation of modern geography, is situated about fifty-five German miles north-east from Peishore, and eighty-five from Cabul; and D'Anville has satisfactorily recognized its ancient name in the Indian appellative of *Renas.* According to Arrian, the circumference of its base is two hundred furlongs, or nearly twenty-five English miles; its altitude, where *lowest*, is eleven: but that description is indefinite, and leaves too much to the operations of imagination. Formed like the Petra Sogdiana, before described, and many others at this day used as places of secure defence by the Indian rajahs, it rose from this broad base, in a direction nearly perpendicular, to its very summit, which was a wide and fertile plain, presenting the appearance of an immense cone, and to that summit there was only one steep, rugged, winding, path, cut out by human toil. The deep and rapid Suvat, a branch of the Indus, foamed at its foot on one side, and together with the steep and craggy banks, which confined the struggling current, prohibited all attack. On the other side, deep cavities, artificially sunk, like yawning abysses, threatened to ingulph whosoever had the temerity to approach it. Near the top gushed forth a beautiful spring of the purest water, which flowed plentifully down the rock; its sides were clothed with lofty and dark woods, and as much arable land was cultivated upon its summit as would furnish provisions for a thousand men.

Alexander, on finding Bazira deserted, immediately pursued the fugitives to Aornus, and nothing could equal his astonishment on beholding its vast elevation and great natural strength, except the ardour of his resolve to become the master of it. Besides, every secret spring of glory and emulation was awakened afresh in his soul on the contemplation of that renowned fortress; for, either tradition, or Greek adulation, had circulated a report, that Hercules, on his invasion of India, was baffled in every attempt to make himself master of this rock. This story may possibly have been founded on some military exploits carried on in these regions by Rostam, the Persian, or Rama, the Indian, Hercules, during the conquests that rendered them so famous in their respective countries. Fired with the hope of succeeding where Hercules himself had failed, Alexander was determined to take Aornus, or perish before it. He, therefore, ordered the most active preparations to be immediately commenced for a regular siege; but, knowing that these and the siege itself would take up much time, he, in the interim, employed that part of the army, which was not thus engaged, in more permanently securing the countries which he had left behind, as well as in adding to his conquests a city in those parts, called Ecbolina, which capitulated without much opposition. The preparations for the attack upon Aornus being completed, and the cavities that rendered it inaccessible on one side being filled up, in the same manner as the fosse of Massaga, by felling the timber of an adjacent forest, he selected thirty young men, the bravest and most alert among those who formed his body-guard, as leaders of the determined band, which had orders to make the first attempt at scaling the rock. The king seemed to his officers so ardent in the affair, that they united their requests that he would not engage personally in an attack, which would, probably, be attended with inevitable destruction to the first assailants. The instant, however, the trumpets sounded, as a signal for that attack, Alexander flew like lightning to the spot, and, bidding his valiant guards follow their sovereign's steps, began laboriously to climb the rock. The whole army, animated by his example, in a transport of enthusiasm, encouraging one another with shouts and songs, pressed eagerly forward to the steep ascent, and every instrument used in escalade was diligently employed to facilitate their progress. That diligence, however, was, in the first instance, utterly fruitless; for, the besieged rolled down upon them, from above, stones of a vast magnitude, rendered irresistible by the velocity of their descent, which bore them violently back again, and, while some fell, dreadfully bruised and mangled, to the ground, others were precipitated into the Suvat, where they were ingulphed. This novel mode of fighting, added to this resolute opposition, struck no dismay into the mind of Alexander, nor annihilated the hopes he had formed of finally reducing Aornus. Deriving only additional vigour from the increase of danger, the army redoubled its efforts to ascend the rock; but, from its steepness and the smoothness of its surface, they could gain no firm hold nor footing; while the hardness of its substance resisted, like adamant, the edge of the tools with which they in vain endeavoured to pierce its sides and fix the scaling-ladders. Still, however, they undauntedly persevered. Again and again baffled, they as repeatedly renewed their attacks; but Alexander, seeing no prospect of success by open assault, and being filled with commiseration for the brave men, who were perishing in multitudes around him, at length ordered a retreat to be sounded. A close and prolonged blockade might be productive of famine among the innumerable throng who had shut themselves up in the castle of Aornus; and famine would do the work of destruction more rapidly than all the warlike engines of Alexander.

That blockade, therefore, for which ample preparations had been already made, now commenced with vigour. The former lines of investment were contracted, the ramparts strengthened, the wooden towers advanced close to the rock, and on them other works were constructed, which brought them still nearer the besieged. While these things were going on, an old man, who had long passed the life of a hermit, in a cavern of the rock, came to Alexander, and offered, for a considerable reward, to guide a small band of soldiers, by a secret path, to the plain on the summit, where they might conceal themselves in the wood that grew there till they could be reinforced by others. The terms demanded were immediately agreed to, and Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, with a detachment of light-armed soldiers was sent with him, receiving orders, when they should reach the summit, strongly to intrench themselves in that wood, and display on high a burning torch, as the signal of their success. With immense toil and hazard, Ptolemy successfully reached the top, displayed the signal, and intrenched himself till the treacherous Indian conducted others to the same spot. These carried the farther command of Alexander to Ptolemy, that the following day, when he should again storm the rock by the ordinary path of ascent, the troops with him should rush with fury on the rear of the astonished enemy. The command was punctually obeyed; but so great was the number of the enemy and so ardent their courage, that, though they saw themselves betrayed, and attacked at once both in front and rear, they manifested neither confusion nor terror, but vigorously repelled the attack of each party, again driving the Macedonians, who engaged them from below, down the rugged precipices, and compelling Ptolemy to retreat for security to his intrenchment, which was constructed with too much military skill to be easily forced by barbarian prowess. Thus victorious, the besieged made the rock resound with acclamations of triumph, and mingled the scoff of derision with the extravagancies of mirth. Alexander, equally enraged and surprised at this two-fold discomfiture, determined to advance his works still higher up the rock, cutting down more trees, filling up more interstices, and erecting, of earth and stone, an enormous counter-agger, whose height he intended should, in time, rival that of Aornus. In the mean time, the Indians affected to behold these uncommon efforts of a great general with contempt, and continued for two days and nights their Bacchanalian revels. On the third night, the noise of the cymbals ceased, and the rock appeared, through its whole extent, illuminated with torches, which the king observing, instantly conjectured the enemy were attempting an escape from the rock; and, as more than enough of Macedonian blood had been shed at Aornus, he felt no inclination to obstruct their purpose. On the contrary, he withdrew his forces from the blockaded avenues, that they might have a free passage; but, in revenge of their obstinacy and insults, the instant they had descended, he directed his forces to pursue the fugitives, and cut to pieces as many as they could overtake. Alexander now took possession of the deserted rock; offered magnificent sacrifices upon it, and erected altars to Minerva and Victory. He then placed a strong garrison in it, and consigned the charge of that important station to Sisicottus, an Indian chief, on whose attachment and fidelity he knew he might depend. The above account of the siege and capture of Aornus is what we find in Arrian and Curtius, whose relations, in this as in many other cases, are not easily to be reconciled; but as the latter probably composed his work from materials to which Arrian might not have access, however guilty he may be of frequent exaggeration, his florid narration is not wholly undeserving of attention*.

After the capture of Aornus, Alexander marched, in a north-east direction, to Pucela, or Peucelaotis, the capital of a province, known in Indian geography, as detailed in the Ayeen Akbery, by the name of *Puhkely*, to which the Greek term Πευκελαωτις corresponds as nearly as the idiom of the two languages would admit of. The province is situated among the western sources of the Indus, and the city itself is washed by the main stream of the Sinde. Hither, as was before observed, Hephæstion and Perdiccas had been dispatched, on the commencement of the march from Paropamisus, to provide a bridge of boats, and make other preparations for crossing the Indus at this point. Here he found those generals engaged in the siege of this capital, which had employed their whole force, during thirty days; but, on the king's arrival, it surrendered; and the princes of the country, which had not yet submitted, now hastened to pay their homage to Alexander, and be enrolled among his allies and friends. Among these, the earliest and the most distinguished for riches and power, was Taxiles, sovereign of the whole country extending between the Sinde and the Hydaspes, who not only brought from beyond the Sinde very handsome presents in money, elephants, and provision, but was also actively serviceable in promoting and securing the future conquests of Alexander.

The bridge of boats was already prepared; but this being not deemed the properest point for the easy and secure transportation of the forces, Alexander sent forward the heavy-armed troops and the gross of the army to a place on the Sinde, sixteen days march distant below that position. At this place the mountainous range of country terminated, and the level plain of the Panjab commenced, so much better adapted to the purpose of crossing on a bridge of boats than where the stream flowed turbulent on a rapid descent*. With the light-armed troops he himself marched back into the territories of the Assaceni, where he was informed the brother of the late king had revolted, and, with a great body of barbarians, had fled to the mountains. Alexander, however, anxious to penetrate into the interior of India, did not think proper to pursue him to this retreat; and employed his troops, with the assistance of the natives, in catching the elephants which abound in that province, and are taken by the natives with singular dexterity, for the purpose of acting against the numerous train of those animals, which he expected would be opposed to him by the princes reigning beyond the eastern shore of the Indus. It seems to have been during this second expedition to the Assaceni and Cophenes, or Cow-River, which bounded their territories on the west, that Alexander paid his memorable visit to the city of Nysa, denominated Dionysopolis, in Ptolemy, from the tradition of its having been founded by Dionysius, or Bacchus, in his invasion of India, and known, in Sanscreet, by the resembling appellation of *Naishada*†. Concerning that invasion, and the curious fragment of both Indian and Greek history that regards Nysa, as well as its supposed founder, and the adjacent mountain Meros, (the *Meru*, or north-pole, of the Brahmins,) the reader has already, in the former part of this work, been presented with very circumstantial details, and every thing added in this place would be tautology, except that, on taking possession of the city and the mountain, the triumphant host resigned itself, for six days together, to the transports of impetuous joy and the extravagance of Bacchanalian revels*. After this imprudent, and, in fact, scarcely credible, relaxation in a hostile country, Alexander, induced either by curiosity or vanity to navigate the Indus, returned to that river, and, finding near its banks a thick wood, ordered sufficient timber to be cut down for the construction of rafts, to carry down himself and the troops with him to that more convenient point of transportation where Hephæstion and Perdiccas had prepared the bridge of boats, and whither the main body of the army had marched some time before from Peucelaotis. On their safe arrival there, the embarkation took place; and, so excellently had every previous measure been arranged, the transportation of the whole army was effected, equally without loss and without opposition.

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* Arrian, lib. iv. cap. 30, and Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 11.

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* See Rennel's Memoir, p. 121. † Sir William Jones in Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 259.

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327.

In the Indian Antiquities, whatever concerns the geography of this part of India, as well as most things that have relation to the religion and the singular manners and customs of this ancient and secluded race, have been extensively discussed. The narration, therefore, of the farther progress of Alexander into the interior of India, will flow on uninterruptedly, except in those cases where information, more recently obtained, may render occasional addition necessary.

The great river, properly called the Indus, is formed, according to the most accurate geographer of India, of ten principal streams descending from the Persian and Tartarian mountains, of which Alexander had previously crossed the Cophenes, the Choaspes, and the other branches on the west of the Sinde. Five more, rushing down on the eastern side of the Sinde, and giving to that country the name of *Panjab*, were yet to be crossed ere he could complete the original intention of reaching the distant Ganges. They were to be crossed too at a season when the periodical rains, already commenced in the northern mountains, had swollen them to an uncommon magnitude, and greatly increased their rapidity. The Sinde, as we are informed from Sanscreet authority, in its early course was anciently called NILAB, or the *Blue River*, from the dark hue of its waters; and this native appellation, added to the crocodiles and the Egyptian beans that grew on its banks, will, in some degree, account for the strange mistake of Alexander, that he had discovered the sources of the Nile in this region of Northern India. Indian traditions mention, also, a city of the same name, situated near the present Attock, which a variety of circumstances combines to prove must have stood on or near the scite of the ancient Taxila, and to have been the point at which Alexander effected the transportation of his army; because the same geographer observes, " this appears to have been, in all ages, the pass on the Indus leading from the countries of Cabul and Candahar into India*;" which induced the politic Akber, in after-ages, to build, on this spot, the castle of Attock, commanding that passage.

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* Arrian, lib. v. cap. 2. Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 10.

The total number of forces which this first invader, from so remote a western clime, landed on the eastern banks of the Indus, is stated by Curtius to have amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men†; a statement which must be supposed to include the thirty thousand Persian youths whom he had caused to be trained up in the Macedonian discipline, and constantly carried with him in his army, partly to serve as hostages and partly to act as soldiers. On the safe debarkation of the troops on the opposite shore, Alexander's first care, as usual, was to offer solemn sacrifices to the gods; after which he exhibited gymnastic sports, according to the ancient custom of the Greeks. The importance of the friendship of his new ally, Taxiles, (called Omphis by Curtius, with the addition of a story not confirmed by any thing in Arrian,) now became evident; for, he not only refreshed his army during thirty days in his rich and flourishing capital of Taxila, but experienced from his liberality a repetition of such presents as would be most useful to him in passing the probably hostile countries beyond the Hydaspes. He also personally joined his army with a body of seven hundred horse and five thousand foot, besides thirty elephants; and to this step he was induced not less by the friendship which he had conceived for Alexander, than the rooted antipathy which he is said to have harboured against two rival princes, his neighbours, named by the Greeks Abissares and Porus, whose dominions lay beyond the river that bounded his dominion eastward. Abissares, however, by far the weakest of the two, hastened to make his peace with his now formidable enemy, while Alexander yet abode at Taxila, and his submission was benignantly received; the ambassadors sent by him being treated with respect, and the presents transmitted honoured with the return of others. Another chieftain, also, named by the Greeks Doxareas, and said to have reigned in these districts, made submissive tenders to Alexander, and added considerable presents to purchase his favour and protection. But Porus, or as, on Sanscreet authority, we should more correctly denominate him, PAURAVA, sovereign of the region beyond the Hydaspes, resolutely refused tamely to yield up to a foreign invader the independance of his warlike nation and the throne of his illustrious progenitors. To the heralds sent to demand the payment of tribute, in proof of his obedience, and that he would meet the Macedonian conqueror on the confines of his dominion, the high-minded monarch exclaimed, "that he acknowledged no victor, and would transmit no tribute; that, indeed, he would meet Alexander on his frontier, but that it should not be as a suppliant or as a vassal; it should be in arms,—in arms, the most proper mode of deciding the rights of contending kings*!"

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* Rennel's Memoir, p. 92.

† Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 4.

Alexander, rather delighted at the spirit than alarmed by the menace of this reply, lost no time in accepting the challenge of the Indian monarch. Having, therefore, placed a Macedonian garrison in the castle of Taxila, and appointed Philip to be the governor of it, he moved forwards towards the Hydaspes, in Sanscreet called *Bedustà*, and, in the modern geography of India, the *Chelum;* being the first of the five rivers that give name to the province. Cœnus, one of the generals most in his favour, had been previously commissioned to transport, on carriages, the vessels, of which the bridge of boats had been composed, from the Indus to the Hydaspes; those vessels having been so contrived as easily to be taken to pieces; the smaller vessels in two parts, and those of thirty oars in three. The space between Taxila and that river, a distance of one hundred and twenty English miles, was passed with a celerity proportioned to the impatience of the Macedonian hero to combat a prince, the conquest of whom, he conceived, would secure to him the uncontrolled dominion of the Indian empire; and, on his arrival at its banks, the formidable appearance of Porus, at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army, strengthened with a vast train of elephants of uncommon magnitude, that lined the shore to a great extent, was well calculated to justify that conception. The fact, however, is, and every retrospect on either the Classical or Sanscreet History of India tends to establish it, that, at this æra, a system, very much resembling the feudal government of ancient Europe, prevailed over the whole region of India; that it contained a number of petty kingdoms governed by distinct sovereigns, independent of each other, but, by the constitution of the government, subordinate to the supreme Maha-Raja, whose residence was either at Canouge or Palibothra, *(Patna,)* on the Ganges. Ferishta's Indian History, indeed, of this period, records Poor, or Foor, to be of the imperial dynasty of Delhi, in consonance with our former supposition that Hindostan was anciently divided into two great empires, situated on or near the two great rivers that wash their country, the Indus and the Ganges; but, from the entire silence of the Greeks on the subject of so celebrated a capital, affirmed, too, to have been built by the father of this very Foor, and the occurrence of no name in the least resembling Delhi or any of its ancient synonyms, the statement of the Persian historian is probably unfounded. The reigning monarch on the Ganges, we are now certain, was CHANDRAGUPTA, the *Sandra-Cottus*, or *Cotta*, of the Greeks, to whom Megasthenes was afterwards sent ambassador by Seleucus, and who, as we have seen above, had daringly usurped the throne after the murder of the pious Rajah Nanda. It is unfortunate that more ample materials have not hitherto arrived from India for composing the domestic history of this period, in defect of which we are compelled to return to the farther consideration of what has descended to us from classical writers concerning this invasion of the Panjab by Alexander.

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* Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 13.

According to them, the proper dominion of Porus extended no farther than the district confined by the Hydaspes on the western, and by the Acesines on the eastern, quarter. Strabo represents it as extensive, opulent, and containing nearly three hundred cities*; but many of these reported cities were probably mere villages, since the whole extent of the tract, thus described, does not exceed, according to modern admeasurement, forty miles in width and a hundred and fifty in length. The Hydaspes, or Chelum, is stated to have been four furlongs, or nearly half an English mile, in width; proportionably deep, and exceedingly turbid and impetuous, from the same cause that rendered the main stream of the Indus so dangerous to the army,—the floods, occasioned equally by the rains and the melted snows, rushing down from the mountains in still more accumulated torrents; for, it was now the height of the summer solstice. It was in no place fordable; and, added to this, the white surges, that every where broke furiously upon its ruffled surface, proved that the river rolled on a bed of rock and massy stones; threatening those who should attempt to cross it, in barks of such slight fabric as those used at the Indus, with inevitable destruction. From this formidable foe, the Macedonians turned their eyes to another still more menacing, an army of thirty thousand foot, seven thousand horse, three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred elephants, drawn up in dreadful array of battle, resolved resolutely to dispute their landing, should they be able to effect a safe passage over that rapid stream. This army, too, was by no means composed of men enervated and spiritless, like their Persian foes; they were a hardy and fearless race, tall in stature, and of a robust make; a race, trained from their infancy to war under an intrepid monarch. A train of selected elephants, of the largest size, sumptuously arrayed in all the gorgeous trappings of Eastern magnificence, in appearance like so many lofty towers, stood ranged along the banks, prepared with their ponderous feet either to trample down the assailing host, or dash them to pieces with their enormous probosces. Porus himself, mounted on the most majestic of those animals, and as well in stature as in valour and wisdom exceeding the subjects he commanded, shone above all, conspicuous by the glittering of his golden armour and the chains of precious stones suspended from his neck, or sparkling in the plumes of his tiara.

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* Strabo, lib. xv. p. 663.

The stake on either side was great, and the efforts of the contending princes were proportionate to its magnitude. In fortitude and ardour of glory they were equal: in military talents Porus was inferior; but it was only to Alexander. The former trusted for success to heroic *valour* and physical *strength;* the latter plainly perceived, that, in this instance, at least, he could conquer only by judicious *manœuvre.*

The two armies, thus arranged in view of each other on the opposite shores of the Hydaspes, had full leisure to weigh and determine on the plans of attack and defence which they meant respectively to pursue. An attempt to pass a river so impetuous, and effect a landing on a shore so steep and so well defended, in open day, seemed to Alexander a hopeless task. It was only under the cover of night, and in the confusion attendant on darkness, that such an attempt was at all likely to prove successful; at the same time the king's great experience in the art of war, added to the desire of preserving the lives of soldiers, so valuable and so necessary to his future views, in a country where every rood of ground would probably be disputed, taught him that the place of his encampment was not the exact spot from which it should be made. But though not proper for the *real* attempt, a *feigned* effort might be made there with advantage, to cover and assist other efforts made elsewhere. Fortunately for the accomplishment of this latter design, about one hundred and fifty stadia, or nineteen miles, below that part of the river where the channel takes a mighty sweep, there projected from the shore a rocky promontory, overgrown with wood; and, in a line with this promontory, in the middle of the river, stood an uninhabited island, also thickly interspersed with trees, in whose deep umbrage the army, after landing, might lie concealed from the view of the enemy. Having accurately surveyed this spot and formed his resolution, Alexander returned to his camp. And now, in execution of his concerted scheme, night after night, the trumpets were sounded, and the shouts, as of cavalry attempting to ford the river in the face of the enemy, were every where heard, and not only kept the enemy in a perpetual state of alarm and suspense, but exhausted them by incessant vigils. Porus perceiving, at length, that these were only feints intended to deceive and harass him, ceased to pay any particular attention to these nightly alarms; yet still he relaxed not from the general vigilance which should pervade a well-ordered camp. The Indian monarch being, by this stratagem, lulled into a kind of partial security, Alexander proceeded to the accomplishment of his project. He selected, for the purpose, a strong body of cavalry, in which he knew the inferiority of his enemy, together with the foreign mercenaries and some light-armed battalions, best calculated to act with the celerity and vigour requisite on this occasion. Craterus was left on the spot in command of the remaining cavalry, the Macedonian phalanx and the Indian auxiliaries under Taxiles, with orders to continue at night the usual noises, but not to move till he himself, by engaging the enemy on the opposite shore, had drawn off the elephants that lined it, in which case, the cavalry and the whole remainder of the army were immediately, and at every hazard, to force the passage.

Alexander having taken these precautions, and ordered the imperial tent, conspicuous from its loftiness and splendor, to remain standing, surrounded with his guards, as if he himself were still present, marched off, at the dusk of eve, by a circuitous route at some distance from the bank, to the rocky eminence in question. When arrived at about nine miles, or half the distance from the camp to the rock, he stationed there Meleager, Attalus, and Gorgias, with the foreign mercenaries, ordering them the instant, that, on the following morning, they observed the hostile armies on the opposite side in motion, they should embark in the vessels, which, silently gliding under cover of the night, had attended their progress down the stream, and join him. The king himself, with the troops accompanying him, having arrived safely at the rock, lost no time in crossing over to the island on rafts and vessels, which had been previously brought to the rock, and put together in its concealing woods. While they were thus employed, there fell a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning, with torrents of rain, sufficient to terrify and obstruct the progress of any soldiers but those of Alexander. Those determined warriors, so far from being dismayed by the conflicting elements, heard with joy the dreadful solstitial thunders which concealed from the ears of the enemy the rattling of their armour and the dashing of the oars. Alexander himself, with Ptolemy, Perdiccas, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and others, his most experienced generals and beloved friends, braved the storm in a vessel of thirty banks of oars, and landed in safety on the island just as the day which was to decide the fate of Porus began to dawn; at which period the roar of the thunder ceased and the tempestuous sky became suddenly serene. The island was rapidly traversed by the army, and the vessels, coming round to the opposite side, again received the troops, and landed them in the face of the advanced guard of Porus, which instantly galloped off at full speed to acquaint the Indian sovereign of the approach of the enemy in that unexpected quarter. As the corps of infantry successively arrived, and the horse landed out of the boats in which they had been ferried over, on the eastern shore of the Hydaspes, Alexander, who, still foremost in every station of more imminent danger, had first ascended the bank, in person attended to form the debarking troops, and draw them up in order of battle. When the whole number, amounting to six thousand foot and five thousand horse, was completely landed, he placed himself at their head, and marched forward in quest of the foe. It unfortunately happened, however, and was speedily discovered, that they had, from their ignorance of the country, disembarked on a part of the shore, so separated by a deep stream formed by the violence of the floods from the main land, that it appeared like another island. So high had risen the waters which filled it, they had the utmost difficulty in finding any place fordable either for the cavalry or infantry. At length, however, they waded through it; the former, with the water reaching up to the necks of their horses; the latter, buried breast-high in the waves. Again formed in order of battle, and with equal celerity by the king himself, as the troops successively ascended the bank, the horse, with Alexander at their head, pressed on with rapidity to meet the foe; the foot being ordered to follow them leisurely, that their strength might not be exhausted before they could get into action; an action, which, from every appearance, would be, in an extreme degree, obstinate and bloody.

In the mean time, the advanced guard of the enemy, arriving at the camp of Porus, spread the alarm of Alexander's attempt to pass the river near their post; but the cautious Indian monarch, either not believing their report or considering this as one of those ingenious feints by which he had been so often imposed upon, contented himself with sending his son, at the head of two thousand horse and one hundred and twenty armed chariots, to prevent his landing. On approaching that part of the river, the young prince was not a little astonished to find a landing already effected, and a considerable detachment of the Macedonian army advancing to give him battle; for, Alexander retained the main body of the horse with him for the greater and more decisive contest which he saw must soon take place between himself and Porus, and he repressed their ardour to engage, in order to give the infantry time to join him. To this line of conduct he was induced by the supposition that Porus, with his whole army, was following close in the rear of his son's detachment; but being undeceived in that respect by the parties sent out to reconnoitre, he determined to strike terror by an act of necessary rigour; and, rushing with his whole force upon the unsupported foe, cut the greater part of them to pieces; while the whole of the chariots, unable to proceed through the swampy ground, inundated by the torrents of rain that had fallen in the night, became the easy spoil of the victor. The troops, that escaped the undistinguishing slaughter of that day, fled back to the Hydaspes, and bore to the unhappy monarch the disastrous tidings of his routed forces, and of his son slain while bravely fighting at the head of his detachment.

Porus, who, during the whole of Alexander's absence from his camp, had been unusually harassed with the clamorous din of the Macedonians and pretended preparations for passing the river, was for some time in the deepest perplexity, whether he should wait the threatening or seek the advancing foe. His magnanimity and valour led him to prefer the latter of these alternatives; and, therefore, leaving on the spot a certain proportion of his elephants and his army, to awe and keep in check the Macedonians on the opposite shore, he immediately led from their encampment an army consisting of thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three hundred chariots, and two hundred elephants, to dispute the palm of glory with the conqueror of Darius. "The mighty Foor," says Ferishta, "issued from Sirhind, with an army numerous as the locusts, against the great Secander*." That this vast host, especially the elephants and the chariots, might act without obstruction, a wide and even plain, with a surface of firm sand, was judiciously sought for, and fortunately found. Here the intrepid Indian drew up his army in the following order: The elephants were ranged in the front of all, at the distance of one hundred feet from each other, forming a line of vast extent, and terrible to behold! Behind this presumed impregnable bulwark were placed the numerous battalions of infantry, that, when the goaded elephants had commenced the work of havoc and destruction, the former might rush impetuously on, and complete the dreadful tragedy. Such were the maxims of Indian warfare, which, in ancient times, placed its principal dependance on the number and vigour of this species of animal brought into the field. The horse he divided into two bodies, which he constituted the wings of his army; before which he placed the chariots, most probably themselves armed with scythes and other offensive weapons, but certainly crowded with those who were dexterous in the use of the bow and skilled in hurling the javelin.

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* Ferishta's Indian History, vol. i. p. 180.

The Indian order of battle was scarcely thus completely arranged, when Alexander, at the head of his cavalry, arrived in sight. As it was in horse that he was by far superior to Porus, he was determined that they should bear the chief burthen of the action. His infantry was not yet come up, and he had full leisure, therefore, as well to reconnoitre the ground as to examine every point of the position taken by the enemy, who confided principally on the order of battle which he had adopted, and who seemed to await the attack in all that dreadful serenity, which, in the physical world, often precedes the most violent tempests. The infantry, which had pressed on with uncommon eagerness, that they might share in the glory of this memorable day, at length arrived; and, it being necessary that they should take some rest and refreshment before they could engage in fight, Alexander so completely surrounded them with his horse, as to shield them from any danger of attack, which, however, seemed the last thing the enemy had in contemplation. That portion of the army having recovered from its fatigue, he formed of it his centre, heading himself the right wing, and appointing Cœnus to the command of the left, both consisting of cavalry. The Macedonian horses, though during their engagements with Darius not wholly estranged to elephants, yet never approached that animal without reluctance and terror, and as it was upon this part of his army, and his knowledge of this circumstance, that Porus principally relied for success, Alexander determined to avoid them altogether; and, while Cœnus with his division wheeled round to attack the enemy's right wing, the king fell furiously upon their left; having previously ordered Seleucus, with the foot, to remain stationary till he saw that confusion in the army of the enemy which his measures were calculated to produce. The Indian horse, accustomed as they were to conquer on Indian plains, for a long time resisted valiantly the superior numbers and impetuous attack of the Macedonian; but, being overcome at length by the masterly manœuvres and correct discipline of their assailants, were driven from their station; and, by that means, left the infantry, whose flank they had covered, exposed to their fury. While, therefore, they were thus assailed in flank and rear by Alexander and Cœnus, the Macedonian infantry advanced with rapidity, and, with their long pikes and lances, attacked both the elephants and their drivers; at the same time that the equestrian archers, in number a thousand, whom Alexander had purposely selected to attend this expedition, overwhelmed those who fought in the chariots, as well as the horses that drew them, with showers of arrows and javelins. The enraged elephants, almost frantic with the pain they endured, rushed forwards on the Macedonians with irresistible impetuosity, breaking through the embodied phalanx, and trampling multitudes to death. The Indian horse, observing this check given to the enemy's infantry by the elephants, quickly rallied again, and made repeated and vigorous attacks upon Alexander and Cœnus: but those commanders, having now united their formidable squadrons, repulsed them with great slaughter, and compelled them to seek protection among the elephants, which, after all, proved very little; for, the drivers of those animals being for the most part slain, and themselves covered with wounds, carried havoc and destruction with undistinguishing fury through every part of the field, and proved equally fatal to friends as foes. The Indian horse and infantry, therefore, whom they were principally intended to shield, being crowded together in a confined compass around them, suffered more severely from *them* than from the Macedonians themselves. The latter, less straitened for room, every where opened their ranks to let them pass, and escaped the danger. As to those of that unwieldy tribe that were more mischievously furious, and still remained on the field, the Greeks, at the risk of their lives, approaching them with axes, clove asunder the sinews of their legs; and, with long and sharp instruments, curved like scythes, which they had prepared beforehand, cut off their trunks, and thus rendered impotent their savage ferocity.

The Indians, though surrounded by perils from every quarter, on one side trodden down by the elephants and on the other slaughtered by the Macedonians, yet disdained to yield to inferior numbers the palm of victory, and, for a long time, fought, especially the horse, with all that heroio bravery which distinguished their countrymen at Arbela, when the Indian cavalry pierced through the centre of Alexander's line, and plundered the Macedonian baggage. Amidst this mutual and eager contest for glory, Craterus, attentive to the orders of the king to pass the river, when he should see him engaged with Porus, with little obstruction effected a landing on the eastern shore of the Hydaspes at the head of the remainder of the army, which, impatient for action and unexhausted by fatigue, hurried to the field of battle, and, falling on the Indians, embarrassed by their situation and weakened by their exertions, completed the rout which had already partially began. The tumult and confusion that now took place cannot be conceived or described:— the wounded elephants, without riders, raging through the field, and spreading dismay and death wherever they came; horses and men rolled over each other on the bloody plain, and struggling in the agonies of death; the crash of chariots, the shouts of the victor, and the shrieks of the expiring. Those, that had an opportunity, sought safety in precipitate flight, but by far the greater part of that vast army was cut to pieces; the numbers killed that day, on the side of Porus, amounting, according to Arrian, to near twenty thousand infantry and three thousand horse; with the loss of all the chariots and elephants! The loss on the side of Alexander was very low in proportion, but still higher than in any battle with Darius, being eighty of the infantry and two hundred and thirty of the cavalry*. Diodorus, with greater probability, states that loss to have been seven hundred infantry: in the number of cavalry slain he agrees with our author†.

With respect to the Indian monarch himself, he was conspicuously seen, during the whole of the engagement, mounted on an elephant of uncommon magnitude and courage, issuing orders to his generals with the utmost coolness, and exposing himself, with the most daring intrepidity, in whatever quarter the rage of battle was most violent. Foiled in one part of the field, Porus and the veteran bands that ever attended and guarded his person, renewed the contest with fiercer fury in another. While a troop could be kept together, or a battalion rallied, Porus was at the head of that troop and of that battalion. Majestic in person and on a majestic animal, he was the admiration of every eye, and, at the same time, the object of every hostile dart. But his coat of mail was of excellent fabrication, and of a texture so firm, that the arrow and the javelin fell equally shattered to the ground. At length a dart, from some unknown hand, struck him on the only part where his armour could be penetrated, the compages that thinly guarded the right shoulder; and the wounded monarch, anxiously looking round, and observing himself, of all his mighty host, almost the only survivor amidst a waste of death, ordered the driver of his elephant to conduct him from the fatal field, strewed with his most beloved friends and subjects. Alexander, extremely solicitous to preserve the life of so brave a man, dispatched Taxiles after him, ordering him to use every argument to induce him to surrender himself; assuring him of such a reception from his conqueror as a valiant man and a great prince merited. On the approach, however, of Taxiles, his ancient foe, the indignant monarch launched a javelin which had nearly transfixed him; calling him aloud a traitor to his country and a pusillanimous deserter of the rights of kings. Undiscouraged by this rude repulse, Alexander immediately sent other messengers to recall the flying prince, and, among others, Meroë, his bosom-friend, who at length succeeded in effecting his return. Having thus determined to submit himself to the generosity of Alexander, he caused his elephant to be stopped; and, the docile animal kneeling down, he was assisted to descend from it by his attendants, and had the wound, which proved not to be dangerous, dressed. He then suffered himself to be conducted by Meroë towards the tent of Alexander. On his approaching the royal pavillion, Alexander, with his friends, advanced to meet him, and pausing, as he drew nearer him, was forcibly impressed with the grandeur and nobleness of his appearance; for, he was five cubits, or above seven foot, in height, yet exactly proportioned, and of a majestic, yet pleasing, countenance. The relation of what passed at this conference would fill a very interesting page of history, but I have no room for the detail; and having now exhibited Alexander triumphant over his most powerful

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* Arrian, lib. v. cap. 18.

† Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. p. 469.

Indian foe, though by no means, as is generally understood, the supreme sovereign of India, I find myself compelled to hasten to the conclusion of a work, which has already exceeded every prudent limit. The result was, that Alexander, equally won by his talents and his valour, ever afterwards numbered Porus among his intimate friends, and not only honourably replaced him on the throne of his ancestors, but added many extensive provinces to his former empire. Alexander, after this, performed magnificent obsequies to the manes of those brave men who had perished in the engagement; offered the most costly sacrifices to the gods; and solemnized the athletic and equestrian games usual among the Greeks, on the banks of the Hydaspes. In memory, also, of this important victory, the king erected two cities, one on the spot where the battle was fought, which he thence called NICÆA; the other on the scite of his camp on the western bank of the Hydaspes, where his favourite horse Bucephalus, which he had broke in, when a youth, at the hazard of his life, which had attended him in all his campaigns, and shared every danger with his affectionate master, died, according to Arrian, at the advanced age of nearly thirty years*. But this must certainly be a mistake; for, at that rate of computation, Bucephalus would have been a year older than Alexander himself, who is said to have broken him in, when nobody else could accomplish the arduous task, at the age of sixteen years; and it is not credible that a horse, for which Philip, as Plutarch informs us, paid thirteen talents, (or 2500*l.* sterling,) could be worth that sum when the prime of his youth was so long past†. The age of Bucephalus, however, even according to this mode of calculation, must have been considerable, and his memory was intended to be perpetuated in the name of *Bucephala*, conferred on the city built on the spot where his death took place. Modern geography enumerates no city near that spot at all corresponding to either of these Greek appellatives.

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* Arrian, lib. v. cap. 18.

† Plutarch in Vita Alexand.

After staying a short time to refresh his army in the kingdom of Porus, Alexander marched, with a considerable part of his army, into the adjacent territory of the Glausæ, situated north-east of that kingdom; and in this march we find a striking proof of the astonishing wealth and population of India, when undisturbed by foreign invasion, and its inhabitants are left to be cherished and protected by their own mild laws and the liberal spirit of their native princes; for, those territories are said by Arrian to have contained thirty-seven large cities, many of them having ten thousand inhabitants, with a vast number of villages, proportionably populous. These were taken possession of without the least resistance from the peaceable inhabitants; (for, how should a race, absorbed in agriculture and commerce, cope with the armed veterans of Greece?) and the sovereignty of the whole region conferred on Porus. Abissares, also, king of a northern tribe of mountaineers, called in the language of modern India *Gehkers*, or Kakares*, an ally of Porus, sent ambassadors, offering ample presents of elephants and money, and the unconditional surrender of his kingdom. The king, perhaps mistrustful of his real intentions, commanded that Abissares should attend him in person, or he should pay him a visit in his native mountains. On the mountains in the neighbourhood of the Hydaspes were lofty woods, which Alexander ordered to be cut down, and, of the timber, a great number of vessels to be formed, with which it was his intention, on his return, to sail down the Indus into the ocean. The Assaceni, having again revolted, Philip was dispatched to reduce them, and Craterus being appointed to superintend the erection of the two cities which he had ordered to be built, as well as the fleet preparing, Alexander advanced to the Acesines, or modern *Jenaub*, the next river of the Panjab. Before he commenced his march, however, he took an opportunity of reconciling to each other the princes Taxiles and Porus; granting the former permission to return to his hereditary domain, and giving the latter the most solemn pledges of lasting friendship.

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* Rennel's Memoir, p. 93.

Broad, turbulent, and rapid, as was the Hydaspes, the Acesines is represented to have exceeded that river in all these points; its breadth being fifteen furlongs, or nearly two miles; whereas that of the Hydaspes was only four furlongs, or about half a mile over; and its surface, in particular, being wrought into such violent agitation by the numerous and prominent rocks which every where choaked up the channel, that the waters of it seemed to boil, and threaten immediately to ingulph whomsoever a fatal temerity might lead to attempt the passage. But the Macedonian army, which had already triumphantly crossed so many rivers and mountains, disdained to have its progress impeded by the terrific appearance of the Acesines, and, partly on the vessels brought from the Hydaspes and partly on skins stuffed as before, were ferried over the formidable stream. Many of the vessels, however, struck against the prominent rocks in the river, and were dashed to pieces; but the floats, formed of lighter materials, rebounded uninjured, and deposited their burthen safely on the opposite shore. Of the country on the eastern side of the Acesines, a second Porus is said to have been the sovereign. This Porus, too, was at enmity with the first conquered of that name; and, led by his antipathy to that Porus, had, previously to the battle of Nicæa, sent ambassadors with the offer of his kingdom, and a voluntary surrender of his army, to subjugate his rival. The moment, however, he learned that Alexander had obtained a signal victory over his antagonist, had admitted him to his friendship, had again placed the crown upon his head, and had greatly increased his power for offensive operation, by the addition of a large adjoining territory, the wary, but dastardly, Indian, conceiving himself doomed to be the victim, fled from his dominions, at the head of all the brave young men capable of bearing arms, whose business it should have been, and whose inclination it probably was, to defend them against an invader. In the eager pursuit of him, Alexander arrived on the banks of the Hydraotes, or modern Rauvee, the third river of the Panjab; and, having hence dispatched Hephæstion and Cœnus completely to scour and reduce the whole country, he also added to the kingdom of his friend Porus these dominions of his ungenerous enemy.

The passage of the Hydraotes, or Rauvee, is not mentioned by Arrian as having been attended with any peculiar circumstances of danger or difficulty; and it is Major Rennel's opinion, confirmed by many strong local considerations, that Alexander crossed this river "near the place where the city of Lahore now stands*." Arrived on its eastern banks, he found a most formidable enemy prepared to dispute his farther progress through the Panjab, in three great confederated tribes, the Cathæi, the Malli, and the Oxydracæ, concerning whom it is necessary to state some particulars supplied by the laborious diligence of the respectable geographer just cited. By the Cathæi, or Catheri, as Diodorus writes the word, he contends is meant the *Kattri*, or war-tribe of India, a supposition which their martial character justifies. Their capital of Sangala he places in a direction south-west of Lahore, at the distance of a three days' march, and consequently so far out of the direct line of Alexander's route to the Ganges. This south-western progress of the army led the Macedonians near the confines of the province of Multan, and therefore the Malli must necessarily mean the people of Multan, or Malli-sthan, the region of the Malli. The district of *Outch* is not far distant, and the Greeks, fond of softening the Indian words by any resembling term expressive of the physical appearance of the people, called these people Oxydracæ, from their *sharp sightedness* *. Against these three tribes of warlike Indians, whose union of numbers and courage rendered them, in a high degree, formidable, Alexander thought it prudent to lead the concentrated force of a Grecian army.

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* Memoir, p. 93.

These people, Arrian informs us, had already resisted, on a former occasion, the combined armies of Porus and Abissares, and the city of Sangala, to which they had now retired, was strong by nature, and rendered still stronger by all the skill in fortification known to a barbarous people. It seems to have been situated on one of those eminences, though not of the loftiest kind, with which this part of Asia abounds, and on the summit of which the Indians delight to erect their laboured forts. An extensive lake secured it from assault on one quarter, and on all others it was defended by high walls, flanked with strong bastions. Before the gates of this city, the three great tribes above-mentioned, combining their strength against the common foe, had encamped, and intrenched themselves within the centre of a range of carriages, strongly fastened together, and drawn round them, as an impregnable rampart, in three circular lines of considerable depth. Mounting on the carriages that formed the outermost of these lines, they perpetually darted thence their missive weapons, and, with their unerring javelins, struck with death all that came within a certain distance. As the city lay immediately behind them, it was their intention, if unsuccessful in this mode of defensive combat, to retreat within its walls, and defend it to the last extremity; all which circumstances prove the proud spirit and obstinate valour of these northern Indians, when their independence and every thing dear to freemen were attacked by unprovoked aggression. Alexander, however, was greatly irritated by this appearance of determined opposition, which threw such immediate obstruction in the way of his project of advancing to the Ganges, and, taking a near view of both their intrenched lines and their fortified city, saw that the reduction of these tribes would occasion him a considerable loss of time as well as of men. To delay, however, the attack, was only to give new strength and courage to the enemy; he, therefore, immediately, with his whole force, attacked the first line of their intrenchment, which, though very bravely defended by the Indians, was too weak to resist the fury of the Macedonian phalanx; who, rushing forward through a storm of darts, drove away the defenders, and broke to pieces the carriages. The second line was constructed with greater skill, was stronger, deeper, and still more valiantly defended. It was carried, however, after the loss of a great many lives on both sides, and preparations were making for attacking the innermost, when the enemy, justly dreading the event, deserted their camp, and retired within the walls of their capital. Alexander immediately began to invest the city with his troops, but found he had not a body of foot sufficient with him completely to surround the vast extent of its walls; and, therefore, made his cavalry, on this occasion, do the duty of infantry: at the same time he advanced his works close to the ramparts and to the very edge of the lake. On the borders of that lake he stationed also large parties of horse, to prevent every possibility of escape by the enemy, on whom he meditated a severer punishment than their brave opposition merited. Sensible of the hazard of delay to his future schemes of aggrandizement and glory, the king now hurried on the siege with unremitting vigour;

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* Sir W. Jones in Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 2.

the battering engines shook the walls above, and the miners sapped their foundations below. Alarmed at length by these violent and terrific movements, and seeing the utter impossibility of maintaining an equal contest with troops so well disciplined in the science of war, the Cathæans and their allies began to think of securing their present safety by flight; trusting, if that could be effected, that they should be able, by other modes of offensive operation, to harass his troops and retard his farther progress on Indian ground. The lake that partly environed their city was, in some places, fordable; by this way, therefore, they hoped to effect their escape into the adjacent country; and, in consequence, at the dead of night, throwing open the gates in that quarter, the whole body of the besieged attempted to force a passage through the surrounding enemy. This they would in all probability have effected, had only the ordinary guard been on duty there; but Alexander, having cause to suspect their intention, had that very evening strengthened the force on that station by a numerous squadron of horse, giving orders to Ptolemy Lagos, who commanded that squadron, that, the instant any such attempt should be made, all the trumpets should sound to arms, when he himself, with the whole army not immediately occupied in the defence of the lines, would repair to the spot. Alexander had given orders that additional redoubts should be thrown upon the side nearest the lake, and that the roads should be blocked up by the carriages taken from the enemy in the late engagement, laid across them, to obstruct the progress of those who might escape the vigilance of the troops. These orders were all punctually executed, and the fugitive troops found that they had no sooner escaped the danger of being ingulphed in the lake, than they were surrounded by great bodies of cavalry, to whom resistance was unavailing, and who slaughtered them without mercy. The first ranks being thus unexpectedly cut off, and the whole army, roused by the clangor of the trumpets, being in motion to oppose their flight, the rest hurried precipitately back into the city, resolved either by one desperate effort to raise the siege or sell their lives in this last extremity as dear as possible. Each party now, returning to the contest, fought with redoubled fury; but the miners, being at length successful in sapping the walls, a breach was made in them, through which the Macedonians poured with an impetuosity that bore down all opposition. Others, applying the scaling-ladders, mounted the wall in places where no breach was effected, on which and the bastions a desperate conflict was for a long time sustained; but perseverance on the part of the besiegers rendered them finally triumphant. The works being thus carried by storm, and the city in possession of the Greeks, a dreadful and undistinguishing massacre commenced, and Sangala was deluged with the blood of its unfortunate citizens. When about seventeen thousand Indians were put to death, Alexander ordered the slaughter to cease, and the rest, to the enormous amount of seventy thousand, who had pressed into that city, were taken prisoners, together with a vast booty, including three hundred chariots of war and five hundred horse. The loss of the Macedonians, killed at this important siege, was comparatively small, not exceeding one hundred men; but the number of wounded was greater than on any former occasion, for Arrian states it at twelve hundred, among whom were Lysimachus and other commanders of the first distinction for talents and valour*.

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* Arrian, lib. v, cap. 25. Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 1. But Curtius gives a very confused and imperfect account of this affair, and mentions not even the name of the city, for which, notwithstanding the marked circumstances of the hill and the lake, no particular scite is assigned in the Modern Geography of India, nor has any corresponding name been found in the Sanscreet Vocabulary.

Sangala thus reduced, Alexander was in hopes that the terror of their punishment would induce the inhabitants of all the adjacent cities to submit, and dispatched Eumenes, with three hundred horse, to inform them of its fate, and to demand the surrender of themselves and their cities. But Eumenes found those cities a desert; the inhabitants of that whole district, who had already learned the fate of Sangala, under the impulse of terror and dismay, having precipitately fled, and concealed themselves in the forests and mountains. Alexander, fearful of a new hydra erecting its head in that region, immediately ordered numerous squadrons of cavalry to scour the country in every direction, and himself also joined warmly in the pursuit: many were overtaken and slain, but they were principally those whose age or infirmities had retarded their flight; the rest escaped: and the king, returning to Sangala, rased it to the foundations, lest it should a second time prove a harbour for his enemies. The other cities, reduced in this excursion, as well as the entire region subjugated between the Hydraotes and Hyphasis, he gave to Porus and those tribes of Indians who had voluntarily joined his standard, and then marched back to the point on the Hyphasis, at which he intended to cross that fourth river of the Panjab. Arrian does not notice, but Curtius particularly mentions, as resident in this quarter of India, a nation, remarkable for the superior beauty of their persons, to which great attention was, by the order of the state, paid in their infancy: but not only for their corporeal qualifications are they praised by this writer, he bestows equal commendation on the sublime wisdom of their legislative code and the unsullied purity of their morals. They were governed by a king, named Sophites, who, on Alexander's approach to his capital, had ordered the gates to be closed, and not a soul to appear on the walls, either to repel or to invite the enemy. The Macedonians, in consequence, concluded that this also was a city that had been deserted by the terrified inhabitants, and were advancing to take possession of it, when, to their great astonishment, the gates were suddenly thrown wide open, and discovered Sophites himself, who, in comeliness, exceeded all his subjects, accompanied by two beautiful youths, his sons, and a long train of nobles, coming forth in procession to meet the victor, and lay at his feet the royal insignia, formed of the purest gold, and glittering with a profusion of diamonds. The description of the ornaments that decorated this prince is elaborately eloquent, but, what is more to the purpose, it is also correct, and exactly corresponds with the habits worn by the great rajahs of the present day. A long embroidered vest of a purple ground, interwoven with gold, enfolded his elegant form, and descended gracefully down to his feet; but not so as to conceal his sandals, which were of a rich gold brocade, sprinkled with pearls and rubies. He was splendidly adorned with rich necklaces and bracelets of various coloured stones. Two pendant jewels, of uncommon magnitude, and of the purest water, glittered in his ears. His sceptre, of wrought gold, was studded with beryls; and this, with the other insignia, he submissively presented to Alexander; at the same time earnestly soliciting his royal protection for himself, his children, and his subjects*. Alexander received this courteous prince with great benignity, returned to him the insignia of royalty, and, after visiting his capital and refreshing his army there, pursued his march to the Hyphasis. On his way thither, he was met by another prince, whose country bordered on its banks, and whom Diodorus distinguishes by the appellation of Phegeus, but whom Curtius, generally his copyist, terms Phegelas†. The subjects of this prince would willingly have flown to arms, but Phegelas forbade them, and, commanding them peaceably to return to their agricultural pursuits, set off to meet and appease Alexander with magnificent presents. Alexander, who was anxious to leave no enemy behind him unsubdued by arms or kindness, received him with the same affability he had shewn to Sophites, abode two days in his territories, and, on the third, prepared to cross the river. The name of this river, the fourth of the Panjab, was doubtless formed by the Greeks from *Beypassa*, its ancient Sanscreet appellative in the geography of the Ayeen Akbery. The modern name of *Beyah* is probably also a contraction of the Sanscreet term. It was not less broad and violent than the Hydraotes, nor the channel less rocky and interrupted. Before he attempted the passage, Alexander inquired anxiously of Phegelas concerning the distance between his present position and the Ganges, and the military strength and population of the nations who inhabited the banks of that river. In answer to these inquiries, he was informed, that, when he had crossed the Hyphasis, his direct line of march lay through a dreary desert of eleven days journey, at the end of which he would reach the river in question; a river, the broadest and deepest in India, and to which all those he had already passed might be considered as rivulets; that its eastern banks were inhabited by two numerous and warlike nations, denominated, from the situation of the one and the capital of the other, Gangarides and Prasii, whose king, by the Greeks called Agrammes, was prepared to meet him on the frontiers of his dominion, with an army far more numerous than any he had yet encountered. The soul of Alexander was fired with this intelligence; every moment seemed lost till he had passed the bounds of that inhospitable desert; till he had braved the billows of that mighty river; till he should be able to bring to action that formidable enemy; and erect the triumphant banners of Macedon on the shore of the ocean that formed the eastern boundary of Asia.

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* Curtius, book ix. cap. 1. † Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvii. p. 563. Curtius, in loco citat.

While he was meditating the full accomplishment of these designs, and preparing to lead his harassed soldiers to new hardships, the whole camp was filled with seditious murmurings, and remonstrated with one voice against engaging deeper in projects of so hazardous and precarious an issue. Reduced in their numbers by frequent and long-fought battles, covered with honourable wounds, and crowned, as they imagined, with sufficient glory, they demanded to be led back into their native country, to share that repose which their long services required, and to spend the remainder of life in the enjoyment of the fortunes which they had so dearly earned. In Porus they had already found a formidable and resolute enemy; and a report was spread generally throughout the camp, that, beyond the Ganges, a river reported to be a hundred fathoms deep and four miles in breadth*, the kings of the Gangarides and Prasians had assembled an army of eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, two thousand armed chariots, and three thousand fighting elephants†. However exaggerated this account might have been, it filled the bravest among them with dismay; they supposed themselves conducting to slaughter rather than to victory, and many of them loudly exclaimed, that they would not submit to be sacrificed to gratify the boundless ambition of their commander.

Alexander, who was totally absorbed in his darling project of reaching the Ganges, and thence pressing on to the farthest limits of Asia, on hearing the rumour of these murmurings, was filled with inexpressible anguish, mingled with rage and indignation, to which he dared not, at this momentous crisis, give vent. He was convinced, however, that there was no time for hesitation. With that decisive vigour which always characterized the actions of this great prince, he immediately ordered a general assembly of the army to be summoned, and, by the most affable and condescending behaviour, endeavoured to allay the ferment, to tranquillize their minds, and win them over to his purpose. His august presence at once awed them to respectful silence, and his assumed benignity revived all their affection for him; but still they were inflexible in their purpose of not proceeding beyond the Hyphasis. In a speech of great subtilty and varied eloquence, he touched every chord of passion that strongly vibrates on the human heart. He aimed principally to work upon that high sense of honour which the Greeks ever cherished both individually and nationally; to wake in their minds the dormant spark of expiring ambition; to provoke the emulation of generous youth, and stimulate the avarice of frozen age. He strove, by recounting all their past glories, to animate them to attempt the acquisition of still nobler and more substantial renown; to exceed the boasted exploits of Hercules and Bacchus; and reach the limits of the habitable world. He painted, in the most glowing colours, the immense magnitude of the spoil that awaited them beyond the Ganges; kingdoms overflowing with wealth, the accumulated wealth of ages, the concentrated treasures of Asia. He ridiculed the idea of the innumerable force in infantry, in cavalry, and elephants, which the Gangaridæ could bring into the field, and with the magnified details of which their enemies aimed to terrify them and arrest their progress. "Have you forgotten," exclaimed this prince, "the still greater armies of Darius; the uncounted multitudes who perished, oppressed by their own numbers, at Issus and in the defiles of Cilicia; and the myriads, in vain opposed to Macedonian valour, on the plains of Arbela? Are the Gangaridæ a braver or hardier race than those whom you conquered on the Bactrian hills; those who drenched with blood the Sogdian plains; or those who, in terror of your vengeance, precipitated themselves down the rocky steeps of Aornus? Can the number of elephants, however great, alarm Grecian soldiers, after the recent proof, exhibited in the battle with Porus, of their utter inutility in the field, or, rather, of the certain destruction, of which they may be made the terrible instruments, against their own party? Does the broad, the deep, the rapid, Ganges fill you with dismay? Have you not, then, in your progress hither, crossed the unfathomable deep itself? Or, is it less safe to pass a wide and majestic river, flowing on with an even, though rapid, course, than an impetuous current, confined by steep banks within a narrow channel, like the Hydaspes; or foaming along, over a rocky bed, like the Acesines? Will you desert a general who has shared all your toils, and braved with you every danger, in the full career of glory; or, rather, when our triumphant warfare is nearly accomplished; for, we already verge on the Eastern Ocean, and have nearly reached the point whence the sun pours its first beam on the illumined earth? Behold your prince, who could command your obedience, condescends humbly to solicit your concurrence with his ardent wishes; and conjures you, by every thing sacred, that you will not rend the palm from him in the moment of victory; nor suffer the laurel, to whose lustre you have so largely contributed, to be tarnished by an untimely and disgraceful retreat!"—After pausing some moments, and observing both officers and men to remain entirely silent, with their eyes stedfastly fixed on the ground, and absorbed in profound melancholy, Alexander again exclaimed, "Where is that burst of applause that formerly used to follow the addresses of your sovereign? Where is that loyal zeal for my safety, that unbounded attachment to my person, which led you to contend for the distinction of bearing my wounded body from the field? Where, at this important moment, are the spirit, the ardour, of Macedonian soldiers? Return, ungenerous men! to the inglorious pursuits of peace basely purchased by the sacrifice of your prince. For, know, that thus far advanced towards the goal, I will not relinquish the dazzling prize. I will march on at the head of the more faithful Scythian and Bactrian forces in my train, and lead them triumphantly over the rivers which you dread, and against the armies and elephants which fill you with so much horror. Those despised barbarians shall hereafter be the braver comrades of Alexander. Return, ungenerous men! and tell astonished, tell indignant, Greece, that you have left your king surrounded with dangers, and in the midst of his enemies."

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* Plutarch in Vita Alexand.

† Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 2.

The soldiery were deeply agitated by this address, and felt the keenness of these reproaches; yet they were so exhausted with recent fatigue, they were so impatient to return to their beloved native soil, and were so terrified by the exaggerated accounts of the Ganges and Gangaridæ, that it was far from having the effect intended. The whole assembly, therefore, still observed that profound silence which is so much more expressive than any words. Even the veteran officers of highest distinction and most in favour with Alexander, though entirely agreeing in opinion with the great body of the army, deterred by the dreadful fate of Clytus and Calisthenes, who had atoned for their unrestrained freedom of speech, with their lives, for a long time refrained from expressing the sentiments of their hearts. The venerable Cœnus, at length, respectfully rising in the midst of the assembly, addressed Alexander in substance as follows:—" It is with extreme reluctance, O king! that I rise to return an answer not consonant to the wish of your address, because I am one of those favoured officers most devoted to your service, and who have shared most largely of your munificence. At my advanced age, men are indifferent to life; I plead not for myself, but for the army in general, whose united voice I am bound, by honour, faithfully to declare. Of the numerous forces that originally marched from Macedon on the Asiatic expedition, very few indeed remain with us; fewer still of those, who, like myself, passed the vigour of youth in the service of Philip, your illustrious father! Broken down with incessant fatigue, or utterly disabled by wounds, how many reluctantly repose their weary limbs far from their native country, their relatives and friends, in the numerous cities thou hast erected to secure thy conquests; how many have been cut off by disease and pestilence in these eastern climes; how many perished amidst the snows of Paropamisus; how many feed the famished vulture on the plains of Bactria, glut the tigers of Hyrcanian deserts, or, ingulphed in the great rivers of Asia, have become the prey of the voracious alligator! Behold, Alexander, in the course of this long and arduous campaign, every head grown bald and every face furrowed with wrinkles and scars! Are these miserable remains of what *were* Macedonians,—of what *were* the pride and flower of Greece,—are these fit persons to explore new worlds beyond the Ganges, or roll the thunder of battle round the distant shores of the Eastern Ocean? When the Thessalian auxiliaries were wearied with the length of the campaign, they were permitted to return from Bactria, laden with spoils and costly presents, into their own country; but we, thy more faithful Macedonians, are only reserved for severer toils and renewed slaughter. The desire in their minds to revisit their native country is ardent, is insuperable; indulge, Alexander, their just claims, and once more lead these grateful and enraptured subjects back to Greece, which loudly demands thy presence, to allay the intestine divisions that distract it. There shall these aged veterans find repose from their toils, and peaceably enjoy the rewards of many a hard-fought day, while a new race, risen since our departure, in the vigour of their youth, and with all the zeal of their fathers, shall eagerly crowd around thy standard, and burn to follow thee to the remotest regions of the earth, against the Indians beyond the Ganges; the Scythians, who tenant the borders of the Euxine; the undaunted progeny of Carthage; or the untamed savages of the Lybian deserts. At present, thou art at the pinnacle of human glory, and terrible at the head of a brave, though reduced, army. But who can say what dreadful reverses the Fates may ordain for thee among the Gangetic Indians? Remember, prince, that moderation in prosperity is a virtue, above all others, transcendently bright and eminent; and that vicissitude is the inevitable doom of mortality*."

The other generals afterwards joined in the representations of Cœnus, and the whole army confirmed the truth of them by renewed sighs and murmurs. Alexander, more irritated than convinced by all the arguments used to persuade him to retreat, abruptly broke up the assembly, and retired into his tent, where he shut himself up for three days in sullen reserve; refusing to see even his most intimate friends. He did this, as well to avoid farther solicitation, as in hopes, that, seeing him so fixed in his determination, the army might be induced to recede from their own. At the end of that period he again appeared in public, but found the troops still obstinately bent not to proceed, and the general murmur greatly increased. Matters were now growing too serious for Alexander longer to persist in his rash resolve. He disdained, however, the appearance of a forced compliance with the wishes of his army; and, therefore, ordered sacrifices to be offered for their safe passage and future progress. But the omens being represented by Aristander (probably at his own instigation) as utterly inauspicious, the king affected to pay that submission to the decrees of the gods which he refused to yield to the remonstrances of man. Upon the professed ground of Heaven being inimical to his farther progress, he issued orders for the return of the army, which were no sooner proclaimed, than the sky was rent with the loudest acclamations of joy; the whole army rushing in a transport of affectionate gratitude to the royal pavilion, and calling down blessings without number and without bound on the head of their relenting sovereign.

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* Arrian, lib. v. cap. 27. Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 3.

Having thus fixed the Hyphasis (its eastern bank, according to Pliny) as the extreme limit of his progress, Alexander ordered twelve magnificent altars of hewn stone, fifty cubits in height*, to be erected on the spot, to the twelve greater deities of Greece, and consecrated them as lasting monuments of his labours and expedition. Plutarch informs us, that these altars remained standing in his time, and that the Indians from beyond the Ganges used to come and sacrifice upon them†; (to their native deities, we must presume, in memory of their deliverance from the terrible scourge of an army that had desolated the rest of Asia.) We are informed by Curtius, that, previous to his return, he caused the lines of intrenchment around his camp to be extended to three times their usual circuit, ordered beds of a vast size to be prepared, as for soldiers of gigantic stature, and mangers and bits of bridles of proportionate magnitude for horses, to be deposited there, with a view of imposing on posterity the belief that he had invaded India with an army above the common standard of men‡. Arrian, however, is silent in respect to this puerile effort of deception, so unworthy of Alexander, and it is probably not fact. The erection of these altars took place, it should appear, below the conflux of the Beyah with the Zaradrus, or *Suttuluz*, the last of the five rivers of the Panjab, because modern geography confirms the truth of the statement made to Alexander, that there actually exists a *desert* between the lower parts of the latter river and the Ganges. Its name of Bey-Passa, whence the Greek Hyphasis was formed, is indeed lost, below the conflux intimated, in that of

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* It is Diodorus Siculus who is thus particular in regard to their altitude, lib. xvii. p. 563.

† Plutarch in Vita Alexand.

‡ Curtius, in loco supra citat.

Shetooder; but the natural aspect of a country is a far better criterion for decision in these matters than the fluctuating names of rivers, of which how abundant and how varied are those of the Panjab may be known from the laboured enumeration of them by a RECENT WRITER, whose indefatigable industry and whose profound erudition, exerted on a barren, but important, subject of Eastern inquiry, will excite admiration when perhaps those rivers shall cease to flow*. On this ground of argument, Major Rennel conjectures their position might have been between Ardone and *Debalpour*, the Dædalla of Ptolemy. After the above solemn and decisive testimony from the page of Grecian history, that Alexander advanced no farther eastward than the Hyphasis, it would be an useless expenditure of my own and my readers' time, to examine the details of Oriental writers, (although sanctioned by a solitary passage in Justin†,) respecting the conquest, by Secander, of the remotest eastern regions of Asia, thus realizing his own ambitious dreams, and enumerating the immense presents which were paid as the price of peace by Keid, the potent sovereign of ulterior India, and by Kha-Khan, an unheard-of emperor of China, in bars of gold, in rich silks, in costly furs, in bags of musk, and in aromatic woods‡. If the SHAH NAMEH and SKANDER NAMEH contain nothing on this subject more consonant to probability than such accounts as these in Mirkhond, it were better, for the cause of genuine historic truth, that they should remain for ever untranslated. Had such events really taken place, it would have been impossible for the vanity of Alexander, and the Greeks who accompanied him, to have concealed them; or of historians, like Curtius, to have blazoned them with all the pomp of declamation and all the splendor of panegyric.

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* I cannot omit this opportunity of acknowledging my private as well as public obligations, during the progress of my two Works, now rapidly approaching to completion, to the respectable author of The Voyage of Nearchus; and I most cordially join with another celebrated, but *unknown*, writer of the day, to whom also I am under the deepest obligation for well-meant, but, I fear, ill-merited, applause, in opinion that "it is impossible to name such another work as DR. VINCENT'S, with all the learned illustrations, produced under the labour and constant pressure of so important an occupation as the conduct of a great public school." —*Shade of Pope*, p. 74, second edition.

† Justin positively asserts that the Gangaridæ were among the nations conquered by the Macedonians. Lib. xii. cap. 8.

‡ See Mirkhond apud Texeira, p. 105.

The unbounded joy resulting from the gratification of their wishes, that pervaded the whole army, gave to the retrogressive march through the Panjab the air of a triumphal procession, as for a world already subdued. Every eye sparkled with hope, and every heart beat with transport, at the thought of revisiting their dear country, kindred, and friends. Returning, therefore, with all the celerity with which an army, so encumbered with spoil, *could* move, they soon reached the Hydraotes; and, passing it as rapidly as its obstructed current would permit, arrived at the Acesines, the current of which, though still impetuous, from the torrents rushing from the mountains and the incessant rains, ceased to appear formidable*. Here, finding the city, which he had ordered Hephæstion to erect on its banks, completed, he invited the friendly inhabitants of the adjacent districts to take up their residence in it; and he farther contributed to its population, by permitting such of the foreign mercenaries in his army as were unable or unwilling to proceed, to make it their future abode. Hither, also, Abissares, king of the barbarous tribes of mountaineers, excusing his personal attendance by the plea of illness, a second time sent ambassadors, bearing presents and the tribute recently imposed by Alexander, who was pacified by his obedience; but, not yet wholly free from suspicion, to overawe that Indian, joined Arsaces with him in the government of those northern districts. About this period the brave and veteran Cœnus paid the debt of nature; and Alexander, though sincerely afflicted at the death of so valuable an officer, could not avoid sarcastically remarking, that he had made a speech disproportionably long for the few days of his remaining life. Having again offered sacrifices on the banks of the Acesines, he recrossed that river, and pressed on to the Hydaspes, where he found the fleet which he had ordered to be built with the timber cut down in the noble forests in its neighbourhood, which Strabo expressly says abounded with fir, with pine, and cedar*, in a state of great forwardness, he commenced the most active preparations for accomplishing his grand project of sailing down the Indus into the ocean. While these were vigorously going on, he received a seasonable supply of fresh troops, consisting of six thousand Thracian horse, headed by Memnon, and seven thousand foot, which Harpalus had sent him under the command of that general. Such expedition was used by the artificers, chiefly Phœnician and Carian Greeks, appointed to get ready this exploring fleet, that, in a few days, a navy, amounting in number to eighty triremes and near two thousand vessels of smaller burthen, was launched on the Hydaspes.

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* In another valuable work of Arrian, he acquaints us, that Alexander having pitched his camp on the banks of this river, he was afterwards compelled, by the inundations, which were widely diffused over all the circumjacent level territory, to break it up, and remove to a great distance higher in the country: all which proves the innumerable obstacles with which the Macedonians had to contend during this their *summer* campaign in the Panjab. The periodical rains are known to begin in May and end in October: now it was in May that he first crossed the Hydaspes, and it was the 23d of October, according to Dr. Vincent's most accurate investigation, when he again embarked on that river for the ocean. Thus Alexander remained in the field during the whole period of their continuance. Timur and Nadir Shah acted more wisely, by carrying on in that country a *winter* campaign. The former entered Delhi in triumph on the 4th of January, 1399; the latter fought the battle of Carnaul, not remote from that capital, on the 15th of February, 1739.

As we have advanced with Alexander through the progress of this arduous campaign, a variety of circumstances has successively occurred, that unanswerably confirm whatever arguments may have been previously urged concerning the grandeur and extent of his views, and demonstrate, that, though the geographical knowledge which this great conqueror had of Asia was incorrect, yet that he meant to have reached its most distant limits on the north and east. The obstinate opposition which he met with from the hardy Scythians checked his progress towards the Hyrcanian, or Caspian, Sea, which he idly supposed constituted its northern boundary; and the seditious murmurs of the soldiers prevented (at least according to the Greeks) his reaching the ocean eastward. His design of sailing down the Indus into the southern main was formed before he had penetrated into the Panjab, and in the apparent certainty of his being able to accomplish the latter object, though, for the present, foiled in executing the former. He intended, probably, that this vast river, rolling from the centre of the Higher Asia, should waft its wealth to its southern extremity, and, by the confining ocean, to Egypt itself; while a vigorous commerce, flourishing along the whole line of its extent, should cement a firm bond of interest and amity between the various nations who inhabited the regions near its source and those who cultivated its banks. The navigation of the Indus and the Persian Gulph is only a counterpart of the voyage down the Nile and round the coast of Egypt, where, to promote the same object, he laid the foundations of that great and opulent city, which, for eighteen centuries, excited the admiration and concentrated the commerce of that world of which Alexander's aspiring mind had planned the total subjugation. The king himself had already announced, and the papers found after his decease, among other still more important projects, confirmed, his future intention of sailing from the Persian Gulph, and coasting round Africa to the pillars of Hercules. His anxious wish was to leave no enemy behind sufficiently powerful to interrupt that amity and impede that commerce. With these introductory observations, from necessity summary, the voyage down the Indus, and the perpetual conflicts with the nations on its banks and those on the desert shores of Gedrosia, will be rendered at once more interesting and intelligible.

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* Strabonis Geograph. lib. xvi. p. 654.

Every thing being at length ready, and the protection of the gods having previously been implored, by oblations more than usually magnificent, on the 23d of October, at break of day, Alexander, with a considerable part of his army, consisting of the archers, Agrians, the light-armed infantry, and some cavalry, went on board. Taking his station conspicuously on the prow of his ship, the king then poured out libations from a golden goblet, and solemnly invocated the three great rivers, the Hydaspes, the Acesines, and the Sinde, down whose streams he was successively to descend to the ocean: Hercules, also, and Jupiter Hammon, he endeavoured to render propitious by renewed sacrifice. Immediately after, all the trumpets sounding, which was the appointed signal, the fleet unmoored, and, under the guidance of those experienced mariners who assisted in its fabrication, glided leisurely and majestically down the tranquillized current*. Imagination can scarcely conceive a grander or more picturesque scene than was now presented to the view of the natives, who anxiously flocked to the river-side in immense multitudes, and beheld with astonishment the number and magnitude of the vessels; while the sound of martial music, the clash of arms, the dashing of the oars, and the acclamations of the rowers, reverberated at intervals from the lofty overhanging shores on each side, contributed highly to increase the splendor and variety of this interesting scene. That part of the army, not on board with Alexander, had marched some days before, in two divisions, along the banks on each side of the Hydaspes;—the one consisting of a considerable body of horse and foot, under the command of Craterus, occupied that on the right; the other, under Hephæstion, and comprising the major part of the army, paraded on the left. Over the whole fleet Nearchus presided as admiral, and Onesicritus commanded the royal galley.

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* Arrian, lib. vi. cap. 4. Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 4. According to the latter of these authors, the embarkation took place at the Acesines; but Arrian's is the more connected and probable account, and that is what I have adopted in the text.

The respectable author, mentioned above, with such deserved applause, having so recently gone over this scene of Alexander's exploits in India, there is the less occasion for my entering with minuteness into this portion of the Indian campaign; except, indeed, such parts as more particularly concern his excursions from the river into the country adjacent to it. Upon these, Dr. Vincent has but lightly touched, confining himself more generally to the avowed object of his learned discussion,—the navigation of the fleet. I shall, however, omit no circumstance of importance; nor, though straitened for room, aim to be concise at the expense of perspicuity.

On the third day after the embarkation, the fleet arrived at the point where Craterus and Hephæstion had received previous orders to encamp on each side of the river, and at this point both fleet and army waited two days for the arrival of Philip, governor of the provinces on the west of the Indus. On the arrival of his detachment, Alexander immediately ordered him to march with that division of the army to the Acesines, and, descending down the banks of that river, to trace its progress and explore its windings. He likewise dispatched Craterus and Hephæstion on other expeditions, and, continuing the navigation for five days longer, arrived at the confluence of the Hydaspes and the Acesines. The resistless impetuosity and terrific noise, with which these two great rivers rushed together in a rocky and contracted channel, so astonished and intimidated the rowers, that they dropped their oars, and the vessels for a time became the sport of the agitated waters. Many of them were nearly absorbed in the vortex of the furious eddies that covered its whole surface; others were with the utmost difficulty prevented from striking against the rocks; many were dreadfully shattered by being borne violently against each other; and two, in particular, were dashed to pieces by this concussion; while nearly all the soldiers on board of them perished. The officers of the fleet had been forewarned of this danger, but the suddenness and magnitude of the alarm induced a momentary dread that suspended exertion. They soon, however, recovered from their astonishment, and, as nothing but the most vigorous efforts could now save them, every arm was extended with redoubled energy, and the ships were soon propelled beyond the confluence into a wider channel and smoother current. Alexander perceiving, on the right side of the river, a kind of bay sheltered by a rocky eminence protruding into the stream, immediately steered into it, and there refitted his shattered vessels. While these repairs were going on, he was by no means inactive. The obstinate opposition of the Malli had roused his resentment; and he was determined completely to bend the neck of that high-spirited people beneath the Macedonian yoke. The Oxydracæ also had again leagued with them to obstruct the progress of his army in the southern provinces, and he now meditated against both nations the severest vengeance. Before, however, he formed his grand attack upon these confederated people, he landed with a strong force, and penetrated to a considerable distance into the adjacent country, in order to overawe the inhabitants and prevent their sending any succours to his enemies. After widely ravaging that territory, the king returned to his fleet, where Craterus, Hephæstion, and Philip, had already arrived with the detachments they commanded.

Effectually to accomplish what he resolutely designed, Alexander having first ordered the forces under Philip, together with the elephants, to be transported across the Hydaspes, now made a fourfold division of his army. He commanded Hephæstion, with the first of those divisions, to proceed five days march before the others. Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, with the second, was ordered to follow, at the distance of three days march, in the rear. He sent Craterus and Philip towards the point of junction of the two rivers; and he himself, with the third and greatest body of the army, pressed on into the centre of the enemy's country, who, thus urged and surrounded from every quarter, must submit either to unconditional surrender or inevitable slaughter. The fleet, in the mean time, received orders to sail down the river to the confluence of the Acesines and Hydraotes, and there to await the arrival of these respective divisions.

Alexander himself, taking with him the auxiliary foot, the equestrian archers, and half of the auxiliary horse, immediately advanced rapidly, but silently, through a desert of considerable extent, into the very heart of the enemy's country; and, after marching the greater part of that night, the next morning arrived at the precincts of a fortified city of the Malli, near the shore of the Acesines, in which, for security, they had placed their wives and children; but, not conceiving that an enemy would march through that desert to attack them, were loitering unarmed in the adjacent fields, and were slaughtered in multitudes. The rest flocked for refuge to the city itself, and shut the gates upon their assailants. It was immediately invested by squadrons of horse; for, they had advanced with such celerity, that the infantry were yet at some distance behind. When at length they arrived, he did not employ them on this siege, but dispatched them, with Perdiccas at their head, and such horse as could be spared, to besiege another city in the neighbourhood, into which great bodies of the Malli had fled, with positive orders to blockade it only, and not to storm the works till his arrival. He hoped by these vigorous measures to prevent the junction of any very formidable numbers in the field, and he took an effectual method to prevent any future opposition of those blockaded, by exterminating them without mercy, as their strong holds successively fell before the resistless energy of his own attacks. The ramparts of the first of these cities were carried without any very severe loss of time or men; but the enemy retiring into the castle, which was very lofty and difficult of access, for some time resisted their utmost efforts. Alexander, however, exerting his utmost activity and vigour to take it before the country around should be roused or the Oxydracæ come to their aid, it was, after an obstinate resistance, taken by storm, and its valiant defenders, about two thousand in number, put to the sword. With respect to the other city, commanded to be invested, Perdiccas, on his arrival there, found its walls dismantled, and the city itself entirely deserted by its inhabitants. The light cavalry were ordered to pursue the fugitives, and very many were slain in their precipitate retreat; but many also were preserved from destruction, by seeking shelter in the marshes and swamps, caused by the recent inundations, whither the horse dared not follow them. These cities are both without a name in any classical author, but their position Mr. Rennel determines to have been to the south, or south-east, of the part of the river from which he landed*.

After a few hours of necessary repose from such continued toil, Alexander, pursuing his plan of secrecy and dispatch in subjugating the Malli, when night approached, set off at the first watch, and, marching incessantly all that night, about the break of day reached the southern bank of the Hydraotes, a considerable distance above the confluence. He immediately forded that river, now considerably fallen, with all the horse, in pursuit of a large body of Malli, who were just then discovered crossing it. Many of them were overtaken and slain, and some made prisoners; but by far the greater part reached in safety a town of that district, strongly fortified by nature and art. Alexander waited the arrival of his foot to invest it, and at last took it by assault. In this instance he relaxed in his sanguinary conduct towards the Malli, and spared the prisoners who had made but little resistance. But he displayed no similar clemency on taking a city hard by, almost wholly inhabited by Brachmans, against which he next planted his engines of attack for daring to give shelter to their brave countrymen, and perhaps animating them strenuously to defend their religion and liberty. The Brachmans, seeing their case hopeless, after an ancient custom of their nation, collected together their wives and children, and, setting fire to their houses and furniture, perished together with them in the consecrated flame of sacrifice to the gods of India*.

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* Memoir, p. 97.

Unconditional surrender being the easy terms of life offered to the Malli by Alexander, their hardihood in persisting to resist impresses the mind with high ideas of the intrepidity of that ancient tribe of Indians, who, probably, in after-periods, travelling southward, conferred their name on the coast of *Malabar;* at least a considerable district of the peninsula at this day goes by the name of *Malleam.* Rather than submit to that disgrace, they every where fled to the desert, and buried themselves in the deep recesses of the forest. They were pursued, they were massacred by thousands; and Python and Demetrius, two resolute captains of horse, were dispatched with their troops to execute his vengeance. But all was ineffectual; the spirit of the nation remained still unsubdued. At length, Alexander determined to march to their capital, in which, report informed him, the inhabitants of most of the smaller cities had taken refuge, and he hoped, by one decisive stroke, to end the contest. On approaching the walls, however, he found them dismantled, and the people retired beyond the Hydraotes, on whose steep banks they had drawn up their forces, to the amount of fifty thousand men, and seemed determined to contest the passage should he again attempt it. Alexander instantly plunged with his cavalry, exceedingly disproportionate in point of number, into the stream, while the Indians, astonished at his undaunted conduct, gradually and in good order retreated to some distance from the shore. The enemy, observing that the horse alone had crossed the stream, resolved to make an immediate attack upon him; but Alexander, seeing them drawn up with more than usual military skill, and in regular order of battle, and thinking it not prudent to come to close engagement without his infantry, contented himself with riding round them at a distance, while the equestrian archers galled them with their arrows. The choicest of the light-armed foot, and part of the phalanx, soon effected a passage; and the enemy now becoming diffident of their strength, fled to a fortified town that lay behind them, whither they were immediately pursued by Alexander, and closely besieged. That evening the remainder of the troops joined him; and, having reposed during the night, the whole, at day-break, made a furious attack on the walls, burst open the gates, and compelled the enemy to take refuge in the citadel. This circumstance, which occurs so often, may be elucidated, by observing, that the ancient cities of India are, for the most part, surrounded with walls of mud baked to a solid consistency by the intense beams of a sun, nearly vertical, while the fort, built of brick or stone, is the only defensible part; often highly so against a very superior enemy. The king, without a moment's delay, gave orders that the walls should be scaled; and those orders not being put in execution with all the rapidity that marked his own ardent mind, he snatched a scaling-ladder out of the hand of a soldier, and, applying it himself to the wall, began first to mount the parapet, covering himself with his shield as he ascended. Peucestas, bearing the sacred shield of Pallas, mounted next on the same ladder. He was closely followed by Leonnatus and Abreas, an officer of such distinguished valour, that he received on that account, as well as for other essential services in former battles, a double stipend. Alexander had no sooner reached the summit of this battlement, than he began a dreadful contest with those who defended it, killing some with his sword, and driving others headlong down into the castle. The sight of the king thus conspicuously fighting, assisted only by the three brave warriors who had mounted the parapet with him, excited the utmost alarm for his safety in the minds of his soldiers; and the royal battalion of targeteers, climbing the ladders in haste to second him, with their weight broke them down, and thus the king, who was known by his brilliant armour and the terror of his aspect, was left exposed to a shower of arrows levelled at him by the archers stationed on all the adjoining battlements. Alexander, observing this, and knowing that he could not long retain this perilous situation, gallantly leaped down among the thickest of the enemy, resolving to conquer or perish. His example was instantly followed by his comrades in glory, and all four renewed the combat with desperate fury, especially the king, on whom the Indian general rushing sword in hand, was himself run through the body; and many others, who followed him, shared the same fate. Alexander, fixing himself against the wall, in that situation repelled every assault; and such was the fire that shot from his eyes, that nobody, at length, dared approach within the reach of his arm. The dauntless Abreas, while fighting for his sovereign with his usual heroism, was struck through the temples with an arrow, and fell breathless at that sovereign's feet; at the same time another arrow, three feet in length, aimed from the same quarter, pierced through the breast-plate, and entered the body of Alexander. A vast effusion of blood ensued, which greatly alarmed his two remaining friends; the king, however, retained his equanimity, and valiantly defended himself against a host of foes who assailed him at a distance. At length his strength began to fail him through the great loss of blood; a dizziness came over his eyes; a chilly damp bedewed his limbs; and the conqueror of Asia fell prostrate upon his shield. Peucestas immediately covered his body on one side with the sacred shield of Pallas, and Leonnatus, with his own shield, guarded it on the other. Both were dreadfully wounded, but both forgot their own sufferings in those of their master. The Macedonians, without the castle, in the mean time, were not idle. Impatient to succour their prince, they supplied the want of scaling-ladders by large iron pins forcibly driven into the wall, which was of brick; and, by means of these, with mutual assistance and strenuous exertion, they, with great difficulty, ascended to the top. On observing the king prostrate and bleeding, they set up an outcry of horror, and, rushing down from the heights, formed themselves around his body into an impregnable rampart. Others, following them over the wall, attacked the terrified enemy with redoubled fury; and, at length, by the exertions of others, a gate between two towers being forced open, and a part of the wall thrown down, admitted the body of the army, who now inflicted a tremendous vengeance upon the inhabitants for the (supposed) murder of their prince. Every soul found in the city and citadel was put to death; and the acclamations of loyal grief were soon drowned amidst the more piercing cries of pregnant women and infant children, devoted to promiscuous slaughter. Of this nameless city Mr. Rennel, in his small map, has pointed out the probable situation about ten miles above the conflux, and " some, what below the scite of Toulomba, a famous pass on the Rauvee between Lahore and Moultan*."

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* Arrian, lib. vi. cap. 7.

After this merciless slaughter of the inhabitants of that unfortunate city, the attention of the soldiers was anxiously turned to the safety and recovery of the king. They bore him on their shields to the camp, and the utmost solicitude was visible on every countenance. When arrived at his tent, the arrow, which proved to be a *bearded* one, was extracted with the greatest tenderness and skill by Critodemus, a physician of Coos; but, from that circumstance, it being necessary to make a wide incision, a new and far more considerable effusion of blood took place, with which he fainted away, and life seemed at the last gasp. The effusion, however, being expeditiously stopped, he gradually recovered, and recollected his surrounding friends. The whole of that day and the following night the army remained under arms round his tent, and never quitted their posts till they heard he was entirely out of danger. In the mean time tidings of this disaster had reached the camp at the confluence of the Hydraotes and Acesines, where the fleet had arrived, and been met by Hephæstion with his division. These tidings were presently followed by a rumour of his death, which struck the whole camp with consternation and dismay, and was likely to be productive of the most fatal consequences. To prevent these, Alexander finding messengers and letters, contradicting the report, of no effect, and that a general insurrection would probably take place, ordered a vessel to be got ready to convey him, ill as he was, down the Hydraotes. On the poop of that vessel was hoisted aloft the dome of the royal pavilion, so as to be conspicuously seen by the whole army, and as, in descending, he passed along the crowded shore and the fleet, whose decks were covered with enraptured spectators, he condescendingly waved his hand to them, and smiled, while the high banks and the neighbouring woods resounded with the loudest acclamations of "Long live Alexander; health and prosperity to the conqueror of Asia!" When he was sufficiently recovered to mount his horse, these bursts of transport were repeated; and every one flocked impatiently round him; some eagerly embracing his knees and his feet, and others happy to touch even the garments of their beloved sovereign; bearing before him triumphal garlands, and strewing the way with the gaudy flowers that shoot up so luxuriantly after the rains in that delightful region of Asia. At the same time the officers besought him never more to expose himself to similar perils, but to remember, that the duties incumbent on the general and the private soldier are essentially different. Alexander is reported, by Arrian, to have been offended by the freedom of these admonitions; but it is impossible to conceive that he had a heart so depraved and callous to the noblest sensibilities of human nature.

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* Arrian, lib. vi. cap. 10, 11, and Rennel's Memoir, p. 98.

The Malli, defeated in every engagement, and half exterminated, now began to think seriously of making their peace with an enemy, at once so vigorous in his attacks and so superior in the science of war. They, therefore, dispatched heralds to Alexander with offers of that unconditional submission which they had so long and so resolutely refused. The Oxydracæ, or people of Outch, also, finding their efforts to form a junction with their old allies frustrated by the rapid march of the king through that dreary desert, and, in short, that opposition to a power which swept the whole country before it would be utterly ineffectual, reluctantly submitted to their fate, and sent ambassadors to purchase peace with the surrender of those liberties which they so highly prized. Alexander, anxious to accomplish the greater objects to which war was only subservient, readily accepted the submission of both. The territories of the former he added to the prefecture of Philip, charging him to keep over them a vigilant eye and a strong arm: of the Oxydracæ he demanded, by way of security for their future fidelity, no less than a thousand of their principal citizens at once to serve as hostages, and add to his triumphs, by being enrolled in his army. With these terms they complied, and with the thousand hostages required, gratuitously sent him, in proof of their sincerity, five hundred chariots of war, with their horses and drivers, completely equipped for action. With this mark of attention, Alexander was so well pleased that he returned the hostages, declaring, that a nation so generous could never be stained with the base crime of perfidy. While he continued at this place waiting the full restoration of his health, he enlarged his fleet by the addition of several vessels which he caused to be built; and, thinking the point of the confluence a proper position for erecting a city and fort, (a city for the purposes of *commerce* and a fort to overawe the turbulent nations around,) he added another Alexandria to the number of those already founded on Indian ground; but of this city no vestige remains.

At length, Craterus, with the forces and elephants, being again transported over the stream, Alexander embarked with seventeen hundred auxiliary, an equal number of light Macedonian, horse, and ten thousand foot; the other divisons of the army marching, as before, along the two opposite shores. He soon reached the point at which the Acesines, swollen with all the rivers of the Panjab, discharges itself into the main stream of the Sinde, and at this confluence he waited some time for Perdiccas, who had been engaged in reducing the neighbouring tribe of Abastani. While he remained here, he was visited by Oxyartes, the Bactrian, and father of Roxana, whom, in commission with Python, he constituted governor of all the country south of the confluence of the Acesines and Sinde, as far as the ocean; having already fixed on that confluence as the termination of the government of Philip. At this confluence, also, invited by the situation and induced by similar motives, he erected another Alexandria; and, leaving with Philip the Thracians and such other troops as could be best spared, for its defence, he proceeded down the river till he arrived at the territory of the Sogdi, (the Sabracæ of Curtius and Sodræ of Diodorus,) who seem to have submitted without any opposition. At this station, also, he built a city and fort, and constructed dock-yards, in which he both repaired his fleet and built additional vessels. Dr. Vincent has produced very forcible reasons for fixing the modern *Bhakor*, a circar of the ancient soobah of Multan, as the scite of the Sogdi*; and Mr. Rennel, in a corrected account of the Sinde navigation, has placed Bhakor in 27° 32′ north latitude†; with this difference, that he assigns the tract in question to the Musicani, to whose domains, after a short delay, the fleet descended.

The reigning sovereign of this people, one of the most powerful and wealthy in this region of India, had neglected to send either ambassadors to solicit, or presents to purchase, peace of Alexander, and had consequently incurred his extreme displeasure. The king, on arriving at his frontier, lost not a moment in disembarking a large portion of his army, and marched to his capital with intent to surprise him. The suddenness of the attack prevented all efforts of resistance on the part of Musicanus, and Alexander, on approaching his capital, was met by the Indian sovereign, at the head of a vast train of elephants, and accompanied with presents of immense value, which, with his whole kingdom, he submissively proffered as the price of pardon for the capital offence of not having previously prostrated himself before the conqueror of Asia. Alexander was easily prevailed upon, by his apparent frankness and generosity, to grant that pardon: he entered and staid some time in his splendid capital, the beauty and magnificence of which he greatly admired; and then returned the government of it into his own hands. Before he left it, however, as it was his intention to establish a chain of forts along the whole descent of the Indus, to secure the future safe navigation of that river at once for commercial and political purposes, he erected there a strong citadel, in which, to prevent revolt or innovation during a projected excursion into certain of the neighbouring kingdoms not yet subjugated, he left Craterus with a powerful force. In pursuance of this project, the king marched, with all the remaining forces which he had embarked on board his navy, into the adjacent territory of the Oxycani, plainly recognized in the name and scite of the modern *Hajycan*, a circar or division of the province of Sindy. The sovereign, or rajah, as we should more properly call him, of that territory had been guilty of the same heinous crime with the king of the Musicani, in delaying to send ambassadors or presents to pacify the unprovoked invader of their country; and, before he could have time to retrieve the fatal error, Alexander, whose constant aim was to intimidate by the vigour and rapidity of his motions, carried by assault two of his principal cities, in one of which the unfortunate prince himself was found in arms, taken prisoner, and, as we hear nothing farther concerning him, probably fell the victim of his temerity. Of these cities, Alexander gave to his soldiers the unlimited plunder, securing to himself the elephants of the deceased prince. The terror of this example operated with the inhabitants of all the cities of that district to make that immediate submission, which could alone obtain safety to their persons and security to their property. The Oxycani, thus completely subjugated, he marched against Sambus, sovereign of the region of Sindomana, in which appellation we immediately recognize the province of Sindy, or that through which the river Sinde flows in the lower part of its course*. On this point, however, a wide difference also subsists in the geographical decisions of Dr. Vincent and Major Rennel, with which I shall not interfere, but continue the narration principally according to the text of Arrian. Sambus was the sovereign of a mountainous tract of country situated near the territory of Musicanus, had previously submitted to Alexander, and been restored by him to his dominions; but, being at open hostility with Musicanus, on finding that prince honoured with the confidence and friendship of the conqueror, he dreaded this additional weight thrown into the scale of his authority, and had taken the precaution of flight. If, however, Sambus could bring into the field such a numerous army as is assigned to him in Curtius, there was no very urgent necessity for so rapid a retreat. According to that historian, Sindomana, the capital city of Sambus, was forcibly entered through a subterraneous passage which the Macedonian miners had carried quite into the heart of the town; and, in the invasion of that country, no less than eighty thousand people were slain, independent of multitudes of prisoners. Dreadful devastation is also stated to have been made among the troops of Alexander by the poisoned lances of these savage mountaineers, and, among other brave men, Ptolemy is said to have nearly perished the victim of the deadly venom. The account of Arrian, however, is widely different, who records, that, at Alexander's approach, the gates of that city were spontaneously thrown open, and that the friends and domestics of the absent prince came forth to meet him with magnificent presents and elephants; and that, on explaining the real motives of the flight of Sambus,—the dread of the increased power of his ancient enemy Musicanus,—the king was pacified†.

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* Voyage of Nearchus, p. 125.

† Rennel's Memoir, p. 292.

Hence Alexander is stated to have marched against another nameless city in the same province, inhabited principally by Brachmans, and these, on the precipitate flight of Sambus, had instigated the leading citizens, who had already submitted and been pardoned, to erect again the standard of rebellion. It was speedily retaken, and exemplary vengeance inflicted on the Brachmans who advised the measure. While the king was thus incessantly employed in subduing some nations and recovering others, intelligence was brought that Musicanus himself had taken advantage of his absence to break into open revolt. Alexander was enraged at this outrageous breach of faith, and immediately dispatched against him Python, the son of Agenor, with an adequate force for the reduction of his whole kingdom. This service he effectually accomplished, utterly destroying some of his cities, erecting castles in all the others, and, at the same time, leaving in them strong garrisons to prevent similar accidents in future. After a diligent search, Musicanus was also discovered, and brought in chains to Alexander, who ordered him to be carried back into his own territories, and there publicly crucified, together with those turbulent Brachmans, who, in this instance, not less than the former, had essentially contributed to the public disquiet. About this period, Mœris, the sovereign of Pattala, a noble island formed by the current of the river, arrived in the camp, and made a voluntary offer of his treasures and kingdom. Alexander received him with marks of great respect and kindness, restored to him the sceptre which he offered to surrender, and sent him back to his capital, with orders to provide every thing necessary for the entertainment of the fleet and army against their arrival in his territories.

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* Rennel's Memoir, p. 99. † Arrian, lib. vi. cap. 16. Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 8.

Preparations were now made for continuing the navigation down the Indus; but, previously to the embarkation of the troops, Alexander dispatched Craterus, with a considerable body of horse and foot, as an escort to such of the auxiliary and Macedonian troops as were invalids, and might probably sink under the difficulties of the more arduous march which he secretly intended to take through Gedrosia to Babylon. These were to advance by the way of Arachosia and Drangiana into Carmania, and thence to proceed to Macedon. To his charge he also entrusted the elephants; those elephants which he plainly perceived must perish in the dreary deserts of Gedrosia, which he was resolved to encounter with the least incumbrance possible. Another important object, too, as Dr. Vincent has judiciously observed, the king had in view in planning this expedition, viz. more accurately to "survey and explore the extensive provinces of his empire*." The preparations for the departure of the fleet being at length completed, Alexander, with that division of the army which had usually embarked with him, went on board; the other divisions marched, the greater, under Hephæstion, on the one side† of the Indus; the inferior, under Python, on the opposite bank: the latter had orders to colonize the cities newly erected on the coast with all the inhabitants that could be procured from the adjacent districts, and, having performed this service, to meet the king at Pattala. On the third day of his progress down the river, Alexander received the unwelcome intelligence that Mœris had assembled his Pattalans, and, with the whole body of them, had fled into the deserts, leaving all the towns deserted and the fields destitute of husbandmen. On this intelligence, the fleet proceeded with greater dispatch, and soon reached Pattala, discovered in the name

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[*] Voyage of Nearchus, p. 137.

[†] Arrian does not specify on which bank Hephæstion marched; Dr. Vincent, in consequence of his prior hypothesis supported in reluctant opposition to Major Rennel, determines it to be the eastern bank; and yet, from the orders given to Python to collect the Indians for colonizing the garrisons, one would incline to think the eastern as the more populous, and properly the *Indian*, shore would be the one better adapted to the professed purpose of the march of the latter commander.

and nearly in the scite of the modern *Tatta*, the capital of the Delta, formed by the waters of the Indus. This tract, the gift of that great river, during the immense period which it has continued to roll, extends in length about one hundred and fifty miles along the sea-coast; and its greatest depth from the most prominent part of the base to its apex is one hundred and fifteen miles. The lower region of this Delta is throughout intersected by numerous creeks and rivers; towards the middle it is a desert of burning sands; and is every where totally destitute of trees. The upper parts of the Delta, however, are said to be well cultivated, and to yield abundance of rice.

August.
Before Christ,
327.

On the arrival of the fleet at Pattala, the light infantry were first disembarked, and ordered to pursue the fugitives with the utmost celerity, and invite them, by every possible argument, to return to their habitations and the cultivation of their lands; promising them liberty unrestrained and property uninjured. On this many of them returned; but, when Hephæstion was shortly after dispatched to erect a fort in the city, and other detachments were sent into the country to dig wells and render the barren tract habitable, the perfidious Pattalans fell furiously upon them, and wounded and killed many: they were, however, finally defeated with great slaughter, and driven back to their deserts. Alexander, determined in his views in regard to Pattala, on receiving this intelligence, reinforced those detachments, and gave orders for the immediate construction of a spacious harbour and a naval arsenal, at the point at which the Indus divides itself into two great branches, and rolls in two impetuous currents into the ocean. He came also himself on shore, and in person assiduously superintended the carrying on of works of the highest importance to his future projects. After staying some time on shore, and taking an accurate survey of the country and the coast, Alexander re-embarked with the same number of forces as he had usually taken on board; and, being resolved to sail out of the mouth of the Indus into the ocean, he ordered Leonnatus, with a thousand horse and about eight thousand infantry, to march quite through the Delta, with a view more fully to explore it, and afterwards join the fleet on the opposite side. He then selected the stoutest and best sailing vessels of the fleet, and descended down the right channel; but, not being able to procure a native pilot, and a violent storm arising on the following day, from their ignorance of that channel, it received great damage, some vessels being dashed against each other, and others driven violently on the bank. A sheltering bay being fortunately found near at hand, the injury done the fleet was soon repaired, and Pattalan pilots being at length, though with great difficulty, obtained, owing to the terror their Grecian visitants inspired, the voyage was continued down to a point in the river where it expands two hundred stadia in breadth (twelve miles) near the mouth: and here a new and unexpected calamity befel them; a calamity that had nearly proved fatal to every hope of navigating the Indian Ocean. The tides at the mouth of the Indus are said to rise higher than in any part of the world: Alexander and his Greeks could not have been ignorant of the ebbing and flowing of the sea, which they must have witnessed in the Mediterranean; but *there* it is gentle, gradual, and scarcely perceptible, to what it is on the shore of the vast Indian Ocean, and especially on the Bay of Cutch and the Guzzurat coast, where what is called the BORE comes rushing on with a sudden and impetuous influx, rising many feet above the surface of the sea, and bearing a most terrific appearance. The great obstructions, also, accumulated in the course of ages at the mouth of the Indus, and which at the present day are far more considerable than in Alexander's time, must have greatly contributed to the sudden swell of the waters; and these circumstances, well considered, effectually vindicate the Macedonians from the censures of petulant criticism, when they are represented as in the highest degree astonished and alarmed at such an uncommon phenomenon. The violence of the bore was so great, aided by tempestuous gales from the ocean, as to overset some of the vessels and drive others on shore; which, on the retreat of the waters, were left a-ground. At the return of the tide, however, those that stuck in the mud were again elevated and floated off, while most of those that lay inclined on the sand were swept away or dashed to pieces by its fury. This second misfortune being repaired as well as circumstances would permit, Alexander dispatched two of the transports before the fleet, with orders to explore a certain island at the mouth of the river, which, he was informed, contained commodious harbours and abounded with fresh water; and, this intelligence being confirmed at their return, he commanded the fleet to anchor there, while he himself, with a few select vessels, sailed out of its mouth to a second island, which lay about two hundred stadia beyond the former, and, boldly launching out into the vast ocean itself, enjoyed the sublime gratification for which he had so long and so ardently panted, and for the attainment of which he had cheerfully borne so many toils. Here he sacrificed bulls to Neptune, imploring the protection of that deity for his future enterprizes on his domain, and threw the slaughtered animals into the sea. Then, in a transport of delight, he poured out libations from golden goblets, which, with all the other sacred vessels used in the oblation, he committed to the bosom of the deep; and, having thus successfully explored the southern extremity of Asia, he rejoined his fleet, which was now fully repaired, and returned triumphantly to Pattala.

On his arrival at Pattala, he found Python, with his forces, returned, after having effectually executed their commission. The harbour and arsenal were also in great forwardness, under the continued care of Hephæstion, whom he now commanded to fortify them, and prepare for the reception of his whole fleet till the time of navigating the Persian Gulph should arrive. After issuing these orders, being determined to explore the other great branch of the Indus, and see if through it a more easy and secure passage to the ocean might not be found, he sailed down the eastern current, denominated *Nala-Sunkra*, in the modern geography of India, till he arrived at a vast lake formed by the river itself and other confluent waters near its mouth. Into a creek, or small bay, of this lake, the pilots were ordered to steer the long galleys, and land Leonnatus with the greater part of the forces, while the king himself, with some biremes and triremes, pressed forward with eagerness a second time to view the great Indian Ocean. He found this passage more commodious than the former, and, going on shore with a few battalions of horse, into the country of Sangania, which from Alexander's to Hamilton's time has been infamous for nourishing a brood of pirates, he proceeded for three days along the coast in search of some commodious bay for the security of his fleet from future storms, and employed his soldiers in digging wells as they advanced, in order to open an easier communication through the desert to Guzzurat*, and forward those commercial purposes, which, wheresoever he moved, his conduct proved he had deeply at heart. He then re-embarked, and, arriving at the part of the lake where Leonnatus had landed, the station appearing to his discriminating eye an important one, he ordered a dock-yard to be built, fixed a sufficient garrison there for its defence, and left them provisioned for four months. The fleet then steered back to Pattala, where he immediately commenced the preparations for his arduous, but not frantic, march through the Gedrosian deserts.

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* Dr. Vincent, p. 155. Consult his subsequent judicious remarks on the grand political projects of Alexander; for, of all his various historians and biographers, Plutarch and himself have alone done full justice to his public character; though it would be absurd to deny that his private one was obscured by infinite defects.

It was, we have seen, in May of the year 327 before Christ that Alexander passed the Hydaspes: towards the end of October following, he embarked at Nicæa on the Indus; he spent nine months in sailing down to Pattala, where, according to the most accurate computation of Dr. Vincent*, he arrived about the end of July or beginning of August in the following year. By the same authority, he passed a complete month in navigating the two branches of the Indus below Pattala, and, early in September of the same year, he set off on his return, by land, to Persia.

Although to mark the gradual progress of policy and war, by which a nation so remote, and comparatively in every respect so inferior, as the Greeks, became, however short their reign, the conquerors of India, it was necessary to take a very extended review of the previous transactions of that nation with the Persian sovereigns, the lords of Western India; yet that conquest having been achieved and the particulars largely detailed, there exists no necessity for any but the most concise and summary account of subsequent Grecian events till the death of the conqueror, and its consequence, the termination of their sovereignty. For, very bounded indeed was the authority of his successor, Seleucus, in that region, and the compact entered into by this monarch with Sandracotta (Chandragupta) put a final period to the Greek dominion beyond the Sinde. But the consideration of those matters must be left to some future historian who will exert on the subject the same unwearied industry, which, under a cloud of almost insurmountable difficulties, I have employed in investigating the dark and intricate mazes of its most early history.

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* Voyage of Nearchus, p. 158.

May he commence the task under better auspices, and be provided with ampler materials than it has fallen to my lot to enjoy!

For the important purposes already intimated, viz. the permanent security of his eastern conquests and the firm establishment of a vigorous commerce on the Sinde, Alexander, having long determined to open a communication with India by the way of the Persian Gulph, continued Nearchus in his station of admiral of the fleet appointed to explore that coast, with orders to meet himself and the army in Mesopotamia. As the season was unfavourable for its immediate sailing, and the Etesian winds, or, to speak in language more intelligible to an English navigator of the Indian Seas, the *monsoon*, that blows regularly six months, during winter, from the north-east quarter, and six months, during summer, from the south-west, having not yet shifted, the king set out nearly a month before the departure of the fleet, in order to facilitate its progress by exploring the country inland, reducing the savage inhabitants, digging wells, and procuring such provisions as could be obtained in a sterile country for its refreshment. It is the circumstance of his having failed in fully accomplishing these purposes, from ignorance of the utter barrenness of the country, that has prevented the real views of Alexander in exploring maritime Gedrosia from being more distinctly visible, and has been the occasion of branding with the character of insane temerity an expedition founded in consummate wisdom, and persevered in with the kindest attention to the welfare of his comrades in peril and in glory.

The Oritæ, a hardy independent tribe, if not absolutely of Indian origin, yet using Indian customs and manners, who inhabited the mountainous tract near the river Arabis, and known to the moderns by the name of *Belootches*, were among those delinquent nations who had neither sent ambassadors to the Macedonian camp nor offers of surrender. Against these, as against all the other Indian mountaineers, Alexander, meditating victory by surprise, led such a body of light-armed cavalry and infantry as appeared sufficient to compel their submission. The rest of the forces were left under the command of Hephæstion. At the approach of the king, the Oritæ dispersed on every side, and fled into the desert: but flight was not surrender; and Alexander, therefore, rapidly crossing the Arabis, a river remarkable for neither its width nor depth, marched all night through the desert, and in the morning found himself in the midst of a fertile and well-inhabited country. Here, permitting his infantry to take some repose, he divided his cavalry into small, but numerous, parties, and ordered them to scour the country in all directions; which was effectually done, vast multitudes of the natives being slain, and abundance of prisoners brought in. In this region was placed the principal town of the Oritæ, called Rambacia, to which, after having been joined by Hephæstion with the heavy armed troops, he directed his progress; and, finding the situation well adapted for purposes of defence and commerce, he committed to Hephæstion the charge of erecting a city on the spot, with a strong fort to protect it, which is supposed to be the Arian Alexandria; for, Gedrosia (as Pliny, confirming this fact, informs us) was only a portion of the larger province of Ariana.* While this undertaking was going on, Alexander, taking with him some selected cavalry, marched towards the frontiers of Gedrosia, where, in a certain narrow defile of the mountainous chain that intersects their country, the Gedrosians and the Oritæ had joined their forces with an apparent determination to defend it against the farther progress of the invading enemy. Notwithstanding, however, the decided advantage which their situation afforded them for that defence, on the near approach of the Macedonians, they abandoned the station they had taken, and, soon after, the latter of these confederated people, finding farther opposition hopeless, sent a deputation of their chiefs, offering the well-known price of peace with Alexander,—the unconditional surrender of themselves and their country. The terms were accepted, and those chiefs directed to collect their scattered inhabitants, and induce them to return to the deserted villages, under the positive assurances that obedience should secure them safety and protection. He appointed Apollophanes governor of the country of the Oritæ, and ordered Leonnatus, with a large division of the army, both horse and foot, to remain with him till the arrival of the fleet under Nearchus, for which he was directed to provide every possible accommodation; in short, to do what Alexander himself had personally intended to have done, had circumstances proved more auspicious, and had there not existed a necessity for entirely subjugating the turbulent savage tribes of Gedrosia. He was also directed to superintend the building of the new Alexandria, and invite the people of Arachosia and all the neighbouring districts northward to come and reside in it, under the protection of the Greeks.

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* Arrian, lib. vi. cap. 21. Pliny, lib. vii. cap. 9.

Having thus left with those commanders his final instructions, with the remainder of the army he commenced that toilsome march through Gedrosia, on which some observations have already occurred, and with a few additional strictures on which this volume will terminate. As we have now wholly left Indian ground, and as the progress of the fleet to Mesopotamia has been so ably and minutely detailed by the author often cited above, a very summary narration of the principal events that befel the army and the fleet on their return can alone be inserted in these concluding pages. With whatever stigma of imprudence the preceding historians of Alexander have branded this march through Gedrosia, they all unite in affirming, that, amidst every dreadful accumulation of human suffering experienced in a region wholly trackless and unexplored, from high drifted sands, scorching heat, corroding hunger, and ardent thirst, Alexander sustained the character of a great man and a consummate general, being ever the first to encounter difficulties and trample on danger; in labour indefatigable, by fatigue invincible; disdaining food while his troops were dying of hunger around him, and dashing from his parched lips the helmet of proffered water. Amidst the urgent perils of the army, he forgot not those of his fleet, and, on the presumption that they were arrived on the same desolate coast, made several strenuous efforts to succour them, by collecting grain where it could be found, and piercing the sands along the shore for water. But all his efforts proved ineffectual: the distresses of the army were too great to allow of any of the articles of life being spared for their comrades at sea; the seals fixed on the bags of corn, at best a scanty store, were burst open; and the wells, as soon as dug, emptied of all the water they contained; nor could Alexander punish a species of plunder too evidently dictated by the strong command of expiring nature. After struggling with famine and the pestilential winds of that burning clime during sixty days, with the loss of a third part of his army and nearly all the horses and camels, Alexander at length reached Pura, recognized in its ancient Arabian name of *Phoreg*, the capital of the Gedrosii, whither his fame and the terror of his arms had previously reached, and obtained from the princes and chiefs, who governed in the more fertile districts of that country, as abundant supplies as they could procure for his exhausted forces. About this time, intelligence arrived that Philip, whom, it has been observed, he had appointed governor of all the country north of the confluence of the Acesines with the Sinde, had been murdered in an insurrection of the mercenaries left with him to defend his station; but that the native Macedonians had revenged his death upon the assassins. The king, on this, sent orders to Eudemus and Taxiles conjointly to administer the affairs of that province till he could send another governor, properly qualified, to succeed him in that important portion of his Indian conquests. He also dismissed Apollophanes for neglect of orders; probably relating to the march through Gedrosia, and possibly intended to facilitate it, from his lieutenancy over the Oritæ.

After halting some days at this capital, he proceeded towards Carmania, (Kerman,) a province which exhibited in its appearance a perfect contrast to that of Gedrosia; being rich in pasturage and abounding with fruits and grain of every kind. On the first intelligence of his arrival in this province, the governors of Aria and Drangiana, together with those of the more northern provinces, hastened to the relief of the army with the choicest productions of their respective prefectures. They were also accommodated with an immense number of horses, camels, and other beasts of burthen, to replace those that had perished in the deserts, and the army now pursued its progress towards Babylon with festive joy, but doubtless not with that frantic Bacchanalian spirit of intemperance imputed to them by Curtius, who gravely tells his readers, that a thousand brave barbarians, rushing upon them, might easily have put to death the whole of the Macedonian army; and even Plutarch, the professed apologist of Alexander, has deviated so far from that character as to suppose so great a general would sanction, by his authority and example, so absurd an inconsistency*. Solemn sacrifices offered to heaven for an army rescued from the jaws of famine, the customary athletic sports celebrated on those occasions of public thanksgiving by the Greeks, and possibly some more than usually splendid rites performed in honour of Dionysius Thriambos, or the Triumphant, and in memory of his Indian expedition, have probably been the foundation of this gross calumny on the memory of Alexander, which is expressly contradicted by Arrian, who, in diametrical opposition to all this licentious buffoonery, represents him, on his very entrance into this frontier-province of Persia, as assuming the stern aspect of a severe judge, punishing with death the extortions of certain tyrannical governors in the remoter provinces, and acting the part of a wise and beneficent prince, in redressing the grievances of his new subjects. Still, however, his anxious thoughts were incessantly turned towards Nearchus and the fleet; and, fortunately, about this period, an interesting incident took place which proved the means of acquainting him with its fate, and once more introducing Nearchus to his affectionate sovereign. But, before we relate it, it will be necessary to attend *generally*, for the reasons above specified, to the operations of that fleet, and of the army left on the coast of Gedrosia under the command of Leonnatus for its assistance and protection.

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* Curtius, lib. ix. cap. ult. Plutarch in Vita Alexand.

October. Before Christ, 326.

On the ceasing of the Etesian winds, or south-west monsoon, according to Arrian*, though he was mistaken in that supposition, or, according to Strabo's more correct account, on the evening rising of the Pleiades†, which is fixed, by Dr. Vincent and his learned astronomical friends, to have taken place on the 2d of October, A. C. 326, about a month after the departure of the king himself, Nearchus commenced his hazardous expedition to the Persian Gulph. As it was in the face of the monsoon, he was most probably compelled to do so, by the hostility of the natives, no longer awed by the presence of Alexander, and, sailing down the Indus to its mouth, after doubling the rocky promontory of Eirus, now Cape *Monze*, in a few days he arrived at an island near that mouth, called Bibacta, where, finding the wind exceedingly boisterous, and a spacious and commodious harbour upon it, he took the prudent resolution of remaining at that station till the entire ceasing of the adverse monsoon. The troops were, therefore, disembarked, a camp was immediately formed, and fortified with a wall of stone, by way of security against the attacks and depredations of the savage inhabitants. Nearchus was so pleased with this sheltered retreat from the tempestuous gales, that he honoured the haven with the distinguished title of the *Port of Alexander;* and the English editor of his Voyage has discovered its exact scite in the *Chilney* Isle of modern charts of the coast. However secure from the storm and the barbarous natives, the fleet was by no means so from the assaults of a more dreadful foe, FAMINE, and with difficulty supported life with the various species of shell-fish which they found scattered on the shore. To add to this calamity, they could obtain no water on the whole coast but what was brackish, and all this not only shews how little they were provided with stores for such a tedious voyage, but demonstrates that they must have been compelled to undertake it before they were fully prepared. After staying at Bibacta twenty-four days, the monsoon having at length become favourable, they continued their progress close along the shore till they arrived at the mouth of the river Arabis, a name still preserved in *Araba* and Cape *Arrubah* adjoining*. The Arabis is stated, by Arrian, to be distant from the Indus a thousand stadia, little more than sixty miles; and on this navigation near forty days had already been consumed. After a short stay at the Arabis, the fleet again sailed, and, soon after, the monsoon being yet wavering, owing to a violent and sudden change of the wind, two galleys and a transport foundered; but, the Greek vessels ever keeping close to the shore, the crews saved themselves by swimming to land. They were now on the coast of the Oritæ, and had the happiness to meet with Leonnatus, bearing a seasonable supply of ten days provisions, which his vigilance had collected in that barren region. That officer, after the departure of Alexander, had been attacked by the barbarians and their allies, but had repulsed them with great slaughter. This fortunate congress with their countrymen, together with the supply, revived the spirits of the fleet. Such of the crews, however, as were dispirited or worn out with their past fatigues, were permitted to rejoin the army; and others, fresh and vigorous, were drafted from it, who cheerfully supplied their place on board the ships. Thus refreshed and recruited, the fleet continued its progress with little worthy of notice along the dreary Gedrosian coast to the next important station, Malana, (Cape *Moran,)* distant above sixteen hundred stadia, or about one hundred miles, from the Arabis. They next combated the horrors of a coast inhabited by none but savage Icthyophagi, (or fish-eaters,) and extending seven thousand four hundred stadia, or four hundred and fifty miles, in a right line: a coast where they suffered every dreadful variety of human misery, from hunger, which they found nothing but fish and a scanty supply of meat, disgusting from its strong fishy flavour, to appease; and from thirst, which they could only slake with muddy or brackish water. They met, however, at Mosarna, on this coast, with one invaluable blessing, a Gedrosian pilot of good experience in these seas, whose skill and attention diminished the perils of the future voyage, as well as quickened its progress. The termination of this forlorn region and of their miseries they found at Badis, the *Cape Jask* of our maps, and they now with rapture began to coast along the beautiful and fertile shores of Carmania, where they found abundance of grain and fruits, and that still greater luxury, the purest water. At length the fleet arrived at the river Anamis, at the mouth of which stood a town, called by the Greeks Harmuzeia, synonymous with the modern

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* Arrian in Indicis, cap. 21.

† Strabonis Geograph. lib. xv. p. 721.

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* Voyage of Nearchus, p. 182.

Ormus, which has since conferred its name on the whole Persian Gulph, and is justly deduced by our learned geographer from the radical word Hormuzd, or Oromasdes, the beneficent deity of the ancient Persians. At Harmuzeia the harrassed crews of the whole fleet exultingly went on shore, and reflected with pleasure on their final escape from so many and such urgent perils. A camp was formed on the spot, and strongly fortified with a rampart and ditch; the vessels were also hauled on shore, as well for security as that they might undergo such repairs as appeared necessary after their late tedious voyage.*

An idea was at this time forcibly impressed on the mind of Nearchus, that the army of Alexander was still in Carmania, and he determined to explore the interior of that province, and gain, if possible, some intelligence concerning the progress of the army and its distance from the shore. In the mean time, some more curious individuals of the fleet, happening to wander farther into the country than their comrades, by accident met a person clothed in a Grecian vest, and speaking fluently their native language. Their astonishment was extreme, mingled with inexpressible delight at meeting with an inhabitant of their own country on so distant a shore, and after such severe suffering. A variety of anxious questions was immediately addressed to the equally-surprised stranger, who confessed himself to be a Greek, and informed them that he had strayed down thither from the camp of Alexander, who, with his whole army, had some time before entered Carmania, and at that moment was at no great distance. He was immediately conducted to the admiral amidst the loudest acclamations of joy. On confirming to Nearchus the welcome tidings, and informing him that in five days he might reach the Macedonian camp, the delighted admiral lost not a moment in preparing for his journey thither. Alexander, by the zeal of the Greek governor of the province, who hurried to him by the nearest roads, was speedily informed of the safe arrival of the fleet on the Carmanian coast and the approach of Nearchus; and detatchments, with carriages, for his accommodation, were sent out on every quarter; but these, not returning with the celerity his impatience expected, his mind was alternately agitated with the extremes of hope and despair; and the latter predominating, the prefect was ordered into confinement for being the bearer of false intelligence. In fact, so totally altered by their continued sufferings were the countenances of the Greek admiral and his comrades, their skin was so parched by the scorching sun and wind, the hair of their heads and beards was grown to such an enormous length, their whole bodies were so emaciated, and the vestments that covered them were so worn and tattered, that the messengers dispatched did not at first know them. Mutual inquiries however, making them acquainted with each other, the wearied travellers mounted the carriages sent for them, and were driven to the tent of Alexander. At a distance, that prince was so struck with horror at their squalid appearance, as immediately to conceive the idea that the fleet had been cast away on the Gedrosian coast, and that these were a part of the miserable remains of the shipwrecked crew. On their nearer approach, he soon recognized and eagerly ran to embrace Nearchus; and, on being assured by him of the safety of the fleet and army, no rapture could exceed Alexander's. The tears streamed from his eyes; he swore by the Greek and Lybian Jove, that the preservation of his fleet was an object dearer to his heart than the conquest of Asia; and that, had it been lost, the dominion of the whole earth could not have made him amends for it.*

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* Arriani Hist. Indic. cap. 33.

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* Arrian. Hist. Ind. cap. 34, 35.

The Carmanian governor was now liberated and amply rewarded; the most magnificent sacrifices were gratefully offered to Jupiter, Hercules, and other celestial deities, as well as to Neptune and the inferior gods who reign in the region of waters; splendid sports were exhibited, at which the king himself assisted, and joyfully led the triumphal train; and Nearchus, after being publicly crowned with chaplets of flowers, and having received the ardent thanks of his sovereign for his zeal and perseverance, was dispatched to the sea-shore, with orders to prosecute his voyage, and again to join his enraptured sovereign in the province of Susa.

On Alexander's first entrance into Carmania, he was joined by Craterus with the invalids and the elephants, whom, we before observed, he had dispatched westward from the Indus through the more practicable country of Arachosia and Drangiana. These, with the greater part of the army, the elephants, camels, and other beasts of burthen, were now ordered to proceed, under the command of Hephæstion, to Susa, by the way of the sea-coast, not only because that region of Carmania was the most favourable for a winter-march, but that they might be at hand to render every possible assistance to the fleet, and occasionally be assisted by them. The king himself, with a considerable body of light troops, infantry and cavalry, took the road to Pasargadæ, in Persia, to visit the tomb of Cyrus, which had been plundered of immense wealth, to punish the robbers, and settle the affairs of that province and Media. He then returned to meet the fleet at Susa, to the farther progress of which we must now return, though only to notice its transactions with the brevity proposed.

Nearchus, having but a slender guard with him, and the Carmanians not being wholly subdued, encountered some difficulties before he regained the part of the coast where his fleet lay; but having at length reached it, having also offered sacrifices to Jupiter Soter for his preservation, and exhibited gymnastic exercises on the shore, he ordered the ships to be unmoored, and joyfully resumed the navigation of the Persian Gulph. The whole length of the voyage along the Carmanian coast from Badis, or *Cape Jask*, where it begins, to Katai, *(Keish,)* where it terminates, is stated by Arrian to be three thousand seven hundred stadia ; the Carmanians are represented as living after the Persian manner, as using the same arms, and observing the same martial dicipline. They now entered on the navigation of the coast of Persis, the province properly so called, a navigation of four thousand four hundred, or, as amended by our British Strabo, five thousand eight hundred, stadia, amounting to three hundred and sixty-two English miles. The fatigue of this long voyage, however, was mitigated by a pause of one-and-twenty days at the mouth of the river Sitacus, (now *Sita-Reghian,)* down whose stream Alexander, ever vigilant for the preservation and comfort of his fleet, had contrived to send a large supply of corn from the interior parts of the province. At this station, too, they drew on shore, and repaired such vessels as had received injury along a coast, recorded by Arrian to be remarkably crowded with rocks and shallows. That coast however, terminated at the river Arosis, the modern *Endian*. The division of the coast of the Persian Gulph, along which the fleet bent its final course, was the maritime part of the province of Susiana ; and this last was the shortest portion of the voyage, being stated by Arrian to extend from its eastern limit, the Arosis, to its western, the Pasitigris, no more than two thousand stadia, or one hundred and twenty-five miles. Every minute particular of this long and adventurous voyage, in those days of nautical inexperience, and on that perilous untried coast, is investigated in such a masterly manner by the author just referred to, that any more extended detail concerning it, than what is here given, would be an unpardonable intrusion on his learned labours; and to those pages, therefore, the curious reader and geographical enquirer are referred. It is sufficient for me to add, that, sailing up the Pasitigris, through a rich and populous country, to a village situated about nine miles up that river, the fleet there cast anchor, and waited for intelligence of the army's approach. The interval was filled up with the celebration of sacrifices to the gods, in gratitude for their protection during so hazardous a navigation, and with the festive games usual on such joyful occasions. That intelligence at length arriving, they again, for the last time, spread their sails, and proceeded triumphantly up the river to a bridge newly built over the stream, for the passage of the army. There they met with renovated transports of mutual joy; new sacrifices blazed to the gods; new games, of unparalleled magnificence, were instituted, at which Alexander solemnly placed, with his own hands, on the head of Nearchus, a crown of the *purest gold, while* before him were again borne triumphal garlands, and his path was once more strewed with the loveliest flowers that grow in the gardens of Asia*.

February.
Before Christ,
325.

The subsequent events that took place, till the untimely period of the decease of Alexander, in less than two years after, are entirely unconnected with this history; and, were they not so, could not be detailed in it, for want of room. From this splendid scene, therefore, of festive triumph, of unbounded exultation for Asia subjugated and the Ocean explored, we must reluctantly turn the deploring eye to the dark chamber of death, and view this great prince, the conqueror of the East, in the full career of unrivalled glory, expiring at his palace in Babylon, the victim of continued and frantic intemperance, in the thirty-third year of his age, in the thirteenth of his

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* Arriani Hist. Ind. cap. 42.

July
Before Christ,
324.

reign, and in July of the year before Christ three hundred and twenty-four. It is, indeed, a sudden and terrible reverse of fortune; and the fact itself of his premature death, as well as the circumstances that led to it, afford an apportunity for those awful reflections which will properly terminate the final page of a history, devoted, through its whole extent, to uphold the great cause of REVEALED RELIGION, and vindicate the proceedings of PROVIDENCE: a history, which, on that account, will not fail to give pleasure to the expiring moments of the Author himself, and atone, it is hoped, for a multitude of juvenile errors.

Something more, however, has been promised, and will be expected, previously to be said, concerning the wonderful man, whose exploits in the field and whose wisdom in the council have so long and with such peculiar interest engaged our attention. Those remarks will be concise, and, as usual, chiefly point to his political character.

Plutarch, the most intelligent and philosophical of his ancient biographers, and the only one who seems to have entered into the plans of Alexander in all the extent of the projector, has informed us, that, when in his earliest youth, ambassadors arrived at Macedon from Persia, the prince discovered a profundity of observation and a political sagacity far beyond his years. Instead of indulging the inquiries of puerile curiosity concerning the splendor and magnificence of the Persian court, the numerous and superb palaces of Darius, the hanging gardens of Babylon, and other general topics of admiration in Asia, he was assiduous to learn the state of the public roads in the Higher Asia, the number and discipline of the troops which that monarch could bring into the field, and the peculiar station of the Persian monarch in the army when the line of battle was formed. Plutarch justly records this fact as a proof of the early maturity of his understanding and the extent of his designs. Let us now observe Alexander in the vigorous prosecution of those designs, stopping after the battle of Issus in the full career of victory, and, with high *apparent impolicy*, giving Darius an opportunity to recover his severe loss, and arm all Asia against him, for the purpose of reducing the maritime regions of Syria, of exploring Egypt, navigating the Nile, and erecting Alexandria on the spot best adapted to effectuate his purposes. After the battle of Arbela, in the pursuit of Bessus, let us again observe him *unnecessarily*, as it should appear, traversing the Northern Asia in every direction, warring on the Sogdians, and advancing to the very deserts of Scythia, to make himself personally acquainted with the whole theatre of his glory, and realize his views. That this, and not a wild thirst of conquest, was the principle on which he acted, may be collected from his conduct, when in those regions, in regard to the European Scythians, who sent an embassy to request his alliance, and which I purposely omitted to notice in any particular manner, till this concluding retrospect on the life and exploits of Alexander. Arrian informs us, that, when the ambassadors returned home, he sent back with them a select band of his friends, apparently to do them honour, and as a mark of respect and friendship for their nation, but in reality "to explore the exact situation of their country, the extent of their population, whether the people were robust and warlike, their mode of fighting, and the arms used by them*." This circumstance is of a very impressive nature, and connects a mode of thinking and a plan of action at two very remote periods of life.

At every commanding point throughout the whole of this extensive march, he erects cities and fortresses, which he peoples with Greeks, and makes immense depôts of arms in regions remote as

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* Arrian, lib. iv. cap. 1.

Gaza and Candahar; on the banks of the Iaxartes and the shore of the Hydaspes; and constructs stupendous docks and havens at the mouth of the Nile and in the Gulph of Cambay. The part of his conduct more generally objected to by his accusers seems to be by no means the least praise-worthy;—his march through Gedrosia. That march, indeed, has afforded to some of his biographers an ample field for eloquent declamation, and to others an opportunity of unmerited censure. I have added my humble efforts to those of the Editor of the Voyage of Nearchus, to rescue so great a general from the charge of precipitation and temerity. The *preservation of his fleet*, and, in consequence, the *exploring of the country bordering on the coast of the Persian Gulph*, were the objects nearest his heart; for these much was to be dared, but *prudently* dared. If the sufferings of the army were *great*, *great* also was the stake and urgent the necessity. The event proved that Alexander had not formed a rash, though a bold, resolution; for, that event was prosperous; and, had he lived to have established his empire and completed the vast projects of his mind, there is no saying what unnumbered benefits might not have resulted from it, not only to Asia, but to the whole extent of the civilized world.

But the King of kings, who, from his higher throne, beholds, and, by his providence, regulates, the course of human events, in his eternal, but inscrutable, councils, had determined that Alexander should not accomplish the mighty designs his ambition had formed. One of these, which was to enlarge and beautify BABYLON, and make that interdicted city the emporium of the world, was resolved on in express opposition to a solemn decree which had gone forth against it three hundred years before; the tremendous anathema that Jehovah would make it an *habitation for the bittern and pools of water*, and that he *would sweep it with the besom of* *destruction*[*]. In vain, therefore, did the conqueror of land and sea attempt to repair the bank of the Euphrates, which, obedient to HIS voice, who first bade its waters roll, had burst its ancient mounds, and widely inundated the country. With equal probability of success he might have essayed to tear the centred sun from its orbit, or drain the bed of the ocean of the volume of its waters. By the divine fiat, and to promote its wonderful, but unfathomable, purposes, Alexander had already far exceeded the usual limits assigned to terrestrial power and human glory. He had also abused the exalted talents intrusted to him, by impiously arrogating divine honours both for himself and Hephæstion; by the grossest intemperance; and, amidst its excesses, by the foul murder of more than one friend! A conspicuous and terrible example of the divine displeasure, therefore, was in Alexander to be holden up to future conquerors and to distant ages. He had now finished the splendid but arduous task appointed him by the eternal decrees of Providence. The *spotted leopard*[†], with rapid wings and ravening talons, or, as it has already been observed, he is elsewhere still more emphatically depicted, *the furious he-goat*, *from the west*, *with one horn*, (the DULCARNEIN of the Orientals[‡],) who is represented by Daniel as bounding over the earth with such velocity as scarcely to touch its surface[§], had finished his impetuous, his sanguinary career. The subverter, by the permission of heaven, of the second great empire of the world, is now to descend into the same grave

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[*] Isaiah xiii. 20.

[†] Dan. vii. 5.

[‡] See page 591 preceding.

[§] *And as I was considering, behold an he-goat came* FROM THE WEST, *on the face of the whole earth, and* TOUCHED NOT THE GROUND; *and the goat had a* NOTABLE HORN *between his eyes.*—Dan. viii. 5.

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which held the vanquished Darius. The commissioned angel, that presided over a life pregnant with such important events; that, unknown to himself, guarded him at the Granicus; and spread over him, when prostrate among the Malli, a more powerful shield of protection than that of Pallas; was now commanded to elevate the destroying arm. At the banquet of Medias he presented to his lips the empoisoned chalice, and the infatuated victim drank it off to the very dregs.

END OF THE THIRD AND LAST VOLUME.

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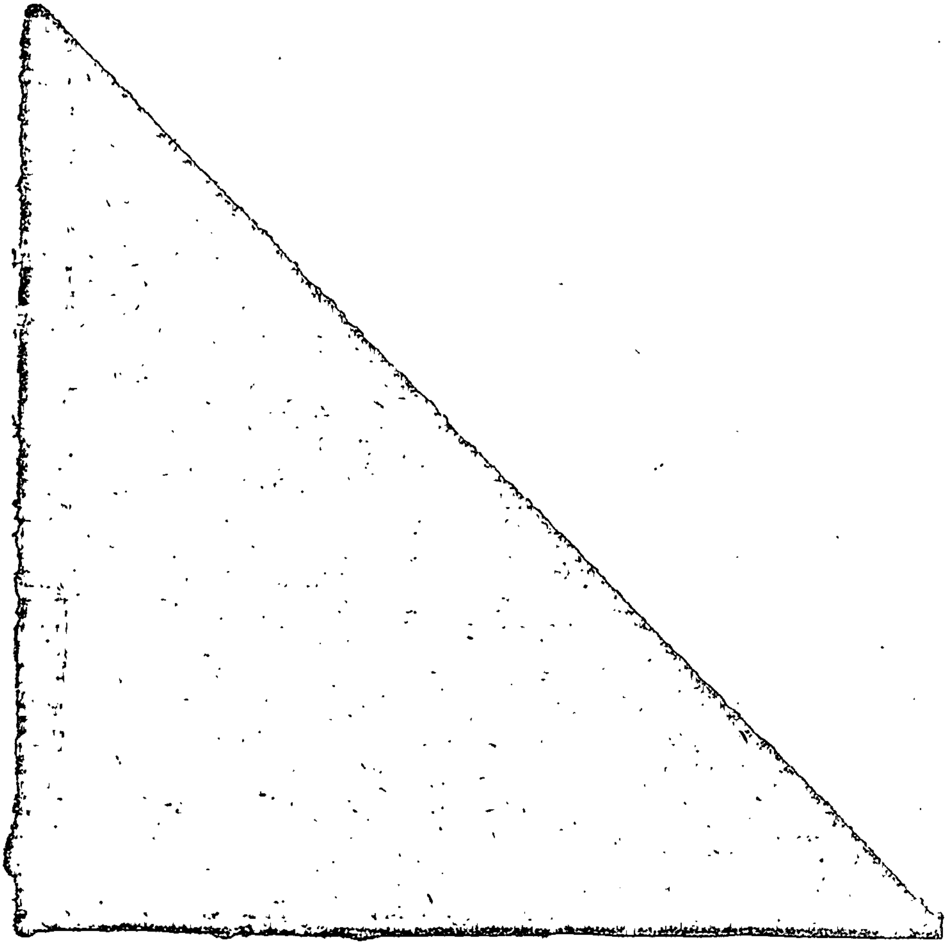

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